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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



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In This Issue

This issue contains two articles, an *AHR Forum*, and a review essay as well as our yearly review of films. The articles probe the experiences of Australian squatters and the memories of post–World War II Germans. The two essays and commentary in the *Forum* examine the cultural and economic dynamics of American shopping malls. And the comparative history of race relations is the subject of the review essay. As usual, the film and book review sections assess a wide array of important recent work in history and on history.

Articles

John C. Weaver argues that an unprecedented reallocation of resources occurred during the nineteenth century as colonizers of European origin appropriated land, forests, and minerals around the globe. Weaver focuses on the struggles over the conversion of enormous tracts of the world's most productive grazing and farm land into private property. He notes that in most new settlements, squatters upset governmental plans for the sale of newly acquired lands. They not only occupied land but established their own codes of orderly conduct and built up their own saleable interests. Weaver uses the seizure of crown land in Australia as an example of this global experience. In doing so, he maintains that our understanding of the Australian past must move beyond the emphasis represented by Robert Hughes's reconstruction of the savage aspects of English penal programs in *The Fatal Shore* and examines instead the exploitation of Australia in the London-based world economy. He also extends his own argument with pointed comparisons to the unauthorized occupation of the public domain in the United States. Weaver contends that, coming from densely settled regions where land was power, European settlers in Australia and America shared a overwhelming will to possess, exploit, and sell land. In both places, the hunger for cheap land resulted in squatters with similar ambitions, frustrations, and tactics. And he demonstrates that the cunning, persistence, and political influence of these squatters assured their success on both continents. Nevertheless, Weaver also finds differences in the two experiences. He locates those divergences in institutional and environmen-

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tal differences that had a significant impact on recourse-allocation schemes and on the conflicts that they engendered. Weaver's look at squatters thus provides an illuminating example of the common and distinctive elements of this frontier phenomenon and of the virtues of comparative analysis.

Robert G. Moeller explores the changing ways in which the destruction of National Socialism was understood, described, and commemorated in the early years of the Federal Republic of Germany. He chronicles how in the first postwar decade, stories of the expellees—the women, men, and children who left or were driven out of Eastern Europe by the Red Army and Communist governments at the war's end—and prisoners of war in Soviet captivity were crafted into rhetorics of victimization in the arena of public policy and in the writing of "contemporary history." West Germans collectively mourned the suffering of these groups, and their experiences became central to one important version of the legacy of the war; their private memories structured public memory, making all Germans victims of a war Hitler started but everyone else lost. Stories of Communist brutality and the loss of the "German East" became crucial parts of the history of West Germany. However, in the 1960s and 1970s, memories of German victimization, dominant in the 1950s, were challenged by accounts in which Nazi crimes and the victimization of others by Germans became central to an understanding of the Third Reich. And then in mid-1980s and 1990s, themes of German victimization again began to dominate popular and scholarly discourse. Moeller concludes that this latest understanding of the war represents nothing particularly novel but rather the forceful reemergence of forms of public memory that were already in place. By tracing connections between public history, scholarly research, and politics in postwar Germany, Moeller makes a compelling and timely case for the importance of historiographical reflections on politics and society.

AHR Forum

The post–World War II shopping mall boom in the United States is the subject of this *AHR Forum*. **Lizabeth Cohen** begins the *Forum* by arguing that our understanding of the massive suburbanization of the United States since the Second World War must go beyond shifts in residential patterns to consider other aspects of metropolitan restructuring. Prime among these was a relocation of commercial marketplaces from urban downtowns to suburban shopping centers during the 1950s and 1960s. Cohen claims that shifting commercial and civic interaction from the old town center to the privately owned shopping center dramatically altered social relations in public places during the postwar period. As public space became more intensely oriented toward consumption, it took on the class and racial segmentation that increasingly characterized

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postwar markets. Moreover, as public space became more privatized, the rights of private property owners prevailed over citizens' rights of free speech in community forums. At the same time, shopping centers also feminized public space, creating community settings catering to women's needs and desires but simultaneously containing women in the larger society as consumers rather than as independent producers. Cohen concludes that the restructuring of community marketplaces in the United States after World War II intensified people's participation in a mass-consumption economy but, at the same time, contributed to growing social segmentation along class, race, and gender lines and to dangerous violations of citizens' democratic rights.

Thomas W. Hanchett shifts the focus of attention in the *Forum* from the cultural context of shopping malls to the critical role of public policy in the postwar shopping-center boom. Contending that the rapid expansion of suburbia into previously undeveloped land has been the single most dramatic alteration in the American landscape in recent history, he argues that federal tax policy played a powerful role in fostering that sprawl and the shopping centers that accompanied it. Hanchett asserts that historians have generally explained the shopping center as an inevitable architectural response to the increased use of automobiles and suburbanization of housing. While not discounting the impact of those developments, he points out that the boom in shopping-center construction did not begin until the late 1950s, long after cars and suburbs had become commonplace in America. In trying to locate other sources, Hanchett highlights the connection between the shopping-center boom and a critical change in U.S. tax policy: the 1954 creation of a program called "accelerated depreciation," which allowed developers to write off the costs of new business buildings rapidly and even claim losses against unrelated income. However, only new construction was eligible; rehabilitation of existing structures did not qualify. Consequently, new suburban commercial development suddenly became a lucrative tax shelter for investors and shopping-center development became extremely attractive throughout America. Hanchett documents the results: a massive increase in both numbers of shopping centers and square footage from 1956 onward. And he uses a revealing comparison with Canada to highlight the centrality of tax policy in this American building boom.

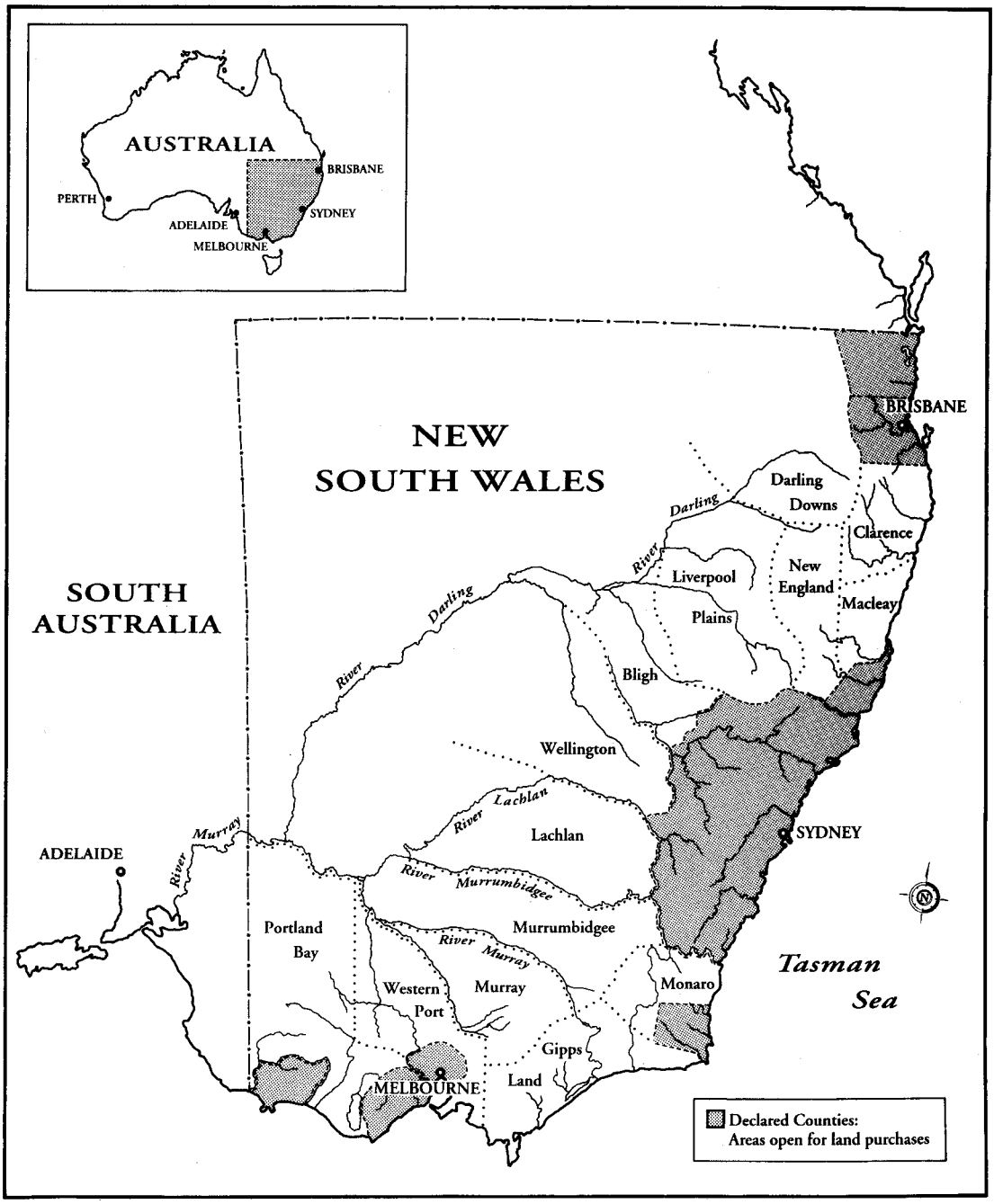
Kenneth T. Jackson brings the *Forum* to a close with a wide-ranging commentary that provides a compelling overview of the subject and an engaging critique of each essay.

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Review Essay

Frederick Cooper uses two recent studies of the United States and South Africa by George M. Fredrickson and James T. Campbell to examine the comparative history of race relations. By placing the two books in a historiographical context that stretches back to the 1940s, he blends an insightful review of each work with a compelling commentary on the problems and possibilities of comparative history as it has developed out of studies of slavery. Cooper's analysis leads to an argument that historians should develop a broader, more interactive vision of comparison.

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New South Wales in 1844: declared counties open for legal alienation of land and the pastoral squatting districts denoted by name. A commissioner of crown lands was appointed to each district. Cartographer Reg Woodruff.

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Beyond the Fatal Shore: Pastoral Squatting and the Occupation of Australia, 1826 to 1852

JOHN C. WEAVER

IN REVIEWING HOW INDIVIDUALS AND CORPORATIONS SEIZED PORTIONS of the American public domain, Patricia Nelson Limerick identified a contradiction. On the one hand, land hunters were habitually disrespectful of the property rights of the federal government. On the other, "the individualistic desire for exclusive, secure property meant that one's personal interests were best served by an agreement to respect other people's property."[1] Was this defiance of authority and grasping egocentrism unique to the American historical experience? The question calls to mind debates about American exceptionalism. Proponents of comparative and international history have aroused controversy by denying the uniqueness of the United States. Most comparative work treating exceptionalism has dealt with slavery and labor movements. Assessments of American exceptionalism have not considered a basic question about resource allocation. Were there fundamental differences between the United States and other new societies with respect to how "public" land came into private hands? The ways in which neo-Europeans during the nineteenth century gained control of land in new societies—Argentina, Australia, Canada, Chile, New Zealand, South Africa, and the United States—is a topic that invites criticism of American exceptionalism.

The topic can be classified by subjects, such as the means by which governments secured territory from first peoples or the ways in which individuals manipulated laws to procure large tracts at low cost. However, meaningful comparisons also need an analytical guide. In a commentary on the exceptionalism debate, George M. Fredrickson recently noted that "comparativists" and "exceptionalists" have tackled similarities haphazardly and staked out extreme positions. Advocating the need for a more systematic analysis of cross-cultural resemblances, he offered a way of considering how the United States could have had a different—not unique—

Ideas for this article originated when I was a Visiting Research Fellow at the Urban Research Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University in 1991 and 1993. Further research on land and new societies has been supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (grant 410–92–0678). A number of individuals have commented on early versions; I wish to thank Dennis Jeans, Joseph Powell, Terry Kass, Peter Griggs, David Russo, and anonymous reviewers. The title comes from Robert Hughes's book *The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia, 1787–1868* (London, 1986). For errors and omissions, I am responsible.

[1] Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York, 1987), 62.

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history while taking part in transnational processes.[2] Many societies confronted common structural problems, he noted, but culture and environment affected how resources were deployed to deal with problems or to exploit opportunities. In short, he produced signposts.

This article concentrates on squatting in Australia and proposes comparisons with similar events in the United States. Parallels occurred because of what Frederickson called structural factors. Diverse peoples in the London-based world economy of the early nineteenth century—from frontier settlers to urban capitalists—contrived low-cost methods of grabbing land. Their ploys upset both British schemes for disposing of crown lands and congressional designs for the American public domain. During economic booms, surveyors and bureaucrats could not handle demand. Bottlenecks in the official allocation processes provided unauthorized occupants with excuses for their actions. However, most squatters required none. Free usufruct was a temptation. So, too, was speculation, because many squatters gambled correctly that they could peddle mere possessory interests. Capitalism, weak governments, and the common law provided similar structures in the United States and Australia. Certain cultural features differed: political dynamics in an imperial colony that held a smattering of convicts were unlike those of a decentralized republican democracy. But Americans and Australians shared a robust cultural trait: the desire to possess territory, nurtured in densely settled European societies where land was power.

Squatters included true settlers as well as restless people with short-term intentions toward the land. For profit, the latter would sell it or exploit it in ways that despoiled prior ecological systems; they collided with first peoples and their perceptions of the land. In a comparison of dependent development in Australia, New Zealand, Chile, Argentina, and South Africa, Donald Denoon summarized the evolution of land ownership under "settler capitalism" as a process whereby "landowners consolidated their control . . . while a benign administration registered their titles and protected their property."[3] It was not so simple at first. Administrations became benign only after squatters defeated them; the economic ambitions and land-holding strategies of squatters had to efface official blueprints. This defiance prospered in Australia and America during the 1830s and 1840s. The Australian experience with squatting reveals structural similarities with the United States, but it also indicates the importance of cultural and environmental variations. As a republican democracy, the United States was different, not unique; the British colonies of Australia were different, not unique.

BETWEEN 1815 AND 1820, WELL-PLACED AND AMBITIOUS PEOPLE in the penal colony of New South Wales recognized that wool exports offered a path to fortune and commenced a pastoral invasion of the continent. An illegal occupation of land

[2] George M. Fredrickson, "From Exceptionalism to Variability: Recent Developments in Cross-National Comparative History," *Journal of American History* 65 (September 1995): 600. For an additional review of the debate, see Michael Kammen, "The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration," *American Quarterly* 45 (March 1993): 1–33.

[3] Donald Denoon, *Settler Capitalism: The Dynamics of Dependent Development in the Southern Hemisphere* (Oxford, 1983), 222.

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swept across New South Wales and subsequently cropped up in Western Australia and South Australia. Aggressive pastoralists in each Australian colony understood that an unsanctioned occupation of crown land provided cheap pasturage. More than that, they believed that the occupation of land might someday beget profitable legal interests.[4] Their headway is denoted in the shifting meanings of "squatter" in Australian English. Initially, it had the conventional definition: someone who illegally occupied land. Early Australian usage went further and associated the squatter with the convict and bushranger (rustler), but by mid-century it meant a wealthy pastoralist.[5] How precisely did this radical turnabout happen? How did Australian squatters during the 1830s and 1840s—like their contemporaries in the United States—eradicate the liabilities of illegal occupation?

On both the American and Australian frontiers, squatters stressed their heroic acts of discovery, general usefulness to society, and value added by redeeming "waste land."[6] In Australia, some went further and, while contrasting themselves to the lounging drones of the English aristocracy, postured as educated gentlemen, distinctly superior to coarse American squatters.[7] The rhetorical distinction had a practical role in the British convict colony of New South Wales, where character and station counted when soliciting official bounty. New South Wales was no republican democracy. But more than a rhetorical deceit was expressed in that cultural comparison. American squatters included—along with speculators—numerous folk eager to become smallholders. In Australia, the mix was different; the dominant squatters were engaged in large-scale pastoral production and had metropolitan backing. By the credit standards of the day, they had to be socially acceptable.

Despite social and cultural differences that separated most American squatters from Australian counterparts, they shared specific goals and inconveniences. They shared suppositions about the natural justice of their claims and professed qualities appropriate to the prevailing political ideology of their respective community: a variant of aristocratic worth in Australia, republican yeomanry in America. Against these were ranged the unambiguous rules of the common law. When coupled with the determination of the highest authorities to cling to planned alienation—the legal transfer of titles to real estate—these precepts deprived squatters everywhere of private property rights such as the freedom to exploit the land without restriction, exclusivity of occupation, transferability, and heritability.[8]

To overcome legal handicaps, squatters in Australia, like those in contemporary America, devised stratagems for cheap, exclusive, and continuous use of acreage. In places where squatters flouted formal legal order, there was deception and

[4] Michael Cannon and Ian MacFarlane, eds., *The Crown, the Land, and the Squatter, 1835–1840: Historical Records of Victoria, Foundation Series*, Vol. 6 (Melbourne, 1991), 11–12; Jan Kociumbas, *The Oxford History of Australia*, Vol. 2: *Possessions, 1770–1860* (Melbourne, 1992), 125.

[5] Stephen H. Roberts, *The Squatting Age in Australia, 1835–1847* (1935; Melbourne, 1975), 54–68.

[6] Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 61.

[7] William Campbell, *The Crown Lands of Australia* (Glasgow, 1855), 47.

[8] For a discussion of what makes up property rights, see Gershon Feder and David Feeny, "Land Tenure and Property Rights: Theory and Implications for Development Policy," *World Bank Economic Review* 5 (1990): 136–37. They do not mention freedom to exploit the land without restriction, but that has been added because administrators in colonial Australia attempted to prohibit licensed squatters from using land for anything but pasture.

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intimidation.[9] In many of their dealings with neighbors, latecomers, buyers, and lenders, Australian squatters worked out customs that averted anarchy. An unsanctioned marketplace in unsurveyed land functioned successfully and their legal interests grew because they had the same great advantage as American squatters: possession. What failed utterly with terrible consequences—and what highlights a significant difference between the United States and Australia—were the efforts of colonial administrators to buffer the impact of the squatters on those peoples who had prior but unrecognized possession, the Aborigines. The government of the United States had the power to play an ignominious role in removing first peoples from lands coveted by settlers; the colonial administration in Australia ignored Aboriginal tribes as political entities but wished to protect them.[10] For this task, however, they lacked resources.

Australian squatting can be ordered into five phases. During the first phase, from the early 1820s to the early 1830s, pastoral squatting abounded in areas being surveyed for alienation to what the government hoped would be a farming yeomanry. These coastal regions, referred to officially as within "the Limits of Location," were the sole districts where people could locate acreage specified in grants or purchased land orders. In these declared counties, the movement of squatters "was infinitesimal as compared with the migrations of the Heroic Age of the thirties."[11] The Heroic Age—the second phase of squatting—began around 1834, when grazers expanded dramatically "beyond the Limits." Most activity occurred in the present-day states of Victoria and New South Wales, although it penetrated Queensland and South Australia. Unable to check this vigorous new pattern of squatting, the government tried to superintend it by introducing annual depasturing licenses in 1836. Licensed squatters became temporary users of a vast open common. Even though the unauthorized occupation of crown lands "within the Limits" persisted, the scale of what occurred "outside the Limits" made it synonymous with Australian squatting.

Licensing opened a third phase, which lasted until 1839. From the moment when licenses were issued until an undertaking to introduce leases in 1847, squatters recognized the legal disabilities that the government created. They chiseled relentlessly at the stony denial of legal interests. During these years, another set of frontier relationships also reached a critical stage. European violence and diseases ravaged native peoples farther and farther from the centers of population. The government demonstrated its inability to protect Aborigines and squatters' employees from each other. Squatters' shepherds cut down the native population, while the squatters themselves managed to tighten their grip on grazing lands. Concerning the latter campaign, during the late 1830s, squatters started to fashion territorial domains while the government stubbornly upheld the concept of a common. In 1839, Sydney officials conceded the existence of boundaries but reminded squatters of their insecurity. During the fourth phase, from 1839 to 1847, with the principle of boundaries acknowledged, squatters moved to consolidate, absorbed more

[9] Malcolm Rohrbough, *The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789–1837* (1968; rpt. edn., Belmont, Calif., 1990), 183.

[10] Vivienne Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson: Protector of Aborigines* (Melbourne, 1988), 178–79.

[11] Roberts, *Squatting Age in Australia*, 2.

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territory, refined customs that facilitated speculation, and pressed for leases. In 1847, the economic importance of grazing forced an imperial guarantee that a large portion of licensed lands would be transformed into leasehold. Like squatters on the American public domain who had pressed their claims until in 1841 they had what they wanted—a preemptive right to buy land they occupied—Australian pastoral squatters worked two levers expertly—their occupation of the land and their economic significance.

The promised day for leases arrived in 1852. From 1847 to that year, during the fifth phase of squatting, grazers "outside the Limits" scrambled to tidy up boundaries, seizing as much land from the crown and from each other as possible. The glimmer of a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to profit from the windfall of securing legal interests excited them—and their creditors—into a frenzy of activity. Shortly after they had leasehold tenure and after the British imperial parliament had granted the eastern Australian colonies control over their lands, squatters—now leaseholders—confronted legislatures in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, which, like the imperial authorities before them, tried to promote freehold tenure for agriculturalists.

UNTIL 1831, COLONIAL AUTHORITIES ALIENATED LAND mainly by grants, although at times sales were permitted under narrow conditions. Land grants varied in size according to the amount of capital brought into the colony by the petitioners, or their military rank, or presumed social worth.[12] Each governor introduced variations. Social rank and favoritism generally influenced their actions. All the same, the alienation of land officially proceeded by formulas that placed limits on the size of crown grants. Grazers dealt with limits by squatting. Land was temptingly accessible and government ineffectual. As an early reaction to a process of occupation it could not curtail, the government of New South Wales granted tickets of occupation to grazers. These "indulgences" conferred a right to depasture on land around a stockyard on legally alienated land. The temporary tickets, given as a boon to people deemed worthy, were replaced in 1826 by a revenue-generating system. The crown provided one-year leases, which gave greater security of tenure than had the tickets. In August 1841, however, licenses replaced leases, delivering a calculated blow to the lessees' security by eradicating limited rights to a defined tract.[13] This curtailment of interests derived from the government's wish to weaken occupants' status before the law and recover more quickly the land it hoped to sell.

[12] For New South Wales, see Peter Burroughs, *Britain and Australia 1831–1855* (Oxford, 1967), 2; United Kingdom, House of Commons, *A Return of the Alienation of Crown Lands in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land Respectively, during the Last Ten Years* (London, 1832), 2–14; *Australian Almanack, 1827* (Sydney, 1832), 120–21. For Van Diemen's Land, see Sharon Morgan, *Land Settlement in Early Tasmania: Creating an Antipodean England* (Cambridge, 1992), 6–9, 32. For Western Australia, see Paul Hasluck, *Black Australians: A Survey of Native Policy in Western Australia, 1829–1897* (1942; Melbourne, 1970), 19; Pamela Statham, ed., *The Tanner Letters: A Pioneer Saga of Swan River and Tasmania, 1831–1845* (Nedlands, 1981), xv–xxii; Statham, "Swan River Colony, 1829–1850," in *A New History of Western Australia*, C. T. Stannage, ed. (Nedlands, 1981), 181–89.

[13] *Sydney Gazette*, August 30, 1826. The licenses that replaced leases were for a definite portion of land and thus considered equivalent to leases. The important point made by the government was that the squatters had a limited right to use the land for no more than a year. Sir George Gipps to Lord Stanley, April 3, 1844, Commonwealth of Australia, *Historical Records of Australia* (hereafter, *HRA*), *Series 1: Governors' Despatches to and from England* (Sydney, 1922), vol. 23, 509.

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The limited size of grants was only one incentive to squat on crown land. Another was introduced when the imperial government inaugurated land sales in 1831. London's instructions fixed the price at a level much higher than what was believed a reasonable market price. It was certainly higher than that established for the American public domain, and Australian crown land was generally of an inferior quality.[14] Grazers scoffed at the official price and continued to evade purchasing what they coveted for an expanding wool industry. In addition to occupation tickets and then leases, the colonial administration sought to oversee unauthorized occupation by proclaiming, in 1826, boundaries for an area of approved settlement—the Limits of Location. Beyond those boundaries, settlers could not select land for grants. Squatters who entered lacked all benefits of government, but the warning failed to check them. In October 1829, the Limits were defined as nineteen counties; other counties were added later (see map). Squatters trekked past these boundaries. And within the counties, squatting continued. It is worth considering its traits, for the practices of the second phase built upon them.[15]

Procedures for the legal occupation of crown land within the Limits paradoxically served illegal encroachment. To appreciate how this could happen, it is necessary to understand that whether by land grants or sales, alienation proceeded according to free selection, whereby settlers could carve out tracts from unoccupied lands declared available.[16] This chaotic process was comparable to that practiced in Virginia and on lands it claimed in Kentucky and the Ohio territory. Virginia's free selection contrasted with the survey-before-settlement practices in New England.[17] Wherever practiced, free selection created an untidy patchwork of odd-shaped rectangular tracts and confusion about who held what. In New South Wales in the 1820s and 1830s, rough terrain, scarcity of water, and the modest complement of surveyors favored free selection, even though it left unsettled spaces among those parcels that had been selected, measured, and registered. By purchasing a land order and then selecting a commanding tract—water frontage or the mouth of a

[14] Dixon Library, Mitchell Library, Sydney, microfilm CY 541, New South Wales, Governors' Despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, vol. 19, January–April 1831, Thomas Mitchell to Sir George Murray, January 28, 1831. See Burroughs, *Britain and Australia*, 3.

[15] Eric Rolls, *A Million Wild Acres: 200 Years of Man and an Australian Forest* (1981; Ringwood, 1984), 72. For an account of early settlement patterns within the Limits, see T. M. Perry, *Australia's First Frontier: The Spread of Settlement in New South Wales, 1788–1829* (Melbourne, 1963), 121. To control land distribution in areas certain to develop as hinterlands for ports, the government declared other counties apart from the group centered around Sydney. It established one at Moreton Bay (future site of Brisbane) in 1830 and two at Port Philip Bay (site of Melbourne) in 1836. Others were declared later, and surveys within them heralded land sales.

[16] Governor Lachlan Maquarie had distributed land by an uncontrolled right of selection. His successor, Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane, attempted surveys before settlement. The surveyor general found it impossible to execute this plan fully. Systematic surveying failed due to the shortage of resources for an effective survey department. Parcels of land freely selected were eventually surveyed with reference to magnetic north, producing a series of regional grids with odd-sized rectangles forming individual parcels. See Surveyor General John Oxley to Ralph Darling, January 26, 1826, *HRA*, vol. 12, 380. See also Dennis Jeans, "The Impress of Central Authority upon the Landscape: South-eastern Australia, 1788–1850," in J. M. Powell and M. Williams, eds., *Australian Space, Australian Time: Geographical Perspectives* (Melbourne, 1975), 7–12; Roger J. P. Kain and Elizabeth Baigent, *The Cadastral Map in the Service of the State: A History of Property Mapping* (Chicago, 1992), 308–13.

[17] Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain* (Washington, D.C., 1884), 82–83; Norman J. W. Thrower, *Original Survey and Land Subdivision: A Comparative Study of the Form and Effect of Contrasting Cadastral Surveys* (Chicago, 1966), 18; C. Albert White, *A History of the Rectangular Survey System* (Washington, D.C., 1983), 9; Burroughs, *Britain and Australia*, 2.

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valley—it was possible to hold residual spaces as "back runs" for sheep or cattle. Surveyor General John Oxley warned Governor Ralph Darling in 1826 about such practices benefiting "the opulent Men."[18] Oxley's successor, Sir Thomas Mitchell, estimated in 1834 that most of 5.3 million acres sold in ten counties had been purchased to control back runs.[19]

The government sought revenue from this usage. Commencing in October 1828, settlers could rent land adjacent to their grants at a cost discounted to roughly one-eighth the charge for all other leased land. This fee acknowledged a marketplace reality. A strategic placement of grants rendered back runs almost valueless if severed from a controlling property. In 1831, the government forced each purchaser of a crown lot with water frontage to buy the rear lot, too, and by the mid-1830s a tract of land would not sell unless it controlled an area three or four times its size.[20] The widespread informal practices of control and squatting irked Edward Parry, manager of the Australian Agricultural Company. In 1826, this private company, the largest in the colony, selected near the central coast of New South Wales a million acres in fee simple, on which it intended to raise Merino sheep with convict labor. By 1833, Parry alleged that, along the Hunter River, three-quarters of the grantees there exploited back runs, a condition that made nonsense of his company's investment. Parry would have agreed with his contemporary, Henry Clay, the congressional critic of squatters, who condemned their unlawful opportunism as a threat to legitimate business.[21]

It is impossible to know what proportion of pastoralists in the early years obtained keystone tracts to control crown land. The passage of an act in 1833 to appoint commissioners of crown lands to prevent trespass on the public domain within the Limits signified a serious problem. Contemporary impressions confirm that squatting flourished inside the Limits.[22] The government lacked the resources to prosecute all trespassers. As the American republic had discovered earlier, it was one thing to proclaim that squatters would be ejected from the public domain but

[18] Oxley to Darling, January 26, 1826, *HRA*, vol. 12, 385.

[19] Dixon Library, Mitchell Library, microfilm reel CY 671, New South Wales, Governor's Despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, vol. 46, September–October 1844; New South Wales, *Report of the Select Committee on Crown Land Grievances with Appendix, Minutes of Evidence, and Replies to Circular Letters* (Sydney, 1844), 1, evidence of Sir Thomas Mitchell, June 3, 1844. This copy of the report is particularly useful because it has Sir George Gipps's comments rebutting the select committee's assertions.

[20] *Sydney Gazette*, October 17, 1828. *Report of the Select Committee on Crown Land Grievances,* Minutes of Evidence Taken, June 3 and 14, 1844, William Henry Suttor; June 1 and 3, 1844, Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor General. D. N. Jeans, "The Breakdown of Australia's First Rectangular Grid Survey," *Australian Geographical Studies* 4 (1966): 119–28.

[21] John Perkins, "Convict Labour and the Australian Agricultural Company," *Convict Labourers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, Stephen Nicholas, ed. (Cambridge, 1988), 167–68. Noel Butlin Archives Centre, incorporating the Australian National University Archives of Business and Labour, Australian Agricultural Company, vol. 78, 1/13, folio 503, Edward Parry to Colonial Secretary, March 11, 1833. Helene Sara Zahler, *Eastern Workingmen and National Land Policy, 1829–1862* (New York, 1941), 126; Daniel Feller, *The Public Lands in Jacksonian Politics* (Madison, Wis., 1984), 170.

[22] 4 William IV, No. 10, "An Act for protecting the Crown Lands of this Colony from encroachment, intrusion, and trespass." In early 1837, Evelyn Sturt rode beyond the Limits to serve as a commissioner. Along the trail, he had been "informed by several Magistrates and others, that unauthorized occupants are if anything more numerous within the Limits of occupation than without." Archives of New South Wales (hereafter, ANSW), Sydney, 4/2348.3, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, E. H. Sturt to Colonial Secretary, April 14, 1837.

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another to effect unpopular evictions. On both the American and Australian land-sale frontiers, therefore, governments let purchasers bear the brunt of resolving the trespass issue. In the United States, the playing out of this practice led squatters to form land-claims associations to protect themselves against buyers; it also fostered their insistence on preemption, the right to have the first option to buy the land they occupied. Outcomes were slightly different in Australia.[23]

Within the Limits, where crown land was for sale, squatters did not form protection clubs or insist on preempting all the land they used. For one thing, the keystone strategy, also known as "peacocking," gave many what they wanted. They chafed at buying land for the high price set in London, so preemption was not an aspiration at first. They had other ways of suppressing buyers. Selection by newcomers could be deflected by a squatter who had initiated a purchase and then conveniently neglected to fulfill its terms.[24] More important, a land distribution system in which paying settlers and lessees selected their acreage supported a confusion helpful to squatters. Strangers clutching their land orders and hunting for land without benefit of a government plat found it difficult to determine which lands were eligible for legal entry. Established squatters readily misled buyers. By mid-century, as purchasers squeezed out illegal occupants, threats prevented these later settlers from lodging a formal complaint for trespass against squatters.[25] A faster rate of American settlement along with the fact that land buyers received a relatively firm location may help explain the more extensive recourse to intimidation in the United States.

DESPITE STRATAGEMS FOR DIVERTING LEGITIMATE GRANTEES and despite the inability of surveyors to keep pace with requests to measure and tie freely selected tracts into a cadastre, legal land sales within the Limits pushed many squatters aside.[26] "Peacocking" also hindered new stockmen. By 1830, squatting within the Limits was constricted and vulnerable. Consequently, grazers fanned out beyond the nineteen counties and initiated a monumental outbreak of pastoral squatting. Few in number, they quickly took possession of immense tracts of the choicest land. By 1835, they had established sheep runs in the Monaro country 200 miles south of Sydney, as well as on the New England Plains 250 miles north. Other squatters, the "overstraighters," entered the Port Philip Bay district in 1835, sailing across the Bass Strait from Van Diemen's Land. A year earlier, they began landing at Portland Bay, the southwestern extremity of what became Victoria. Overstraighters thus

[23] Rohrbough, *Land Office Business*, 13–15, 162, 183; Paul W. Gates, *Landlords and Tenants on the Prairie Frontier: Studies in American Land Policy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 111.

[24] ANSW, 2/7827, microfilm reel 1111, Colonial Secretary, Letters Received Relating to Land, William Macpherson, Collector, Internal Revenue, regarding Capt. John Coghill, October 18, 1832. Also see ANSW, 4/3659, Colonial Secretary, Copies of Letters Sent to Commissioners of Crown Lands, February 20, 1837, to December 11, 1840, F. G. Harington to Henry Bingham, March 10, 1838; Copies of Letters Sent to Commissioners of Crown Lands, December 14, 1840, to September 13, 1844, Edward Deas Thomson to W. P. Faithful, June 3, 1841.

[25] James Busby, *Authentic Information Relative to New South Wales, and New Zealand* (London, 1832), 39. ANSW, 4/2811, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, William Howell to Colonial Secretary, January 15, 1848.

[26] For the forced movement of squatters, see Rolls, *Million Wild Acres*, 76.

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established two nuclei: one along the coast from Portland to Warrnambool, another at Port Philip Bay. They descended on the seaboard, cramming choice disembarkation points along a hazardous coast.[27] By late 1839, runs near Warrnambool allowed little space for new operations: "the one crowding as near the other as possible."[28]

Squatting parties in August 1835 clashed at Port Philip Bay, where there had been an audacious pursuit of legal cover by the Port Philip Company's expedition led by John Batman.[29] When Batman landed at Port Philip Bay in June 1835, he did what land seekers in America had done decades earlier, he prepared a "trinket treaty."[30] Batman alleged that Aborigines had freely ceded a region of roughly 600,000 square miles for £200 of trade goods. Bypassing the government of New South Wales, he notified the British government of his treaty and, to back his claim that the area he purchased was beyond the jurisdiction of New South Wales, Batman acknowledged the Aborigines as "the possessors of the soil."[31] Governor Sir George Gipps dismissed this cheeky bid to usurp the crown's dominion and prohibited comparable maneuvers.[32]

By 1837, the overstraighters were surpassed in number by overlanders, who headed southwest out of the nineteen counties. Driving huge flocks, they forded the Murrumbidgee and Murray rivers. A few overlanders staged their forays from stations acquired at the margins of the nineteen counties, thereby securing access to the south bank of the Murrumbidgee River and to convict servants.[33] In the southwest corner of the nineteen counties, stations just within the boundaries acquired value as staging bases for operations on runs beyond the Limits. Later grazers overwhelmed these stations. An early squatter along the Murrumbidgee complained of this pressure in 1837. A rival tried to drive him off. Victimized at his own game of illegal occupation, he protested that life as a squatter had become a case of "That he may hold, who gets; And he may get, who can."[34] Such expressions were common. Concerning the occupation of the Liverpool Downs north of Sydney, squatter John Campbell recalled that "each took all he could get, and each kept all he could."[35] In 1854, a critic of squatters cited their motto as "Let him take who has

[27] Thomas Francis Bride, *Letters from Victorian Pioneers, being a Series of Papers on the Early Occupation of the Colony, the Aborigines etc.* (1898; rpt. edn., Melbourne, 1969), 137.

[28] LaTrobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Niel Black Papers, Ms. 6035, Niel Black Diary, December 9, 1839.

[29] Mitchell Library, microfilm reel CY 1046, Port Philip Company Papers, 1835–1843, John Fawkner to [illegible], *ca.* 1839. According to Fawkner, Batman pulled down Fawkner's fence and threatened to drive him and others off "by inciting the blacks against us."

[30] Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (1937; New York, 1959), 8–9; Donaldson, *Public Domain*, 240.

[31] Port Philip Company Papers, Petition of Port Philip Company to Under Secretary of State, June 27, 1835.

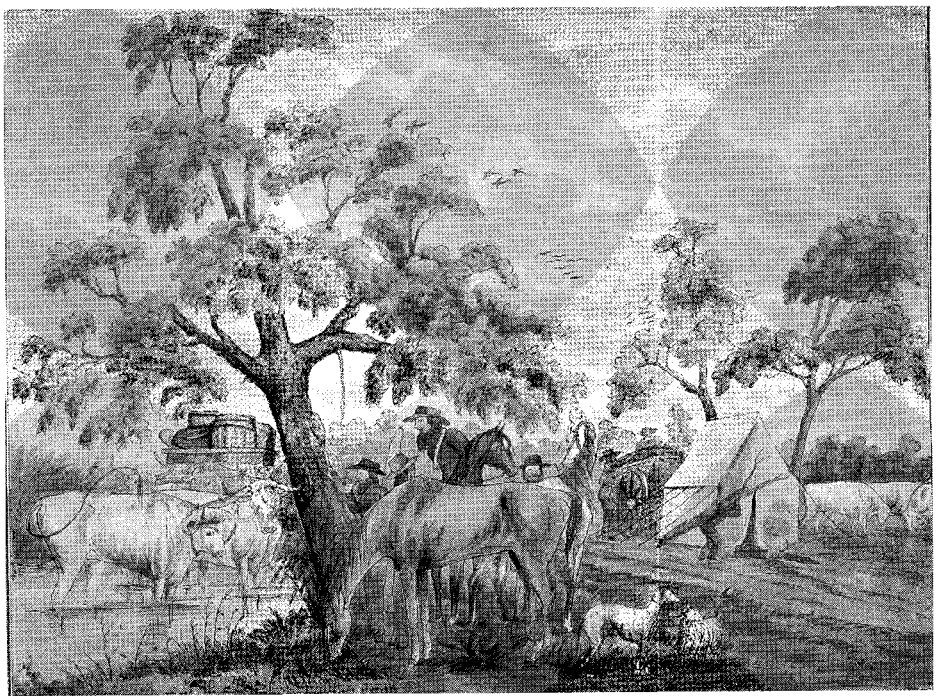
[32] Dixon Library, Mitchell Library, Broadsides, D365/1–20, no. 1/7, Proclamation of Sir Richard Burke, August 26, 1835. He repeated the prohibition and warned that "atrocities" against the Aborigines must stop. No. 1/8, Proclamation of Richard Burke, May 3, 1836.

[33] William Gammage, *Narrandera Shire* (Narrandera Shire, 1986), 20. Neither the overstraighters nor overlanders could legally bring convicts with them into the regions beyond the Limits, but the overstraighters had more difficulty bringing convict servants out of Van Diemen's Land.

[34] ANSW, 4/2348.2, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, James [last name illegible] to the Colonial Secretary, July 23, 1837.

[35] John Campbell, *The Early Settlement of Queensland and Other Articles* (Ipswich, 1875), 27.

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The first party of "overlanders" from Port Philip (Melbourne) to Adelaide left on January 1, 1838. This scene of the Hamilton party around 1840 suggests, by the equipment and well-worn track, that these stock drives were more than adventures: they were business. Hand-colored lithograph by George Hamilton, Rex Nan Kivell Collection NK3399/6. Courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

the power; And let him keep who can."[36] Those unable to "keep" proposed that the government should have secured them against their own kind.

At entry points to territory beyond the Limits, runs quickly suffered overuse. With mountains blocking the south and water available along the Murrumbidgee, the Murrumbidgee district gave access to what became northern Victoria. From 1837 to 1840, sheep trampled through the gateway. Several examples will illustrate the onslaught. In April 1837, backed by a Sydney syndicate, Alexander Mollison led a well-outfitted party, consisting of thirty drovers, an overseer, two Aborigines, five thousand sheep, six hundred horned cattle, forty bullocks, and "an infinite number and variety of dogs."[37] Later the same year, Captain Sylvester Brown, who had sold his interests in vessels to seek a fortune in stock, assembled four to five thousand sheep and four hundred cattle and proceeded overland. Brown watched nervously as three other parties moved in close proximity to his mob for most of the drive.[38] During three months in 1838, W. A. Brodribb saw a hundred thousand sheep pass by his station at Gundagai and cross the Murrumbidgee. Grass along the principal

[36] John P. Fawkner, *Squatting Orders: Orders in Council; Locking up the Land of the Colony in the Hands of a Small Minority* (Melbourne, 1854), 90.

[37] LaTrobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Box 1465, Alexander Mollison Papers, Alexander Mollison to Jane [his wife], April 25, 1837.

[38] John Ormont Randell, *Pastoral Settlement in Northern Victoria*, Vol. 2: *The Campaspe District* (Burwood, 1982), 71–72.

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stock trails was despoiled.[39] When Alexander Hunter came through in November 1839, he reached a good stockyard. "Mr Jinkers," he recorded, "had not the civility to ask us in."[40] Mobs of livestock had already overrun him.

Clear of the gateway, overlanders left the stock trails to settle along the Murray's tributaries that originated in the southern highlands. Stockmen had learned that ideal runs were well drained, with year-round warmth and major water sources no farther than a day's drive for flocks.[41] The open plains of Australia Felix—the Western Port and Portland Bay districts of New South Wales—had the added advantage of requiring fewer shepherds to superintend sheep. In the early 1840s, to the south of Sydney, the three expanding nuclei of squatters on Port Philip lands met in the middle of the future colony of Victoria. During 1841, to the north of Sydney and above the New England Plains, sections of the frontier advanced at the rate of ten to fifteen miles a month. Between 1842 and 1844, over three hundred miles north of Sydney, squatters seized the rich Darling Downs in what became southern Queensland.[42]

The commercial search for land in new societies startled rival scouts, naturalists, adventurers, and government officials. In the United States, travelers in recently opened territories of the Louisiana Purchase were amazed to find they were not alone, for everywhere they encountered land hunters.[43] Similarly, crown officials who rode into the wilderness were surprised to encounter parties who had "come to look for Country."[44] It was a happy time for plunder. Governor Sir George Gipps in 1844 estimated that squatting in eastern Australia extended through fourteen degrees of latitude with an average width of four degrees of longitude; a line through the middle, running north to south, measured 1,100 miles. Within this territory, there were reported to be 9,885 settlers, 15,052 horses, 573,144 horned cattle, and 3,023,408 sheep. Most of this activity was contained on approximately two thousand grazing stations in New South Wales.[45] A few squatters near Portland Bay and along the Murray who worried about a scarcity of open land were already overlanding stock to South Australia.[46] The extent of squatting challenged authority, "making nonsense of the official British land policy which was to confine

[39] William Adams Brodribb, *Recollections of an Australian Squatter, or Leaves from My Journal since 1835* (Sydney, 1883), 17; Randell, *Pastoral Settlement*, 75.

[40] LaTrobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Ms. 10300, A. M. Hunter Diaries, November 17, 1839.

[41] Cannon and MacFarlane, *Crown, the Land and the Squatter*, xvi.

[42] J. M. Powell, *The Public Lands of Australia Felix: Settlement and Land Appraisal in Victoria 1834–91 with Special Reference to the Western Plains* (Melbourne, 1970), 4–8. ANSW, 4/2525, Colonial Secretary's Papers, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Lachlan Hunter to Colonial Secretary, August 20, 1841. Maurice French, *Conflict on the Condamine: Aborigines and the European Invasion* (Toowoomba, 1989), 73–74.

[43] See, for example, Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory during the Year 1819: With Occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aborigines; Illustrated by a Map and Other Engravings* (1821; rpt. edn., Ann Arbor, Mich., 1966), 103.

[44] ANSW, 4/2719, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Henry Bingham to Colonial Secretary, May 16, 1846.

[45] Gipps to Stanley, April 3, 1844, *HRA*, vol. 23, 509; *Parliamentary Inquiry into the Disposal of Crown Lands: Minutes of Evidence Taken*, Oswald Blaxsome, 82.

[46] George Russell to William Cross, March 5, 1840, in Philip L. Brown, ed., *The Clyde Company Papers*, Vol. 2: 1836–40 (London, 1952), 37.

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settlement and encourage land sales."[47] Squatting in the United States also made nonsense of official policy, although a difference in the political constitutions of the two societies influenced their resolutions of the squatting problem. In the United States, the presence of elected representatives at the national and state levels supported an incessant debate about land distribution in forums that had the power to change policies.

During the 1830s, the U.S. Congress showed signs of granting preemption, making a major concession to squatters. Democratic politics, intense sectional disputes among the East, South, and West, and the actions of state governments favored squatters' interests. One of the political contrasts between the United States and Australia was the existence of a significant measure of local government in America. In New South Wales, the British first experimented with democratic processes at the level of "local" government in 1843, but London still set policy. There was no substantial political consultation within the colony. Firm direction from London meant, therefore, that colonial administrators initially confronted squatting outside the Limits as outright theft and worked to get the crown's property back. In 1836, colonial officials acted to assert the crown's title. Unable to repress a movement that stimulated trade, the government of New South Wales announced that pastoralists would have to obtain depasturing licenses. Licenses gave squatters cheap access to grazing while withholding security; licenses put the crown into the picture and apparently conceded no interests to squatters. In order to foil rivals, the latter labored amid distrust and deception.

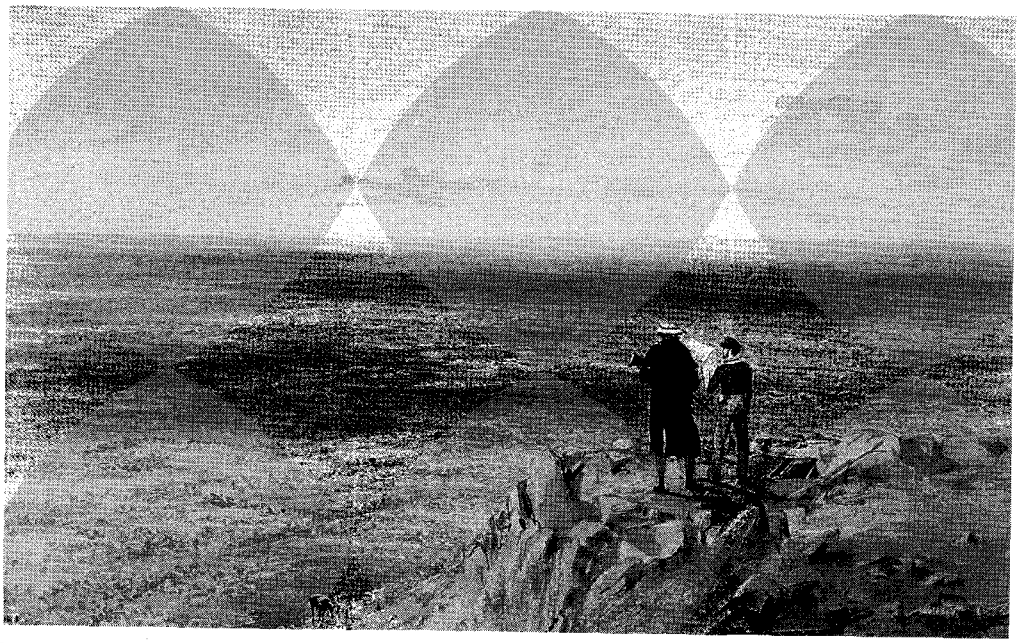
The leaders of the overland expeditions often received shares in the venture, and some became professional land hunters working on their own account as well as for employers, conditions that sharpened cunning on the trail.[48] They rode ahead to scout unobserved. Encounters with other parties involved calculations. Courtesy usually prevailed, and rivals cooperated at dangerous river crossings or when Aborigines threatened. Pioneering squatters later shared bullocks carts to haul out wool and convey supplies.[49] Stockmen needed each other, but interaction did not restrain competition during dashes for land. With much at stake, civility could serve a competitive purpose. Campfire hospitality provided an occasion to circulate a warning or initiate a subterfuge. One squatter, when he determined that another had the same destination, feigned illness, disparaged the place, and pretended to give up. He doubled back and increased his pace to sneak ahead. If a squatter found out that another's flock was moving toward the same rich lands, a dash began with determined parties pressing on through the night. Land hunters tried to beat out

[47] J. B. Hirst, *Convict Society and Its Enemies: A History of Early New South Wales* (Sydney, 1983), 148.

[48] Victoria Public Record Office (hereafter, VPRO), Melbourne, VRPS 94, unit 1, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Murray District, Correspondence Received, Statement of John Smith, King River, February 28, 1844. He describes the arrangement he had with Thomas Walker of Sydney. Walker paid for the cattle; Smith would receive half the profits or pay half the losses. "Taking in Sheep and Cattle on thirds" seems to have been commonplace; stockowners gave the holder of a run one-third of the calves, lambs, and wool. See Gipps to Stanley, April 16, 1844, *HRA*, vol. 23, 546.

[49] LaTrobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Ms. 10300, A. H. Hunter Diaries, November 30, 1839. Mortlock Library, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, Business Record Group 42/46, South Australian Company, Reports from William Lillecross at the Company's Mount Gambier Station, Lillecross to William Giles, June 20, 1845.

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These land hunters, members of the Horrocks party in 1846, study a map as they look for new grazing land north of Spencer's Gulf. Watercolor by S. T. Gill, "Country North-west of Tableland," *ca.* 1846. Courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

others; when settled, they schemed to retain their runs. Applying practices developed within the Limits, adept squatters looked for the headwaters of a stream. "By obtaining a station high up the creek, interlopers are excluded, and he knows no one can come above him."[50] Even the first squatters had difficulty discovering locations readily defensible against other squatters. "I have seen no land which I consider sufficiently extensive, and secure from intrusion," recorded Alexander Mollison late in 1837.[51]

Overlanders in the vanguard knew disappointment as well as elation. Stock drives, conducted amid rival parties, could unfold as an exhausting series of defeats until suitable land was found.[52] An envious Niel Black wrote in February 1840 that he saw "the finest cattle country the eye of man ever rested on." Alas, it had been "taken possession of for sheep just the morning after I came." Several days later, he discovered more fine land and resolved to defend this duchy with guile. His plans for holding more than he deserved by any criterion expose the mind of a consummate squatter who would have prospered on any frontier.

> I am delighted every time I ride around it. Had I money enough to buy 500 head of cattle and 5000 sheep to keep possession of the country, I believe it unequalled in the colonies, but to keep this country I must manage at fearful expense till my flocks increase. I must plant stations at every 3 or 4 miles distance where water can be had; a hutkeeper is required at

[50] Henry William Haygarth, *Recollections of Bush Life in Australia during a Residence of Eight Years in the Interior* (London, 1861), 17; C. P. Hodgson, *Reminiscences of Australia* (London, 1846), 95.

[51] John Ormont Randell, *An Overlanding Diary by Alexander Fullerton Mollison* (Melbourne, 1980), 63, diary entry for November 30, 1837.

[52] Cannon and MacFarlane, *Crown, the Land and the Squatter*, 184.

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each station, and with a view to keep the country only one shepherd with one flock consisting of about 600 is sent to each station.[53]

Once at a satisfactory destination, a number of squatters stumbled on or discovered greener pastures. For a short period, many original squatters enjoyed good relations among themselves. There was pasture enough to permit the footloose activities of grazers, who shifted about as they experimented with the carrying capacity of the land. Favorable reports soon reached Sydney and Van Diemen's Land, luring latecomers, who jostled for space with the pioneers. Also, a number of early squatters selected runs as temporary stages in a long trek, selling out and moving on. Inside a territory where the government insisted on making all occupation legally insecure, squatters began fixing rudimentary boundaries for their grassy El Dorados and enforced these among themselves. From 1836 to 1839, during the second phase of squatting, the government studiously ignored boundary disputes among licensees in order to weaken squatters' interests.[54]

Colonial administrators could have introduced leases. However, they suspected that leasehold granted outside the Limits would undermine land sales within the Limits, as well as tie up crown lands outside the Limits, precluding their eventual use by a yeomanry. Leasing implied attachment to an area; licensing did not. Leasing, to be effectively managed, needed cadastral maps; licensing placed no demands on the surveyor general. Squatters immediately perceived that licenses were inferior because they failed to delineate a territory.[55] A Bathurst squatter, Major General William Stewart, reported ponderously in November 1836, "great fear is entertained that much confusion will arise, from the locality, for which the License may be granted, not being distinctly specified."[56] Another complained that the license "does not even reserve to you the right of bringing an action against trespassers but, on the contrary, may be granted to any number of applicants for one and the same spot."[57] The notion of a commons proved vexing to established squatters but useful to a few other licensees, who could put sheep where they wished. This type of squatter acquired the nickname "cuckoo" after the parasitic bird that deposits its eggs in the nests of other birds. Squatters had to deal with cuckoo encroachment. Neighbors struggled to reach agreements and encouraged late arrivals to move on.[58]

[53] LaTrobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Niel Black Papers, Ms. 6035, Diary, February 29, 1840.

[54] ANSW, 4/2348.2, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, James [last name illegible] to Colonial Secretary, July 23, 1837. There are numerous descriptions of squatters moving to better lands. See, for example, Randell, *Pastoral Settlement in Northern Victoria*, 40; Edward Curr, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria, then Called the Port Philip District (From 1841 to 1851)* (Melbourne, 1883), 68.

[55] VPRO, VPRS 94, unit 1, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Murray District, Correspondence Received, John Jobbins to H. W. Smythe, April 11, 1846.

[56] ANSW, 4/2348.2, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, William Stewart (Major General) to Colonial Secretary, November 23, 1836.

[57] John Ormont Randell, *Pastoral Settlement in Northern Victoria*, Vol. 1: *The Cloiban District* (Melbourne, 1979), 43.

[58] ANSW, 4/2393.2, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Richard Bayley to Henry Bingham, January 25, 1838; Henry Bingham to Colonial Secretary, January 31, 1838. Mitchell Library, Newspaper Cuttings, vol. 39, Case of Bowerman v. Mackenzie at the Brisbane Circuit Court, November 1850. On cuckoos, see Graham Pizzey, *A Field Guide to the Birds of Australia* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 193–94. Campbell, *Early Settlement*, 6.

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Licensing provided squatters with a short-term right merely to run stock on pastures ostensibly open to other licensed pastoralists. The government underscored its denial of property rights by insisting that usufruct alone was permitted; it refused licensed squatters the right to plant crops, except to support employees. However, the chief instruments for a denial of property rights were refusals to acknowledge boundaries for the runs and the power to deny a license renewal. The former disability was something that squatters could almost contend with alone; the latter persisted and required a political solution.[59]

Recognizing that neighbors' sheep could ravage pastures or that invading diseased sheep could infect their stock, many grazers disdained open access. For established squatters, one attraction of sanctioned boundaries, therefore, was the prospect of increasing their stock in peace. Enterprising squatters also desired property rights to permit them to buy and sell, mortgage and improve. Lenders wanted clients to control the terrain where the associated collateral—livestock—could feed and multiply.[60] As one squatter put it, leasehold tenure would equip grazers with "ample security for the English capitalist."[61] Any exchangeable interest in the land rested on proof of possession. Acknowledged boundaries helped.

How did squatters go about establishing possession? Some were lucky, protected by remoteness and the acquiescence of latecomers. One squatter on the Darling Downs abandoned his land and left notes on the doors of his huts that he had not really deserted it; it would be restocked. He succeeded in selling the abandoned land to which, having surrendered possession, he had no claim. Knowledgeable squatters in more popular regions realized that they had to assert possessory rights against other squatters and could do so if they built head stations and shepherds' huts at strategic places, typically along a river or stream. The largest establishments—the head stations—were best located at an extremity of a run in the direction from whence strangers came. Three miles along the river from the station, there might be a hut; if the squatter operated extensive pastures, then there were more huts or paddocks. Even these conspicuous markers might fail to divert intruders. A rival well-versed in the branding of territory could plow land near a hut, thereby exposing the absenteeism of the hut builder and challenging possession. The rules of possession were unspecified, but squatters knew that they might have to apply the right of might. The related tension, effort, ambiguity, and instability were draining. Squatters moved toward a system of *ad hoc* unsurveyed boundaries.[62]

[59] ANSW, 4/3669, Colonial Secretary, Copies of Letters Sent, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Edward Deas Thomson to Laurence Vance Dalhunty, July 20 and 23, 1838.

[60] In 1843, to assist grazers during a depression, the colonial government enacted a law that permitted lenders to register preferable liens on the next wool clip or to register mortgages on sheep, cattle, and horses. Such loans had been a part of colonial practice for some time before the act. 7 Victoria, No. 3, "An Act to give a preferable Lien on Wool, from season to season, and to make Mortgage of Sheep, cattle, and Horses, valid, without delivery to the Mortgagee" (September 15, 1843).

[61] *Report of the Select Committee on Crown Land Grievances*, 26, June 5, 1844, testimony of William Henry Suttor.

[62] Gammage, *Narrandera Shire*, 41. Also see VPRO, VPRS 94, unit 1, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Murray District, Correspondence Received, Statement of John Chisholm, February 28, 1844. Campbell, *Early Settlement*, 5–6. ANSW, 4/2348.2, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, James [last name illegible] to the Colonial Secretary, July 1837.

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IN THEIR BID TO WITHHOLD PROPERTY RIGHTS from squatters, officials in Sydney at first maintained neutrality respecting squatters' claims against other squatters. Nevertheless, they could not remain indifferent to events beyond the Limits. The penal-colony roots of New South Wales nurtured misgivings about settlement in an unsupervised territory. If there were no magistrates and constables, how were bushrangers to be suppressed? Controlled access was believed the solution. Thus not only were grazers licensed but so too—in this odd realm without property rights—were innkeepers, blacksmiths, and shopkeepers. Still, if there were no magistrates and constables, who would determine if squatters behaved properly or had licenses? There could be no control without resident government agents.[63]

Asserting social and legal control, the government in 1837 appointed nine commissioners of crown land for regions beyond the Limits. More were assigned when the government proclaimed new grazing districts. It had already appointed commissioners of crown lands in 1833 to check on leases and timber cutting within the Limits. British land-management practices—the employment of stewards—on crown and private estates may have been the model for the commissioners. There was nothing like these uniformed officers in the Old Northwest of the United States. Instructed to prepare a census and check for licenses, the uniformed and ill-equipped appointees of 1837 rode out to inspect their uncharted districts without the authority to eject squatters. The commissioners' functions would multiply, but in 1837–1839 they handled applications for licenses and reported on squatters' morals—tasks of little value to squatters, though important for social control and revenue collection. From the outset, squatters tried to involve commissioners in their boundary disputes. When commissioners reported that they had attempted to remove squatters for trespass on others' runs, the colonial secretary's office cautioned that prior occupancy gave squatters no interests and that commissioners should avoid intervention.[64]

In March 1839, the government instituted an act "to further restrain the unauthorized occupation of Crown Land." Commissioners were empowered to evict unlicensed squatters.[65] Applications for licenses were given to commissioners, who forwarded them to the colonial treasurer. In determining whether to recommend an applicant, the commissioners still assessed character. Among their sensitive new chores was an especially tricky one. They now had to decide if there was any encroachment on an existing run. Encroachment implied a defined territory; commissioners were to mediate in disputes over boundaries. By the same act that strengthened its hand to evict squatters promptly for trespass, the government conceded *de facto* boundaries and, thereby, exclusivity of occupation. The government provided no instructions about how to determine encroachment. No instructions directed squatters to append descriptions of runs to license

[63] ANSW, 4/2348.2, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, John Lambie to Colonial Secretary, July 17, 1837.

[64] ANSW, 4/3659, Colonial Secretary, Copies of Letters Sent, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Edward Deas Thomson to John Lambie, February 20, 1837; Edward Deas Thomson to Henry Bingham, September 14, 1837; March 30, 1838. ANSW, 4/2348.2, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Bingham to Colonial Secretary, August 23, 1837. Gipps to Stanley, April 3, 1844, *HRA*, vol. 23, 509.

[65] 2 Victoria No. 27, "An Act to further restrain the unauthorized occupation of Crown Lands, and to provide the means of defraying the expense of a Border Police."

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applications. No immediate orders required commissioners to record boundaries or sketch maps, but at least one voluntarily mapped his district in 1843. In July 1845, a circular finally instructed the commissioners to draft sketch maps.[66] Perhaps the omission of references to mapping was an oversight, although deliberate efforts to weaken interests had been policy at least until 1839.

Rough maps could not resolve friction on the pastoral frontier. Without clear directions on fine legal points about what constituted possession, squatters and commissioners labored to sort out entitlements to pastures. The lack of guidance contrasted with attempts by the American republic to determine possession. In 1830, the United States required claimants for special preemption rights to prove occupancy with an affidavit of occupation and evidence before a justice of the peace. The United States had the benefit of a survey and a frontier judiciary, although corruption could defeat the rules. In New South Wales, a weak colonial administration with assertive ideas on checking squatter interests in land surrendered them piecemeal because it simply had too few agents policing an expanding frontier.[67]

According to the common law, prior occupancy could not be used to support a claim, but commissioners routinely applied it to settle encroachment disputes anyway.[68] When squatters clashed over territory, the common law only recognized possession. But what precisely was possession? Could the size of a flock be equated to the possession of an exact area? Not at all. Grazing needs were estimated at one sheep to three acres, although in some circumstances the ratio might be one to one or one to six. Ideally, a flock of a thousand sheep was tended by three men, but on open plains a single shepherd could tend a flock of fifteen hundred to two thousand sheep on a run. Three flocks often made up the stock for a station. Accordingly, a station could have runs occupying roughly twenty-five square miles. Additionally, squatters reserved land for lambing, old ewes, and diseased sheep. That might bring the area to thirty square miles. The search for better land frequently provided squatters with several stations, and they used the land between stations, so that a home station under one license might control sixty to a hundred square miles. Overseers kept sheep only a day's drive from a major source of water. That fixed the depth from the river frontage at about six miles, although some runs were deeper. A few commissioners had established almost standard frontages by the mid-1840s; these ranged from six to ten miles. Without a survey, land was being shaped into rough parcels, even though there was no standard formula to equate sheep and acres. Without such a guide, it was impossible to relate possession to the number of sheep or cattle.[69]

Possession also remained slippery due to the fine line between legitimate and

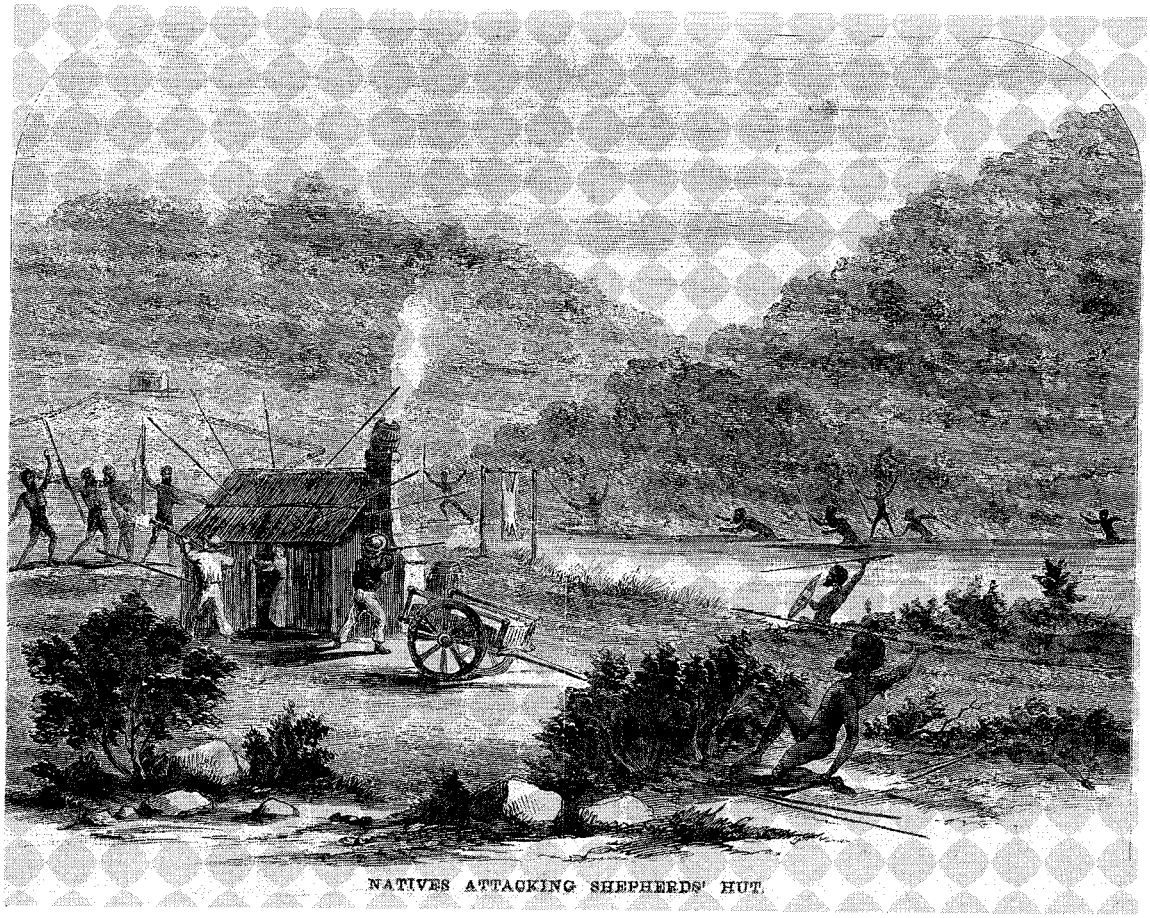
[66] ANSW, 4/2719, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Bingham to Colonial Secretary, May 2, 1846. Bingham refers to a circular of July 21, 1845.

[67] Rohrbough, *Land Office Business*, 165.

[68] Mitchell Library, Newspaper Cuttings, vol. 39, Case of Bowerman v. Mackenzie at the Brisbane Circuit Court, November 1850, 44–46. Two squatters had agreed to avoid a disputed waterhole until the commissioner fixed a boundary. However, one squatter broke the accord. The court upheld his claim, for he was in possession.

[69] U.K., House of Commons and House of Lords, *Papers Relative to the Occupation of Crown Lands, New South Wales* (London, 1848), *Minutes of Evidence Taken*, 93, T. S. Mort, auctioneer. Mort was a major wool exporter who financed pastoralists. Also see *ibid.*, E. Cornish, 95. Gipps to Stanley, Janu-

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A shepherd or overseer's hut under attack. The presence of a European woman may have been added for effect, to present Europeans as defenders rather than invaders. In fact, the abduction of Aboriginal women by shepherds was often a source of conflict. Wood engraving by Samuel Calvert, *ca.* 1860. Courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

illegitimate holdings of an excess of land. Numerous squatters retained a surplus for sale; others held onto reserves for later expansion. These were unacceptable practices. However, there were extenuating complications that justified some excess holdings. Aboriginal attacks and stock sales caused temporary abandonments. On the intricate matter of abandonment and possession, the commissioners proved useful to established squatters, who could alert them to the fact that they were moving or selling sheep but intended to restock soon. By informing the commissioner, they presumed he would not license the run to others. Such an understanding advanced the right of exclusive occupation. Seasonal use, floods, and labor shortages caused by Aboriginal raids were presented to explain abandonment that unfairly opened the door to a rival's entry. Sheep often mingled between flocks, and this, too, muddied the idea of possession.[70]

ary 17, 1844, *HRA*, vol. 23, 340. Alan Atkinson and Marian Aveling, eds., *Australians, 1838* (Broadway, N.S.W., 1987), 159; Powell, *Public Lands of Australia Felix*, 18–19.

[70] ANSW, 2/7625, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Letters Received, Liverpool Plains, 1843–47,

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Faced with intricacies of possession, commissioners interpreted prior occupancy as tantamount to possession.[71] After announcing a time and place to meet to resolve the encroachment—and often traveling hundreds of miles to hear the case—the district commissioner collected depositions to establish prior occupation.[72] Adversaries searched for an old-timer who could "interlard his testimony with remarks upon 'the first sight of the district.'"[73] Despite efforts to authenticate a thread of occupancy, reaching back to a first squatter, courts—as opposed to commissioners—ignored the idea and reaffirmed the unhelpful principle of possession. The whole business reminded squatters of their slender legal standing. Prior occupancy not only persuaded commissioners to favor a party in a dispute, it also gave a squatter tactical advantage for enforcing possession. Niel Black knew that "possession is the first point of the law here." And he knew how to assert possession. After he spied a party of squatters in March 1840, he had his men shift sheep to warn them off. "When we have got the name of occupying these stations, I will slip the sheep quietly home."[74] Prior occupation helped to get "the name." This outcome duplicated what was occurring during the American scramble for resources.[75]

The property rights of squatters during the third phase remained inchoate, although there was a strengthening of the right of exclusivity based on the prohibition of encroachment—whatever that meant in particular circumstances. Squatters continued to defend their possessory rights with strategically located huts and occasionally intimidation. In an extreme instance, James Hodgkinson of the Maiden Hills rode out to drive off encroachers "with whip and Kangaroo Dogs."[76] Reports of violence among squatters are rare; when they surface, they mention stockwhips, fists, dogs, and sulfurous words.[77] Contempt seethed among neighbors. Niel Black, whose overextended empire tempted incursions, routinely blocked neighbors' maneuvers. John Thompson repeatedly tested a boundary shared with Black, even advancing diseased sheep to displace Black's flocks.[78] On August 1, 1842, Black recorded "[my] men ploughing and forming a stony rise this [*sic*] was

Affidavit for the Case of Hall v. Cox and Andrews Decided July 11, 1844. VPRO, VPRS 94, unit 1, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Murray District, Correspondence Received, Thomas Perrott, Cathkin, to H. W. Smythe, July 25, 1845; Phillipotts to Smythe, March 15, 1845. ANSW, 4/2680, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Captain W. Ogilvie to Colonial Secretary, July 28, 1841; Joseph Cope to Colonial Secretary, September 11, 1845. Haygarth, *Recollection of Bush Life in Australia*, 91.

[71] Curr, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria*, 332–33.

[72] ANSW, 4/2720.1, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Arthur Selwyn to Colonial Secretary, October 14, 1846. Selwyn thought he would sometimes have to travel 400 to 600 miles to settle a dispute. VPRO, VPRS 95, unit 1, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Murray District, Correspondence Received, Deposition of Richard Brodie, September 4, 1843.

[73] Haygarth, *Recollections of Bush Life in Australia*, 92.

[74] LaTrobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Niel Black Papers, Ms. 6035, Diary, March 6, 1840.

[75] Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 66.

[76] VPRO, VPRS 95, unit 1, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Western Port District, Correspondence Received, [name illegible] from Maiden Hills to Powlett, January 5, 1846. ANSW, 4/2680, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, James Aitkin to Colonial Secretary, March 25, 1845.

[77] ANSW, 4/2680, Colonial Secretary's Papers, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Aitkin to Colonial Secretary, March 25, 1845. Mitchell Library, Newspaper Cuttings, vol. 39, Case of Bowerman v. Mackenzie at the Brisbane Circuit Court, November 1850, 44–46.

[78] LaTrobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Niel Black Papers, Ms. 8996, Station Journals, August 24, 1842.

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done on account of our worthy neighbour Thompson commencing to build a Hut near our Ground."[79]

Thompson's advance of "scabbed" sheep to move Black's stock was a common tactic where no accepted boundaries existed. Another squatter boasted that he had bluffed about the appearance of scab, a mange-like infection, among his sheep to keep an aggressive neighbor at bay. Squatters could strike at one another through diseased animals in another way. Under the terms of an act to control the spread of scab, a grazer could report another party and force on him the inconvenience of a trip to the nearest board of magistrates, usually Sydney or Melbourne. Since a considerable amount of stock came from Van Diemen's Land, where the scab was reputed to be rampant, it was easy to inconvenience a rival and weaken vigilance.[80]

To stabilize boundaries, squatters continued to assert possession by markers and documents, in addition to a demonstrated presence. The alienation of crown land in the nineteen counties, by free selection, likely furnished squatters with ideas about how to brand a run as one's own. By the early 1840s, bounds might be tied into trees that had been ring barked or marked with a carved symbol, plowed furrows, piles of rock, and heights of land separating watersheds. Fencing was expensive until the introduction of wire in the 1860s; the first use of a sapling fence probably was in Victoria in 1854. Whether crudely or precisely marked, boundaries were a prelude to documentation, arbitration, and litigation. Squatters sometimes contracted in elaborate legal language to respect one another's boundaries and gave the text to a neutral neighbor. In the absence of a survey and a land registry for real property outside the Limits, an informal system of documentation was emerging. In December 1845, the government instructed commissioners to recognize the agreements and uphold their terms.[81]

The preparation of boundaries, the introduction of arbitration, assertive occupancy, and the involvement of the commissioners in adjudicating encroachments did more than protect established squatters against interlopers. These actions enabled them to sell property for which they had no title. Strictly speaking, vendors sold their licenses, but they and buyers assumed much more. Colonial administrators found they could not arrest the development of a property right—in this case, transferability. Squatters understood among themselves that the sale of a license and flock entailed greater interests. Investors who bought into the grazing business or squatters who expanded by purchase acquired the sheep and the "right of run,"

[79] *Ibid.*, August 1, 1842.

[80] VPRO, VPRS 95, unit 1, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Western Port District, Correspondence Received, David Kelsh, Campaspe River, to F. Powlett, January 8, 1843. Curr, *Recollections of Squatting in Australia*, 340. LaTrobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Ms. 10766, John Carre Riddell, Station Journal, 1843–47, October 23, 1845; Randell, *The Cloiban District*, 149.

[81] VPRO, VPRS 94, unit 1, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Murray District, Correspondence Received, Chenery (?) and Goodman, Malahide, Devils River, to H. W. Smythe, May 26, 1846. Cuthbert Fetherstonhaugh, *After Many Days* (Melbourne, 1917), 74. ANSW, 4/2680, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, J. G. Macdonald to Colonial Secretary, November 11, 1845. ANSW, 4/2680, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Report of December 3, 1845, enclosed in J. G. Macdonald to Colonial Secretary, November 11, 1845. Squatters sometimes devised procedures, customs, and documents for arbitration. See the documents for an arbitration in LaTrobe Library, Ms. 11920, William Adeney of Chocolyn Station, Adeney to [name illegible], October 23, 1845.

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worth by one estimate a fifth the value of its stock. Bold speculators sold crown land without stock.[82]

Transactions could be complicated and risky in the recondite world of squatting beyond the Limits.[83] A number of remote squatters never bothered taking out a license but sold runs regardless. To evade paying for a license for each run, grazers who bought additional runs denied they had purchased a distinct territory, turning the denial of property rights against that policy's authors. If runs were part of an open range, as the government alleged, then one license should enable a squatter to pasture anywhere so long as he did not encroach. This dodge minimized fees. To confirm possession, grazers purchased the good will to secure a link to prior occupancy.[84] One potent regulation barred perfect transferability. Each year, commissioners could refuse license renewals.[85] Therefore, disgruntled squatters correctly described the commissioner as complainant, judge, and jury. The government had deliberately arranged this to secure "prompt and decisive action," in order to protect the crown's title to the land.[86] Thus, though squatters found commissioners helpful, as embodiments of the government's authority to eject they were an evil.[87] "The Caprice and Whim of a Commissioner of Crown Lands," wrote one indignant squatter, "was a poor sort of Tenure for the unfortunate squatters."[88]

Squatters protested that commissioners behaved arbitrarily; however, this may have been a code for having been caught and duly punished. Government orders guided decisions about whether or not commissioners should grant or renew a license. The character of the applicant remained a consideration. Extensive farming, prohibited under a license, could be the basis of a warning. Encroachment precipitating disorder was a firm reason for denying a license. If abandoned—even temporarily—a run might be licensed to another squatter. Official policy toward Aborigines guided commissioners, too. As squatters increasingly clashed with Aborigines in the early 1840s, their conduct could reflect on their character and hence prospects for a license renewal. Prudent commissioners asked the colonial secretary to review the decisions they reached when interpreting official circulars.[89]

[82] ANSW, 4/2680, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, John Lambie to Colonial Secretary, May 21, 1845. Lambie had been approving such agreements since 1842. VPRO, VPRS 95, unit 1, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Western Port District, Correspondence Received, [name illegible] of Maiden Hills to Powlett, January 5, 1846. Gipps to Stanley, April 16, 1844, *HRA*, vol. 23, 546. ANSW, 4/2759, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, H. M. Borthwick to Colonial Secretary, August 10, 1846.

[83] ANSW, 4/2601, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports from the Commissioners of Crown Lands, Lambie to Colonial Secretary, September 15, 1842.

[84] Maurice French, *A Pastoral Romance: The Tribulations and Triumph of Squatterdom* (Toowoomba, 1990), 19. ANSW, 4/3660, Colonial Secretary, Copies of Letters Sent, S. W. Elyard to Edward Mayne, September 7, 1842.

[85] For examples of approvals that began as rough notes and developed into printed forms, see ANSW, 2/7625, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Liverpool Plains, 1843–47, Letters Received, C. W. Adams to F. Allman, May 4, 1845; W. H. Davis to Roderick Mitchell, May 6, 1846.

[86] Roberts, *Squatters' Age in Australia*, 90. Roberts did not understand that the prompt action benefited the crown.

[87] ANSW, 4/3660, Colonial Secretary, Copies of Letters Sent to Commissioners of Crown Lands, W. Elyard, Jr., to Robert Massie, April 9, 1844.

[88] ANSW, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Liverpool Plains, 1843–47, Letters Received, John McGeachie to Robert Bligh, April 4, 1848.

[89] ANSW, Colonial Secretary, Copies of Letters Sent to Commissioners of Crown Lands, 4/3659, Edward Deas Thomson to Henry Oakes, September 25, 1839. On the prohibition of agriculture, see

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In addition to instructions and counsel from Sydney, customs assisted commissioners in rendering judgments. Customs about boundaries directed judgments about encroachment; customs about abandonment influenced decisions about whether to let other squatters onto a run.[90] Custom was what commissioners derived from conversations with squatters, and therefore it advanced squatters' property rights. In late 1843, Governor Gipps approved of custom, although he asserted concurrently the government's prerogatives. To guide the commissioners, he recommended they act "according to the established usages and customs of the Colony." Any departure, after late 1843, required government sanction, which would not "for light causes depart from that which has been established by usage, though it has the unquestionable right to do so, or of changing the usage of the Colony."[91] The government labored to affirm the crown's rights; all the while, it sought an economical path to fairness and order. Achieving the latter two aims seemed impossible without relinquishing more property rights. Growth of these and the avoidance of fees by squatters who occupied "a most unreasonable quantity of Land under a Single License"[92] obliged Gipps to reconsider licensing. The ensuing struggle between government and squatters had to come; it ended with an act of the British Parliament and an Order in Council that imposed a new policy on all Australian colonies.

NOT LONG AFTER THE ENLARGEMENT OF SQUATTING beyond the Limits in New South Wales, it developed in Western and South Australia, small colonies with distinct origins. Established in 1829, the Swan River Colony (Western Australia) was populated by recipients of land grants whose acreage was correlated to the value of capital and number of settlers they brought. Implanted with landlords and tenants, this colony was supposed to unfold as a transcript of rural England, but it suffered economically as a result of its isolation and the limited assets of would-be landlords. Private-market land prices stayed depressed. The floor price on crown lands exceeded what the market would support. Squatting inevitably followed. Officials knowledgeable about the colony's economic liabilities attempted in the early 1840s to give pastoralists legal occupation with easy terms by granting leasehold or a right of commonage adjoining homesteads. The Colonial Office rejected these measures

ANSW, Colonial Secretary, 4/3659, Copies of Letters Sent to Commissioners of Crown Lands, Thomson to Oakes, September 25, 1839. For attempts to restrain squatting in hostile areas, see 4/3660, Copies of Letters Sent to Commissioners of Crown Lands, Thomson to W. H. Wright, September 26, 1843. On denying licenses to squatters who mistreated Aborigines, see 4/3660, Copies of Letters Sent to Commissioners of Crown Lands, Thomson to Henry Bingham, October 6, 1843.

[90] ANSW, Colonial Secretary, 4/3660, Copies of Letters Sent to Commissioners of Crown Lands, Thomson to Lambie, April 18, 1842. ANSW, 4/2674.2, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Macdonald to the Colonial Secretary, with enclosures, August 24, 1844.

[91] ANSW, 4/3660, Colonial Secretary, Copies of Letters to Commissioners of Crown Lands, Thomson to Lambie, November 29, 1843. Thomson indicates that this letter is a circular to the commissioners of crown lands outside the Limits.

[92] ANSW, 4/3660, Colonial Secretary, Copies of Letters to Commissioners of Crown Lands, Thomson to George Macdonald, April 11, 1844.

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as endangering the sale of crown land. In 1844, after much bitter wrangling, London approved a local law that permitted licensing.[93]

South Australia was to have been surveyed before settlement by a convict-free populace. Promoters of the colony intended that land revenues would finance pauper immigration from the United Kingdom. These declared goals fostered myths, including the notion that settlement in South Australia progressed neatly from a design. While the founders' ideals placed a free yeomanry at the center of development, realities were different. Survey before settlement broke down, and pastoral enterprises multiplied from the beginning. In June 1835, when the sponsors of colonization drafted rules for the disposal of land, they introduced leasing "to afford the greatest facilities for the growing of wool, and the rearing of livestock."[94] Survey before settlement was attempted around Adelaide, but by 1838 free selection was occurring even near the town site, and squatting had begun. Plans to control grazing, first by leasing and then by licensed grazing on commonage, floundered. South Australian authorities confronted unsanctioned grazing along the broad margins of a blueprint.

South Australia first tried to supply cheap pasturage by introducing leases. Individuals who purchased preliminary land orders received a right to lease unoccupied lands. For every forty acres bought, one could lease a square mile. Theoretically, the alienation of land would ultimately restrict the availability of leasehold tracts. However, before that predicament occurred, holders of the first land orders created a stir by demanding a presumed right of first selection of leased lands. They chose their freehold land and laid claim to a substantial leasehold nearby; they exercised a sanctioned version of the squatters' ploy in New South Wales, whereby carefully chosen freeholds controlled "back runs." By late 1838, new immigrants protested against this right of first selection.[95]

The government, eager to attract capital to its "incomparable pastures," revised rules for commonage. Starting in 1840, anyone could lease a square mile for three years. Immediately, this arrangement collapsed, because it assumed boundaries at a time when surveyors faced a hopeless backlog of work. In 1842, new regulations abandoned the assignment of defined areas of commonage and introduced a capitation fee on stock that ran on unalienated crown land. Much commonage had dissolved into squattage. In the early 1840s, new areas of pastoral squatting had begun to open away from the heartland around Adelaide. Choice grazing lands along the Murray River and on the fertile volcanic slopes of Mount Gambier lay temptingly close to expanding pastoral operations in neighboring Port Philip Bay. Before South Australian surveyors could chart outlying areas, grazers had envel-

[93] A measure in 1841 granted ten square miles of commonage for each purchase of 160 acres. Commonage would be reduced as settlers moved in. The home government opposed the plan, alleging that too much commonage retarded land sales. The government of Western Australia introduced other measures favorable to squatters or lessees, only to have the home government veto them. *The Western Australian Journal*, June 19, 1841; *The Perth Gazette*, July 16, July 30, August 6, August 13, August 20, September 10, December 10, 1842; *The South Australian Government Gazette*, August 5, 1843; January 26, 1844. *The Perth Gazette*, December 10, 1842. J. M. R. Cameron, "Land Policies in Pre-Convict Western Australia: Rhetoric and Reality," *Social Sciences Forum* 4 (June 1977): 1–25.

[94] *The South Australian Government Gazette*, August 18, 1842.

[95] *The South Australian Government Gazette*, August 18, 1842; *The South Australian Government Gazette*, July 23, 1840; August 18, 1842.

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oped them with stock. At that moment, in the mid-1840s, all colonies had to reconsider squatting and grazing.[96]

In New South Wales by 1844, commissioners' reports showed that licensing lay in tatters. On the one hand, squatters and commissioners fashioned with inexact boundaries a *de facto* cadastral system that undermined the government's attempts to deny property rights. On the other, squatters actually accepted an open-pasture concept when it suited them, occupying several runs under a single license and stating that the license referred to no run in particular. This ability of squatters to control vast tracts for trivial sums while their property rights grew enraged Gipps, who faced a deadline. The act that empowered commissioners was due to expire in June 1846, after which the crown would labor under a cumbersome legal process if it tried to remove squatters. Squatters, meanwhile, had demands identical to the illegal occupants of the United States' public domain. They wanted compensation for improvements to the land when the government sold it to third parties.[97] In both America and Australia, squatters knew that indemnification could deter buyers and safeguard their own occupation. Further, they wanted preemption—the first option to buy land when the government put it on the market.

During 1844–1846, Governor Gipps and his opponents sparred at home and in England. Still relying on the authority of an act soon to expire, Gipps issued new regulations on April 2, 1844. They required squatters to take out separate licenses for each station, limited the basic size of a station to twenty square miles, and specified that no one license could cover a station capable of depasturing more than 4,000 sheep or 500 cattle. Gipps wanted to control the transfer of licenses and sell them by annual auction. These provocative ideas would have destabilized the squatters' *ad hoc* arrangements for exclusive occupation and transferability. Gipps's 1844 regulations and his radical supplementary thoughts were aimed at breaking up large stations and intensifying the exploitation of land.[98]

Squatters and their urban backers organized public meetings and a petition campaign within days of the publication of the 1844 regulations. In the Legislative Council, squatters' friends established a select committee to inquire into the administration of crown lands. The committee reported what it set out to find: justification for granting more interests in the land to those who had given it its "real value."[99] The Legislative Council also let expire the crucial act that empowered commissioners to eject squatters. At first, the Colonial Office supported Gipps, but in August 1846 the English Parliament passed an act that provided for leases of not more than fourteen years, compensation for improvements, and some

[96] *The South Australian Government Gazette*, August 18, 1842; November 3, 1842. State Archives of South Australia, GRG 24/90, docket 270, Colonial Secretary's Office, docket 270, Charles Bonney, Commissioner of Crown Lands, to Colonial Secretary, November 6, 1843.

[97] 2 Vic., No. 27 continued by 5 Vic., No. 1 gave the commissioners of crown lands the power, as stipendiary justices of the peace, to fine unlicensed squatters summarily and repeatedly. Without the act, the government would have had to give the squatters more legal process. See Gipps to Stanley, April 3, 1844, *HRA*, vol. 23, 517. Squatters wanted remuneration for capital investments, even though they had plundered the land. For their attitudes about improvement, see *Papers Relative to the Occupation of Crown Lands: Minutes of Evidence Taken*, 72, F. Macarthur; 81–82, Oswald Blaxsome.

[98] See Roberts, *Squatters' Age in Australia*, 214–62. *The South Australian Government Gazette*, April 2, 1844. Gipps to Stanley, April 3, 1844, April 4, 1844, *HRA*, vol. 23, 511–14, 518.

[99] *Report of the Select Committee on Crown Land Grievances*, Appendix of Minutes, 1–112. The appendix contained the replies of over 120 justices of the peace who were sent a questionnaire.

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preemption rights. Because leases required some definition of property lines, their actual introduction took years. The interlude of this fifth phase of squatting inspired a host of disputes, for the promise of leasing had changed expectations and upset the equilibrium of squatting.

Squatters quickly took advantage of rare opportunities: a few dashed off deeper into unoccupied lands to grab as much as possible, because they anticipated that leasehold tenure would increase the market value of their runs. Tension increased because creditors disputed whose name really belonged on a license and hence on a future lease. Some grazers had to finalize their boundaries with neighbors. Those who recognized they could lose territory dragged their feet while the government pressed them to describe lands accurately or pay for an official survey.[100] Where squatters calculated that they could turn a quick profit from selling leaseholds or preempted freeholds, they pressed for rights immediately. This happened on the rich soils of the Darling Downs.[101] Near the Victorian gold fields, squatters wanted their interests speedily confirmed so they could raise and sell crops, market leaseholds to miners and settlers, or preempt a portion of their runs and sell the newly acquired freehold. The government used delays to declare numerous government reserves, whose acres it sold. Squatters screamed foul, claiming that as expectant lessees their rights were being infringed.[102] More accurately, their windfall profits had been hijacked. Thus, in the closing days of licensing, squatters and their creditors once more raked up questions of legal interests.

With leases in hand, squatters concluded a transformation of the land from a place of ecological relations mastered by Aborigines to parcels of assets managed by Europeans. As for the Aborigines, they suffered the abduction of their women, European diseases, losses during skirmishes, and local campaigns of genocide. Many who survived and stayed on the grazing frontiers became exploited laborers on sheep and cattle stations.[103]

WAS AUSTRALIA AN AMERICA DOWN UNDER? On Australian and American frontiers of the early nineteenth century, squatters applied natural justice arguments, possession, and political influence to legitimize what had started out as illegal occupation. The impetus for maneuvering was to reap riches quickly. If it is true that wants could be met by producing much or wanting little, the squatters and native peoples had antithetical beliefs. And on account of that, lands were stripped

[100] ANSW, 2/7625, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Liverpool Plains, 1843–47, Manager of Bank of Australasia to Roderick Mitchell, August 11, 1846; James King to Roderick Mitchell, November 1, 1847. ANSW, 4/2759, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Thomas Bell to Colonial Secretary, June 5, 1847; W. C. Mayne to Colonial Secretary, August 7, 1847. State Archives of Queensland, CLO/22, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Darling Downs to Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, September 2, 1850.

[101] ANSW, 4/2759, Colonial Secretary, Letters and Reports Received, Commissioners of Crown Lands, Petition from the Occupiers of Crown Lands at Drayton, Darling Downs, June 10, 1847.

[102] Campbell, *Crown Lands of Australia*, 11–31.

[103] See C. D. Rowley, *Aboriginal Policy and Practice*, Vol. 1: *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society* (Canberra, 1970); Jan Critchett, *A Distant Field of Murder: Western District Frontiers 1834–1848* (Melbourne, 1990). Memoirs and the reports of the commissioners of crown lands contain abundant accounts of the violence. For Aborigines in the pastoral labor force, see Dawn May, *Aboriginal Labour and the Cattle Industry: Queensland from White Settlement to the Present* (Cambridge, 1994).

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from the native peoples. To gain their own legal interests, Australian and American squatters both demanded compensation for improvements and the right of "pre-emption." Here, major similarities end. The legal interests that squatters secured in Australia differed from what American counterparts won in the Old Northwest and prairies. So did the processes for gaining them. Australian squatters did not strive to own all of the land they used. Early on, they realized that they could control ample territory by a few judicious purchases; later, they accepted leasehold rather than freehold. Additionally, the high prices for crown land precluded general purchasing for grazing. Whereas American squatters were small operators or professed that status, the Australians started big. A temperate environment, decent soil, and democratic ideology favored smallholders in the Old Northwest and on the prairies; aridity and the legitimacy of social stratification in British colonies favored "squattocracy" in Australia.

What happened in New South Wales had its counterparts in South Australia and Western Australia. Experiences were similar around the arid continent. However, in the United States, the Old Northwest and prairies represented merely a pair of many frontier patterns. Instead of comparing Australian squatters with those on American bottom lands and the prairies, two other groups that established possession could have been selected: the American stockmen who "liberated" Texas or the grazers on the high plains. Stock raising in harsh environments required cheap and extensive territory. Mexican land grants provided this to grazers. Therefore, Americans swarmed into Texas at about the same time as grazers were squatting within the Limits in Australia. Many Americans in Texas were squatters. In the early 1830s, Mexico estranged both the legitimate and unauthorized American grazers with acts hostile toward their indirect invasion. Mexican officials shared the apprehension of British administrators in Australia who saw land being lost to unauthorized occupants. After their successful revolt, the American leaders of the Republic of Texas distributed public lands recklessly.[104] The ranchers who entered the high plains in the 1860s controlled land under a system that resembled that of Australian licensing without the commissioners of crown land. By the late 1860s, they occupied parts of the public domain and later took out licenses that conveyed no interests.

American grazers rejected the Australian leasehold model "on the high ground of principle and outraged references to entails, federal landlordism, and tyrannical officialdom."[105] To avoid federal rents, they relinquished legal interests. These interests may not have mattered to cattlemen, because their associations regulated access to the open range by intimidation, the occasional range war, and their management of annual stock round-ups. Later in the nineteenth century, like Australian counterparts, they also secured water rights to control grazing areas. Grazers on the high plains evaded the modest impress of official order that Sydney officials had attempted when they combined licensing with supervision by commis-

[104] Thomas Lloyd Miller, *The Public Lands of Texas, 1591–1970* (Norman, Okla., 1972), 12–30; David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American Southwest under Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1982), 158–78, 242–72.

[105] United States Public Lands Commission, *Report of the Public Lands Commission Created by the Act of March 3, 1879, Relating to Public Land in the Western Portion of the United States and the Operation of the Existing Land Laws* (Washington, D.C., 1880), 544.

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sioners of crown lands. Colonial administrators in Australia were more authoritarian than republican politicians; the English social model of landlords and tenants was not anathema to them.

Environment and culture conditioned how land seizures were undertaken. That Texas, the high plains, and Australia—what looked like similar environments—produced discrete forms of squatting suggests that culture influenced the details of several nineteenth-century land grabs. Environment, too, made a difference on the American high plains. The harsh winters at higher altitudes made ranchers staunch supporters of open ranges, so they could move their stock down to winter pastures. Texas ranchers favored an open range, so they could drive stock to the railheads. Divisions among American grazers who could not agree on a new system of usufruct on the public domain contributed to the persistence of licensing.[106] These and other details should not be ignored, but they do not add up to a unique experience.

The cardinal judgment is not that the settlements of America and Australia were different but that, in both places, squatters' struggles for interests in the land defeated government schemes. Personal ambition and greed trampled over the rules of allocation. Comparisons, wrote Donald Denoon, "can reveal with unusual clarity precisely what is unique to a particular society, and remind us of the human abilities and weaknesses which are common to us all."[107] Squatting reminds us of the cunning abilities and moral weaknesses evinced by pioneers who seized new world lands.

[106] U.S. Public Lands Commission, *Report of the Public Lands Commission*, 544. John Clay, *My Life on the Range* (1924; rpt. ed., New York, 1961), 188.
[107] Denoon, *Settler Capitalism*, 16.

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War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany

ROBERT G. MOELLER

IN 1995, A HALF-CENTURY after the end of World War II, battles over its meaning still raged. In the United States, veterans' groups and the U.S. Senate roundly condemned the National Air and Space Museum's plan to use an exhibition on the *Enola Gay* mission as an occasion to discuss the broader implications of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, triggering an extended public dispute over the political uses of history and climaxing with the decision to cancel the originally planned exhibition.[1] In Japan, the fiftieth anniversary of defeat focused new attention on the question of Japanese war responsibility, war crimes, and the compensation of victims; it also allowed victims of atomic bombs to offer a different perspective on the war's end.[2] And in Europe from London to Moscow, from the beaches of Normandy to the gates of Auschwitz, public ceremonies allowed participants to relive old memories and retell a broad range of different stories of the spring of 1945. Heads of state and historians discussed endlessly how best to commemorate May 8, and the debates made extraordinarily explicit the fact that history, public memory, politics, and national identity are intertwined.

Public controversy over the meaning of May 1945 in Germany was thus not exceptional, but it is not surprising that in the nation whose history included

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[1] Richard H. Kohn, "History and the Culture Wars: The Case of the Smithsonian Institution's *Enola Gay* Exhibition," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995): 1036–63, part of a special issue that devoted considerable space to a discussion of the controversy; also see Nicholas D. Kristof, "The Bomb: An Act That Haunts Japan and America," *New York Times*, August 6, 1995; Ian Buruma, "The War over the Bomb," *New York Review of Books* 42, no. 14 (September 21, 1995): 26–34.

[2] Nicholas D. Kristof, "Japan Divided on Apology to Asians," *New York Times*, March 6, 1995; Kristof, "Japan Confronting Gruesome War Atrocity," *New York Times*, March 17, 1995; Kristof, "Why Japan Hasn't Said That Word," *New York Times*, May 7, 1995; Kristof, "Japan Expresses Regret of a Sort for the War," *New York Times*, June 7, 1995; Teresa Watanabe and Mary Williams Walsh, "Facing the Demons of War Guilt," *Los Angeles Times*, August 13, 1995; and Charles Smith, "War and Remembrance," *Far Eastern Economic Review* (August 25, 1994): 22–26. My thanks to Katherine Ragsdale for calling my attention to these references. See also John W. Dower, "Triumphal and Tragic Narratives of the War in Asia," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995): 1130–31; and Michael J. Hogan, ed., *Hiroshima in History and Memory* (Cambridge, 1996).

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National Socialism, reflecting on the war's end involved particularly wrenching soul-searching. The politics of commemoration in Germany also vividly revealed that disputes over the meaning of World War II necessarily reflected how memories of the war had taken shape since 1945; old soldiers were not all dead and neither were the war stories that had become part of public memory in the first postwar decade.

A high point in the extended public debate over how best to remember the destruction of the Third Reich came on April 7, 1995; in an advertisement in one of Germany's most important newspapers, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, some three hundred prominent German citizens, among them politicians, journalists, and academics, called on the public to remember May 8 as a day of liberation and destruction. Quoting the first president of the Federal Republic, Theodor Heuss, the ad referred to the war's end as "the most tragic and questionable paradox for all of us." May 1945 brought an end to Nazi terror, but, the ad explained, it also marked "the beginning of the terror of the expulsion and a new oppression in the East and the origin of the division of our country." The ad exhorted readers to guard "against forgetting" (*Gegen das Vergessen*) and made it clear that they should remember more than one German past.[3]

In the spring of 1995, it was easy to dismiss such views as the expression of the resentment of a neoconservative minority still able to mention May 8 as the "beginning of terror" without explicitly naming those for whom the destruction of the Third Reich meant terror's end. Other press reports emphasized the huge number of public ceremonies and museum exhibitions in which Germans not only alluded to Nazi crimes but also took care to remember the names and faces of the victims of the Third Reich.[4] However, a public opinion poll conducted by the weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel* indicated that many Germans shared the view that the "paradox" of 1945 was effectively captured by juxtaposing forms of terror and fates of victims. When asked, "Was the expulsion of the Germans from the East just as great a crime against humanity as the Holocaust against the Jews?" 36 percent of all Germans and 40 percent of those over sixty-five answered yes.[5]

Appeals to establish the equivalence of German victims and the victims of Germans were not new; they conformed with established patterns of public memory in the Federal Republic. In this article, I argue that the competing pasts that circulated in a unified Germany in 1995 clearly echoed strains heard everywhere in West Germany in the late 1940s and early 1950s.[6] In the newly created Federal

[3] "8. Mai 1945: Gegen das Vergessen," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 7, 1995. My thanks to Thomas Schmitz, who first called my attention to the ad.

[4] Stephen Kinzer, "Germans More Willing to Confront Nazi Crimes," *New York Times*, May 1, 1995; and "Lust am Erinnern," *Der Spiegel* no. 17 (April 24, 1995): 18–21. For less optimistic analyses of the "Initiative 8. Mai 1945," the group responsible for the April 7 advertisement, see Ralph Giordano, "Auch die Unfähigkeit zu trauern ist unteilbar," *die tageszeitung*, April 18, 1995; Richard Herzigen, "Strategen der Retourkutsche," *die tageszeitung*, April 15–16, 1995; and Mary Williams Walsh, "V-E Day Events Present Paradox for German Psyche," *Los Angeles Times*, May 5, 1995.

[5] See "Die Jungen denken anders," *Der Spiegel* no. 19 (May 8, 1995): 76–77; also William Tuohy, "German Leader Stirs Flap as Britons Recall Beating Nazis," *Los Angeles Times*, May 7, 1995; Roger Boyes, "What Did You Do in the War, Hans?" *The Times*, May 6, 1995; Stephen Kinzer, "Allies and Former Enemies Gather to Pledge Peace," *New York Times*, May 9, 1995.

[6] This article does not address the forms of commemorating the war's end in the former German Democratic Republic. For a comparative perspective on the late 1940s and 1950s in the two Germanies,

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In the last year of World War II and the immediate postwar period, some 12 million Germans were expelled from Eastern Europe and the parts of Germany that were added to postwar Poland. Entire villages often organized "treks" for the long march to the west, and, by 1950, nearly two-thirds of the expellees lived in the Federal Republic of Germany. Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, 84/14/7.

Republic, many West Germans sought to account for the horrors of what Chancellor Konrad Adenauer called the "saddest chapter" in their history; they acknowledged that crimes had been committed "in the name of the German people."[7] But they paid even more attention to crimes committed against Germans, crimes that, according to some contemporary accounts, were comparable to the crimes of Germans against the Jews. The most important representatives of German victimhood were the women, men, and children who left or were driven out of Eastern Europe by the Red Army at the war's end and others in German uniform

see Jürgen Danyel, "Die geteilte Vergangenheit: Gesellschaftliche Ausgangslagen und politische Dispositionen für den Umgang mit Nationalsozialismus und Widerstand in beiden deutschen Staaten nach 1949," in *Historische DDR-Forschung: Aufsätze und Studien*, Jürgen Kocka, ed. (Berlin, 1993), 129–47; and Werner Bergmann, Rainer Erb, and Albert Lichtblau, eds., *Schwieriges Erbe: Der Umgang mit dem Nationalsozialismus und Antisemitismus in Österreich, der DDR und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995).

[7] *Verhandlungen des deutschen Bundestages* (Bonn, 1950) (hereafter, *VDBT*) (1.) Deutscher Bundestag, 252. Sitzung, March 4, 1953, 12092.

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for whom the war ended with captivity in the Soviet Union. There were some 12 million expellees, nearly two-thirds of whom resided in the Federal Republic in 1950. According to contemporary sources, over 3 million German soldiers had spent some time in Soviet hands, and of them, more than a million reportedly died before release.[8] These groups were joined by their common experience of a direct confrontation with the Red Army; they were eyewitnesses to the war on the eastern front, a front that moved steadily westward in late 1944 and early 1945.

This article takes issue with the widely held opinion that, in the 1950s, the citizens of the Federal Republic largely avoided all memories of the years of Nazi rule. In one famous formulation of this view, Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich, writing in 1967, described the unwillingness of their fellow West Germans to confront their accountability for the National Socialist past, what they called the German "inability to mourn." Using Freudian categories to analyze the postwar German psyche, the Mitscherlichs argued that, after 1945, Germans *should* have come to an understanding of their deep identification with Hitler and the "national community" (*Volksgemeinschaft*), thus acknowledging their responsibility for crimes committed by the regime they had supported in overwhelming numbers. Leaving this difficult history behind was made possible by a massive self-investment in the "expansion and modernization of our industrial potential right down to the kitchen utensils." In the psychic economy that the Mitscherlichs described, creating for the future was a way to avoid the past.[9]

With few exceptions, variations on the Mitscherlichs' theme have become part of most accounts of the Federal Republic's first decade; West Germans are typically depicted as repressing or denying their responsibility for the triumph of National Socialism and the horrors that the Nazi regime inflicted on the rest of the world.[10]

[8] Kurt W. Böhme, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in sowjetischer Hand: Eine Bilanz* (Munich, 1966), 151. A lower estimate of 2.3 to 2.8 million is offered by Stefan Karner, "Verlorene Jahre: Deutsche Kriegsgefangene und Internierte im Archipel GUPWI," in *Kriegsgefangene—Voennoplennye: Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene in Deutschland, Deutsche Kriegsgefangene in der Sowjetunion*, Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik, ed. (Düsseldorf, 1995), 59; also Karner, *Im Archipel GUPVI: Kriegsgefangenschaft und Internierung in der Sowjetunion 1941–1956* (Munich, 1995), 9. Recent revelations in Russian archives may call for an upward revision of the number of prisoners of war and suggest that all previous counts are estimates at best. See Günther Wagenlehner, "Zweimal einem Wahn geopfert," *Das Parlament* nos. 18–19 (April 28–May 5, 1995): 7. In general, on expellees, see Gerhard Reichling, "Flucht und Vertreibung der Deutschen: Statistische Grundlage und terminologische Probleme," in *Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene in der westdeutschen Nachkriegsgeschichte: Bilanzierung der Forschung und Perspektiven für die künftige Forschungsarbeit*, Rainer Schulze, Doris von der Brelie-Lewien, and Helga Grebing, eds. (Hildesheim, 1987), 46–56.

[9] Alexander Mitscherlich and Margarete Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern: Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens* (Munich, 1967), 19. I have also benefited greatly from the lucid discussion of Eric L. Santner, *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory, and Film in Postwar Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), 1–6. See also Theodor W. Adorno, "What Does Coming to Terms with the Past Mean?" in *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective*, Geoffrey Hartmann, ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 114–29.

[10] See, for example, the characteristic formulation of this position in Wolfgang Benz, "Postwar Society and National Socialism: Remembrance, Amnesia, Rejection," *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 19 (1990): 2. For critical perspectives, see Hermann Graml, "Die verdrängte Auseinandersetzung mit dem Nationalsozialismus," in *Zäsuren nach 1945: Essays zur Periodisierung der deutschen Nachkriegsgeschichte*, Martin Broszat, ed. (Munich, 1990), 169–83; Manfred Kittel, *Die Legende von der "zweiten Schuld": Vergangenheitsbewältigung in der Ära Adenauer* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993); Christa Hoffmann, *Stunden Null? Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Deutschland 1945 bis 1989* (Bonn, 1992); Udo Wengst, "Geschichtswissenschaft und 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung' in Deutschland nach 1945 und nach 1989/90," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 46 (1995): 189–205; and, focusing particularly on the ways in which women's experiences as victims became central to the definition of a West German

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In the early summer of 1943, some 52,000 German soldiers were marched through the streets of Moscow on their way to Soviet prisoner-of-war camps. According to contemporary estimates, over 3 million German soldiers spent some time in Soviet captivity. Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, GX1939, SU-59, EO406/22/9N.

However, the apparent failure of West Germans to pay the high psychic costs demanded by the Mitscherlichs did not mean that they fled headlong from the past

national identity in the first postwar decade, Elizabeth Heineman, "The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany's 'Crisis Years' and West German National Identity," *AHR* 101 (April 1996): 354–95.

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or suffered from collective amnesia. There were many accounts of Germany's "most recent history" that circulated in the 1950s; remembering selectively was not the same as forgetting.

An analysis of how the destruction of National Socialism was understood, described, and commemorated in the early history of the Federal Republic can illuminate how certain patterns for ordering the "paradox" of May 1945 emerged as soon as the shooting stopped. This article describes how in the first postwar decade the stories of expellees from eastern Germany and Eastern Europe and German prisoners of war imprisoned in the Soviet Union were crafted into rhetorics of victimization in the arena of public policy and in the writing of "contemporary history" (*Zeitgeschichte*). West Germans collectively mourned the suffering of these groups, and their experiences became central to one important version of the legacy of the war: their private memories structured public memory, making stories of Communist brutality and the loss of the "German East" crucial parts of the history of the Federal Republic. Focusing on German suffering also made it possible to talk about the end of the Third Reich without assessing responsibility for its origins, to tell an abbreviated story of National Socialism in which all Germans were ultimately victims of a war that Hitler started but everyone lost.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, West Germans came to a much more critical understanding of National Socialism. Memories of German victimization, dominant in the 1950s, were challenged by accounts in which Nazi crimes and the victimization of others by Germans were central. Still, this complication of public memory never meant the complete silencing or forgetting of another version of the past in which Germans had suffered as much as Jews and others, persecuted by National Socialism. Seen against the background of the history of certain forms of public memory in the 1950s, it becomes apparent that when themes of German victimization surfaced in the mid-1980s and 1990s, they represented nothing particularly novel but rather the return of the (never completely) repressed.

COMPETING PASTS OF THE VICTIMS of World War II pervaded public policy debates in the early history of the Federal Republic. When Konrad Adenauer first addressed the newly elected parliament in September 1949, the chancellor expressed his concern about nascent anti-Semitic tendencies in West Germany and his sense of profound disbelief that "after all that has happened in our time, there should still be people in Germany who persecute or hate Jews because they are Jews." Just as troubling to Adenauer, however, was another past that lived on in the present, a past in which others were persecuted because they were German. Heading the list were "1.5 to 2 million German prisoners-of-war," whose whereabouts were unknown but who were most likely in the Soviet Union or elsewhere in Eastern Europe; expellees, "whose deaths number in the millions"; and other ethnic Germans still held against their will by East European Communist governments. Honoring the dead, bringing home the POWs and others unjustly held, and meeting

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"Our Prisoners of War and the [Civilian Prisoners] Deportees Accuse." The German prisoner of war in Soviet hands became an important symbol of the postwar Communist brutality against Germans. In the early 1950s, West Germans had to defend themselves against charges of their own crimes against others during World War II, but they also played the role of the accuser, indicting postwar Communist governments that continued to imprison German soldiers and civilians. Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

the needs of all German victims of the war were essential parts of a just social contract in a new democratic republic.[11]

In the first electoral period of the West German parliament, the years 1949–1953, the Bundestag addressed these multiple pasts. In 1949, some critics were skeptical that Adenauer's government would adequately address the obligations of Germans to compensate those persecuted by the National Socialist regime. However, by the time the West German parliament ratified a treaty providing for the payment of reparations to Israel almost four years later, there was no question that the Christian Democratic chancellor was politically committed to reconciliation with the state that was home to many of the survivors of Nazi attempts to murder all European Jews.[12] In September 1951, Adenauer announced officially that "the

[11] *VDBT* (1.) Deutscher Bundestag, 5. Sitzung, September 20, 1949, 27–29.
[12] For a good account, see Lily Gardner Feldman, *The Special Relationship between West Germany*

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This poster was reproduced from a special Christmas 1947 edition of a daily newspaper. The caption reads, "Don't Forget them . . . The loneliest of our people . . . The prisoners of war throughout the world . . . The expellees and the homeless." The poster indicates the ways in which victims' fates were associated. When Germans were warned to guard "against forgetting" in May 1995, the admonition clearly echoed themes of the immediate postwar period. Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

Federal Government and with it the great majority of the German people are aware of the immeasurable suffering that was brought upon the Jews in Germany and the occupied territories during the time of National Socialism . . . [U]nspeakable crimes were committed in the name of the German people, and these oblige [us] to make

and Israel (Boston, 1984), 32–86; also Kai von Jena, "Versöhnung mit Israel? Die deutschisraelischen Verhandlungen bis zum Wiedergutmachungsabkommen von 1952," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 34 (1986): 457–80; Yeshayahu A. Jelinek, "Political Acumen, Altruism, Foreign Pressure or Moral Debt: Konrad Adenauer and the 'Shilumim,'" *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 19 (1990): 77–102; Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust*, Haim Watzman, trans. (New York, 1994), 189–252; and on postwar West German anti-Semitism, Frank Stern's superb study, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany*, William Templer, trans. (Oxford, 1992).

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moral and material amends [*Wiedergutmachung*]."[13] Adenauer's passive construction "were committed" carefully differentiated between guilt and responsibility; crimes had been committed, but no criminals were named. Nonetheless, the chancellor left no doubt that West Germans must squarely confront the claims of Jewish victims.

West Germany's official overture to Israel met considerable domestic opposition from those who questioned the need for payments to persecuted Jews; Adenauer faced not only hostile public opinion but the resolute resistance of leading members of his own party, who claimed that reparations exceeded the means of an impoverished postwar Germany and that compensation for Jewish victims would spark resentment among Germans and a resurgence of anti-Semitism.[14] The chancellor's motives in overcoming these impediments to the reparations treaty, pushing through approval by the cabinet and ratification by the Bundestag in March 1953, are subject to more than one interpretation. There is much evidence that Adenauer was ultimately driven by his desire to convince the Western Allies that Germany would confront its moral obligations for the past in order to gain full acceptance as an equal partner in the postwar Western alliance. Negotiations with Israel also ran parallel to deliberations over West German integration into a West European defense alliance; they tied Germans' "moral rearmament" to the military rearmament of the West German state. In other accounts and in his memoirs, Adenauer's actions expressed firmly held convictions, not a response to Allied expectations and pressure. Ultimately, whatever the balance between sincerely held moral beliefs and political realism, it is difficult to imagine that without the chancellor's forceful intervention the West German parliament would have ratified the reparations agreement with Israel.[15]

The West German state also acknowledged the "saddest chapter" in its history by addressing the demands for compensation from others persecuted by the Nazis and still resident in the Federal Republic. In the same year that it ratified the treaty with Israel, the parliament approved legislation that built on state initiatives, particularly in the U.S. zone of occupation, and established a national framework to address individual claims for restitution from these other victims of the Nazis.

Constantin Goschler analyzes and documents in detail the West German attempts to "make good" (*Wiedergutmachung*) the harm done by National Socialism and shows the clear limits most West Germans placed on what constituted "racial, religious, or political" persecution during the Third Reich. Victims not forgotten but explicitly excluded from these categories included gay men, subjects of forced sterilization, foreign slave workers, violators of racist laws against sexual relations

[13] Quoted in Rolf Vogel, ed., *Deutschlands Weg nach Israel: Eine Dokumentation mit einem Geleitwort von Konrad Adenauer* (Stuttgart, 1967), 36.

[14] See Stern, *Whitewashing*, 372; and Michael Wolffsohn, "Das Wiedergutmachungsabkommen mit Israel: Eine Untersuchung bundesdeutscher und ausländischer Umfragen," in *Westdeutschland 1945–1955: Unterwerfung, Kontrolle, Integration*, Ludolf Herbst, ed. (Munich, 1986), 206–07.

[15] The chief advocate of the position that Adenauer had little to gain from the Allies and acted out of genuine moral convictions is Michael Wolffsohn. See, for example, Wolffsohn, "Globalentschädigung für Israel und die Juden? Adenauer und die Opposition in der Bundesregierung," in *Wiedergutmachung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Ludolf Herbst and Constantin Goschler, eds. (Munich, 1989), 171–89. Most other interpretations place a far greater emphasis on the international context in general and American pressure in particular. See, for example, Jelinek, "Political Acumen."

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between "Aryans" and "non-Aryans," and for the most part Sinti and Roma.[16] These exclusions revealed a West German tendency to equate racial persecution exclusively with anti-Semitism and to collapse National Socialist atrocities into the mass extermination of the Jews.[17] Even with these limitations, however, the law to provide compensation to the victims of Nazi crimes encountered substantial criticism from many West German citizens and state officials,[18] and again, it was Adenauer's intervention and the solid support of opposition Social Democrats that provided the majority sufficient to override popular and official resistance to the compensation scheme.

Public discussion of restitution for victims of National Socialism and reparations for Israel revealed how divided West Germans remained over their responsibility for the atrocities of the Third Reich. However, the treaty with Israel and the establishment of an institutional framework to acknowledge the loss and suffering of other victims of "racial, religious, or political" persecution represented the explicit admission that the Nazi state had committed crimes "in the name of the German people." Particularly in the first four years of its history, the West German parliament, and Adenauer, did not entirely avoid or repress this part of the past.

Acknowledgment of Jewish victims of National Socialist crimes was directed at an international audience, but it also made it easier for the Bonn government to acknowledge German victims of the Red Army and postwar Communism. In the process, the fates of these two victim groups were frequently linked. On the agenda of the same session in which Bundestag delegates debated the final form of the treaty with Israel were initiatives to address the problems of those fleeing from the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany and those expelled from Eastern Europe.[19] The ghosts of victims, some Jewish, some German, often seemed to hover in the halls of parliament, competing for recognition. Victims were also joined by a language of "millions," a denomination associated with Jewish victims of National Socialism, prisoners of war in the Soviet Union, and expellees.[20] In debates over compensation for veterans returning from prisoner-of-war camps, Margarete Hütter, a staff member of the German Office for Peace (Deutsches Büro für Friedensfragen) could group together the prisoners of war, "the representative of the sacrifice brought by all Germans," with the "victim of the concentration camp." These

[16] See Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany, 1933–1945* (Cambridge, 1991), 125–57. In general, see Constantin Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung: Westdeutschland und die Verfolgten des Nationalsozialismus (1950–1954)* (Munich, 1992); also Christian Pross, *Wiedergutmachung: Der Kleinkrieg gegen die Opfer* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988); Herbst and Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*; Alf Lüdtke, " 'Coming to Terms with the Past': Illusions of Remembering, Ways of Forgetting Nazism in West Germany," *Journal of Modern History* 65 (1993): 562–70; Robert G. Moeller, "The Homosexual Man Is a 'Man,' the Homosexual Woman is a 'Woman': Sex, Society, and the Law in Postwar West Germany," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4 (1994): 395–429; and Lutz Wiegand, "Kriegsfolgengesetzgebung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 35 (1995): 73–77. The Sinti and Roma people are those referred to colloquially as Gypsies.

[17] Anson Rabinbach, "The Jewish Question in the German Question," in *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust, and the Historians' Debate*, Peter Baldwin, ed. (Boston, 1990), 49–51.

[18] Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 94, 169–70, 201.

[19] *VDBT* (1.) Deutscher Bundestag, 252. Sitzung, March 4, 1953, 12084–90; *VDBT*, 254. Sitzung, March 18, 1953, 12236–51.

[20] Konrad Wittmann, *VDBT* (1.) Deutscher Bundestag, 115. Sitzung, January 31, 1951, 4374. Wittmann had been expelled from the Sudetenland after the war.

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The refusal of the Soviet Union to provide an accurate count of German soldiers and civilians held after the end of the war allowed West German estimates to escalate. This poster, issued by the Social Democratic Party, calls on the Soviet government to "Release Them" and refers to the "5,000,000 Who Are Missing." Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

groups were the "most tragic figures of the politics of the Third Reich," both victims of Hitler's Germany.[21]

The rhetoric of German victimization and Soviet barbarism could be traced back to the last years of the war.[22] New, however, in the postwar years was the explicit

[21] Margarete Hütter, *VDBT* (1.) Deutscher Bundestag, 271. Sitzung, June 12, 1953, 13430.
[22] Marlis G. Steinert, *Hitler's War and the Germans: Public Mood and Attitude during the Second*

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equation of the suffering of German victims and victims of Germans. Jews and Germans had experienced the same forms of persecution, argued Adenauer's minister of transportation, the German Party (Deutsche Partei) member Hans-Christoph Seebohm, because "the methods that were used by the National Socialist leaders against the Jews and that we most vehemently condemn are on a par with the methods that were used against the German expellees."[23] German expellees became another category of victims driven from their historic homelands because of their "ethnicity" (*Volkszugehörigkeit*); Jews persecuted by Germans were one group of victims among others.[24]

If compensation for Jewish victims was part of a West German strategy to gain favor with the Western Allies, measures to meet the needs of German victims were not. Indeed, the parliamentary discussions of German suffering unified all political parties in sharp criticism of the Western forces of postwar occupation, which were depicted as doing nothing to meet the needs of these groups; rather, the British and Americans were taken to task for viewing German losses through the distorted lens of theories of "collective guilt."[25] To be sure, in the early 1950s, descriptions of German suffering were more likely to portray the losses inflicted on Germans by the Red Army than cities destroyed by U.S. and British bomber pilots; it is not surprising that in the context of the Cold War, attacking the Soviet Union—past and present—was far easier than recounting the sins of former enemies who were now allies. However, in some cases, criticism of the Soviet Union was also a medium for denouncing the postwar settlement and the Western Allies who had unquestioningly accepted it. West Germans charged that by endorsing the mandatory removal of millions of Germans from areas in Eastern Europe seized by the Red Army and doing nothing to meet the needs of German victims of the war, the Allies had responded to Nazi injustice with unjust acts of no less consequence,[26] leaving Germans "to dish out the soup that the military governments had prepared."[27]

In a host of federal programs aimed at meeting the needs of "war-damaged" groups, particularly expellees and veterans, and, among them, prisoners of war, the West German state set out to "equalize the burdens" of the arbitrary consequences

World War, Thomas E. J. de Witt, ed. and trans. (Athens, Ohio, 1977), 287; and Wolfram Wette, "Das Russlandbild in der NS-Propaganda: Ein Problemaufriss," in *Das Russlandbild im Dritten Reich*, Hans-Erich Volkmann, ed. (Cologne, 1994), 75.

[23] Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 203.

[24] See, for example, Richard Reitzner, *VDBT* (1.) Deutscher Bundestag, 254. Sitzung, March 18, 1953, 12236. Reitzner had been active in the Czech Social Democratic Party until his emigration to England in 1938.

[25] In general, on the ways in which opposition to Allied occupation provided a basis for unity, spanning the political spectrum, see Barbara Marshall, "German Attitudes to British Military Government 1945–1947," *Journal of Contemporary History* 15 (1980): 655–84; and Josef Foschepoth, "Zur deutschen Reaktion auf Niederlage und Besatzung," in Herbst, *Westdeutschland 1945–1955*, 151–65.

[26] Representative of the ubiquitous charge that the Potsdam Agreement had created the enormous expellee problem are the comments of Eugen Gerstenmaier, *VDBT* (1.) Deutscher Bundestag, 48. Sitzung, March 17, 1950, 1657.

[27] Hans Merten, *VDBT* (1.) Deutscher Bundestag, 233. Sitzung, October 9, 1952, 10680. I am much indebted to the insightful analysis of James M. Diehl, *The Thanks of the Fatherland: German Veterans after the Second World War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993). See also Michael L. Hughes, "Restitution and Democracy in Germany after Two World Wars," *Contemporary European History* 4 (1994): 1–18; and Reinhold Schillinger, *Der Entscheidungsprozess beim Lastenausgleich 1945–1952* (St. Katharinen, 1985).

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of the war. A host of social-welfare measures sought to mediate the differences between the woman whose husband had come back from the war and the woman whose husband had not, between veterans who were permitted to return immediately after the end of fighting and prisoners of war, between POWs in Soviet and Western Allied hands, between POWs whose former homes were now "behind the iron curtain" and those who had lived in western Germany before the war, and between "new citizens" (*Neubürger*), driven from their homes in Eastern Europe, and West Germans who had suffered no such dramatic displacement.[28] Achieving some measure of social justice among those who had suffered little or nothing and those who had lost everything emerged as a key measure of the legitimacy of the West German state.[29]

In the process of identifying the needs of war veterans and expellees, the West German state also allowed German victims to act for themselves, represent their own interests, and shape policy. After World War I, veterans and others who had suffered most from the war and the economic instability of the early postwar years had perceived themselves to be excluded from parliamentary deliberations of compensation for their losses; their resentment translated into loud attacks on the "Weimar system."[30] In the Bonn republic, mass organizations of expellees and veterans quickly emerged as important actors in negotiations over how best to meet their needs. Their interests were also represented in a cabinet-level office established to be the advocate for Expellees, Refugees and War-Damaged (Bundesministerium für Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge und Kriegsgeschädigte), and they spoke from the floor of the Bundestag as members of all major political parties.[31]

Despite the broad consensus favoring payments to German victims of the war and the expulsion, no victim group received everything it wanted. Finance Minister Fritz Schäffer constantly reminded his colleagues that Germany was a poor nation, barely able to contribute to containing Communism in the present, let alone to pay for Communism's past crimes against expellees and POWs.[32] Discontent over a glass half-empty, however, did not lead to massive political opposition to the Bonn government as it had to the Weimar Republic. In part, this was because veterans and expellees, the two most effectively organized groups claiming compensation,

[28] Hans Günter Hockerts, "Integration der Gesellschaft: Gründungskrise und Sozialpolitik in der frühen Bundesrepublik," *Zeitschrift für Sozialreform* 32 (1986): 25–41; and on the law to "equalize burdens," Schillinger, *Der Entscheidungsprozess*.

[29] The most detailed study of the *Lastenausgleichsgesetz* is offered by Schillinger, *Der Entscheidungsprozess*; see also Wiegand, "Kriegsfolgengesetzgebung," 77–90. And on measures for veterans, see Diehl, *Thanks*.

[30] On Weimar, see Michael L. Hughes, *Paying for the German Inflation* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988); and Hughes, "Restitution and Democracy."

[31] Diehl, *Thanks*, provides an excellent account of those organizations that represented veteran interests; on expellee organizations, see also Schillinger, *Der Entscheidungsprozess*, 150–51, 183–86, 204; Marx Hildebert Boehm, "Gruppenbildung und Organisationswesen," in *Die Vertriebenen in Westdeutschland: Ihre Eingliederung und ihr Einfluss auf Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Politik und Geistesleben*, Eugen Lemberg and Friedrich Edding, eds., 3 vols. (Kiel, 1959), 1: 523–605; Wolf Donner, *Die sozial- und staatspolitische Tätigkeit der Kriegsopferverbände* (Berlin, 1960); and Hermann Weiss, "Die Organisation der Vertriebenen und ihre Presse," in *Die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten: Ursache, Ereignisse, Folgen*, Wolfgang Benz, ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), 193–202.

[32] See, for example, Bundesministerium der Finanzen, *Flüchtlingslasten und Verteidigungsbeitrag: Zwei sich ergänzende und begrenzende Belastungen* (n.p., 1951); also Schäffer's comments, *VDBT* (1.) Deutscher Bundestag, 115. Sitzung, January 31, 1951, 4340.

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had been asked to participate in defining solutions for their own problems and had achieved at least something of what they were after. As James Diehl has convincingly argued in his analysis of those policies aimed specifically at veterans, the West German government also won acceptance for its initiatives to "equalize the burdens" of the war and compensate the "war-damaged" by stressing that it had crafted programs that were singularly German, grounded in the best tradition of the German social-welfare system and seen as the essential corrective to punitive polices imposed by the Allies in the years of postwar occupation.[33]

Defining the just claims and rights to entitlement of some and the moral obligations of others was part of establishing the bases for social solidarity in West Germany. The Germany that committed crimes against others was an aberration; it was succeeded by a Germany that helped to ease German suffering. All major political parties could agree on the version of the legacy of National Socialism embodied in parliamentary discussions of the victims of the expulsion and the survivors of Soviet captivity; the suffering of these groups remained outside the realm of party-political wrangling. The deep divisions between Social Democrats and Adenauer's government were at least momentarily bridged by a shared relationship to the lasting consequences of a common past.

FOR THE WEST GERMAN STATE, acknowledging the pasts of expellees and prisoners of war not only involved assessing material need, it also included ensuring that the testimonies of these groups would become part of West Germany's public memory. In the case of those driven out of Eastern Europe, the Bonn government pledged to preserve the "cultural values" of the expellees by incorporating the history of Germans in Eastern Europe into West German school curricula and establishing a series of research institutes for the scholarly study of the Central European past and present. The state formally acknowledged that it would be essential to educate West Germans about the history of Germans in Eastern and Central Europe, who were now the "new citizens" in a democratic republic.[34]

West Germans were also constantly reminded of the soldiers for whom the war on the eastern front had been followed by the battle to survive Soviet captivity; those German POWs still in the Soviet Union were never far from public view. Newspaper stories describing "Graves and Barbed Wire: The Fate of Millions"[35] evoked images of millions of German POWs, not millions of victims of concentration camps; annual days of remembrance for POWs called attention to those Germans for whom the war was not yet over.[36] Little more than five years after the

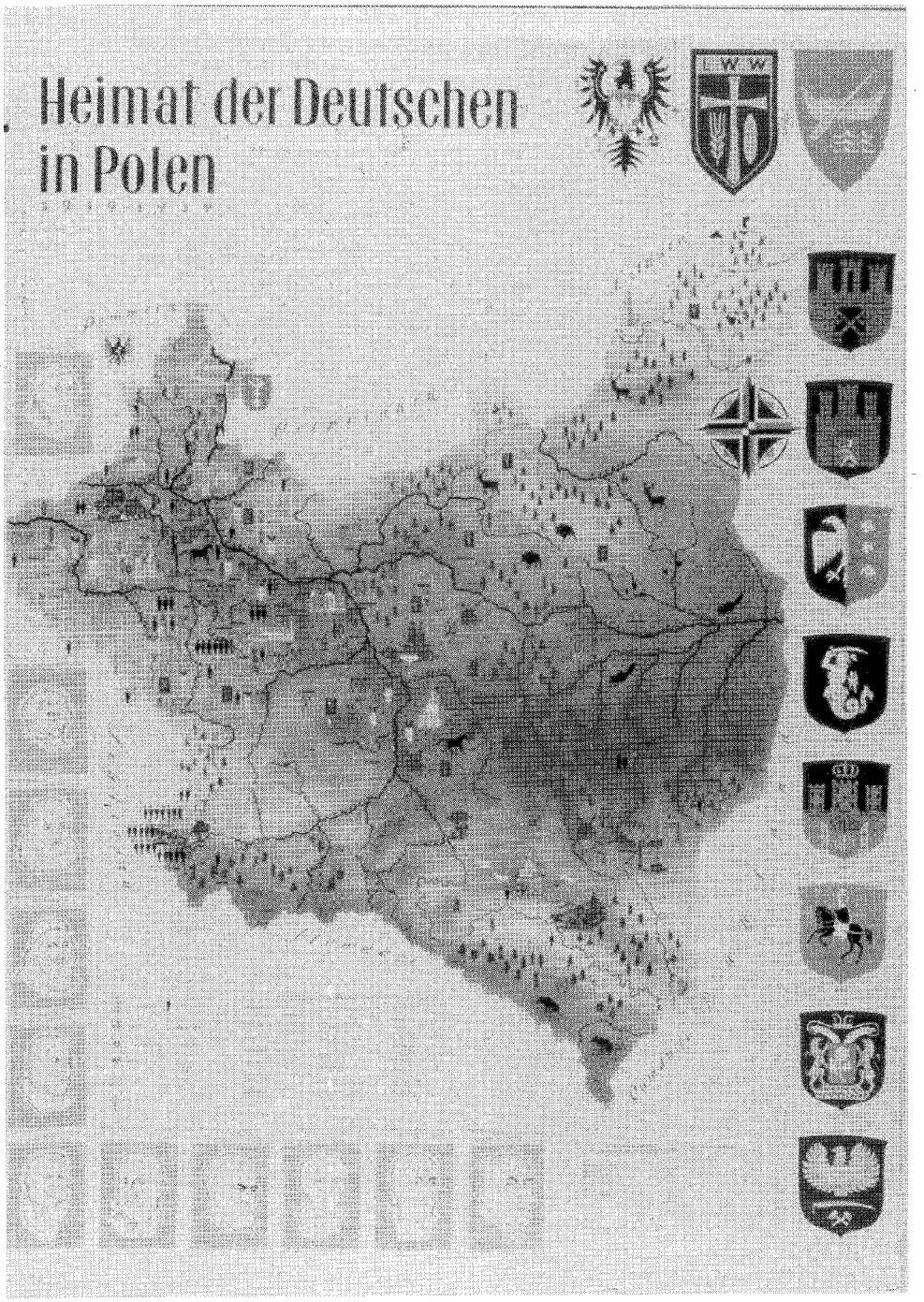
[33] Diehl, *Thanks*, 242; and on expellees, see Everhard Holtmann, "Flüchtlinge in den 50er Jahren: Aspekte ihrer gesellschaftlichen und politischen Integration," in *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau: Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre*, Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek, eds. (Bonn, 1993), 358–59.

[34] See Karl Heinz Gehrmann, "Kulturpflege und Kulturpolitik," in Lemberg and Edding, *Die Vertriebenen*, 3: 183; Eugen Lemberg, "Das Bildungswesen vor neuen Aufgaben," in *ibid.*, 3: 383, 385–86, 388–89, 398–99. For good examples of the scholarly attempts to fill this mandate, see Lemberg and Edding, *Die Vertriebenen*; for an overview of the literature, Hiddo M. Jolles, *Zur Soziologie der Heimatvertriebenen und Flüchtlinge* (Cologne, 1965), 18–29.

[35] "Gräber und Stacheldraht: Schicksal von Millionen," *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, October 25, 1950, copy in Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (Freiburg i.B.) (hereafter, BAMF), B205/1143.

[36] See, for instance, government planning for a day of remembrance for POWs in 1950 in

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Regional interest groups of expellees (*Landsmannschaften*) organized in the Federal Republic to represent their interests and to foster collective memories of a shared past. This poster depicts the "Home of the Germans in Poland" and features the crests of regional interest groups and the portraits of famous Germans who lived and worked in areas that were part of interwar Poland. Regional interest groups played a crucial part in collecting the first-person testimonies of the expulsion from Eastern Europe that were published by the federal government in the 1950s. Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

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war's end, the Federal Republic was also calling on the United Nations to investigate charges of the violation of human rights, not of others by Nazis but of German POWs and deported ethnic Germans by their Soviet captors.[37]

The state's commitment to creating a detailed record of German loss and suffering was also apparent in its sponsorship of two projects that sought to collect the memories of POWs and expellees as sources for writing the "contemporary history" of the postwar period. A systematic effort to document the "expulsion of the Germans from the East" was formally initiated by the Ministry for Expellees, Refugees and War-Damaged shortly after the creation of the office in Adenauer's first government. Its editorial board was made up of eminent professional historians led by Theodor Schieder of the University of Cologne, who had lived and taught in Königsberg until the war drove him west in 1944.[38] His co-workers included Hans Rothfels, who also had worked in Königsberg until 1938, when he fled the Nazis, who cared only for his Jewish origins, not his Protestant baptism. Rothfels had returned from the United States, where he had spent the war years, to take a chair at Tübingen.[39] Working on individual volumes was a team that included Werner Conze, the major West German proponent of social history in the 1950s, and a number of youthful assistants, among them Martin Broszat, who later went on to direct the Munich Institute for Contemporary History, and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, who in the 1960s would emerge as the leading advocate of a "historical social science."[40]

In eight volumes, including three full-length diaries, the *Documentation of the Expulsion of Germans from East-Central Europe* (in German) described the experiences of Germans as they fled before the Red Army advance in 1944 and 1945 and as they left and were driven from their homelands in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, and from the parts of eastern Germany that became Poland after German surrender.[41] At the core of the project was a massive collection of

Bundesarchiv (Koblenz) (hereafter, BAK), B150/4448, Heft 2; "Zur Kriegsgefangenen-Gedenkwoche," radio address of President Theodor Heuss, October 9, 1952, BAMF, B205/1043; on the 1953 events, BAK, B150/8076; and in general, Peter Steinbach, "Jenseits von Zeit und Raum: Kriegsgefangenschaft in der Frühgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Universitas* 7 (1990): 638; and Frank Stern, "The Historic Triangle: Occupiers, Germans and Jews in Postwar Germany," *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geshichte* 19 (1990): 56.

[37] See "Complaint of Failure on the Part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to Repatriate or Otherwise Account for Prisoners of War Retained in Soviet Territory," United Nations General Assembly, Fifth Session, Third Committee, Agenda item 67, December 7, 1950, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Abt. 2/2073; also Karner, *Archipel GUPVI*, 201–04.

[38] Jörn Rüsen, "Continuity, Innovation, and Self-Reflection in Late Historicism: Theodor Schieder (1908–1984)," in *Paths of Continuity: Central European Historiography from the 1930s to the 1950s*, Hartmut Lehmann and James Van Horn Melton, eds. (Cambridge, 1994), 353–88.

[39] Klemens von Klemperer, "Hans Rothfels (1891–1976)," in Lehmann and Melton, *Paths of Continuity*, 127–32.

[40] For useful reviews of postwar West German historiography, see James Van Horn Melton, "Introduction: Continuities in German Historical Scholarship, 1930–1960," in Lehmann and Melton, *Paths of Continuity*, 1–88; Winfried Schulze, "German Historiography from the 1930s to the 1950s," in *Paths of Continuity*, 19–42.

[41] The entire series, published under the auspices of the Bundesministerium für Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge und Kriegsgeschädigte, is entitled *Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa*. The individual volumes, each prepared by a different team of members of the project but all appearing under the general editorship of Theodor Schieder, include: Vol. 1, *Die Vertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus den Gebieten östlich der Oder-Neisse* (Grosse-Denkte/Wolfenbüttel, 1954),

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some 11,000 eyewitness accounts recorded by expellees themselves, frequently assembled with the cooperation of their interest-group organizations. The editors were aware of the problems inherent in such subjective testimony, but they guaranteed that the fraction of reports ultimately published had been subjected to painstaking "authentication and verification" and constituted a completely reliable record of the "entire process of the expulsion in [its] historical accuracy."[42]

The "Documents of the Expulsion" were, as one review put it, "Documents of Horror."[43] Countless individual reports of terror, rape, plundering, the separation of families, forced deportations, starvation, slave labor, and death combined to give shape to the "mass fate" of Germans in Eastern Europe, the "German tragedy," "contemporary history in documents."[44] Even those eyewitnesses who claimed to have been skeptical of the terrifying picture of the Bolshevik painted in Nazi propaganda conceded that they confronted a reality that often exceeded Joseph Goebbels's predictions.[45]

The federal government complemented the volumes on the expulsion with an extensive collection of testimonies from prisoners of war. Although its work was not completed until the 1970s, the POW project also had its origins in the 1950s and was seen explicitly as an essential continuation of the effort to capture the eyewitness accounts of expellees. Detailed descriptions of the conditions in Soviet camps had been collected since the late 1940s by veterans' associations, the German Red Cross, and church organizations that had taken the lead in tracing the fates of German POWs. Since 1953, much of this documentation had been collected by the Bundesarchiv. Four years later, the West German state appointed a "scientific commission" to assemble these eyewitness accounts and other forms of evidence in order to provide a complete "documentation of the fate of German prisoners in the Second World War," an initiative that in the words of one newspaper account would create the opportunity for "Prisoners of War [to] Write Contemporary History."[46]

hereafter, *Oder-Neisse*; Vol. 2, *Das Schicksal der Deutschen in Ungarn* (Düsseldorf, 1956); Vol. 3, *Das Schicksal der Deutschen in Rumänien* (Berlin, 1957); Vol. 4, *Die Vertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus der Tschechoslowakei* (Berlin, 1957), hereafter, *Tschechoslowakei*; Vol. 5, *Das Schicksal der Deutschen in Jugoslawien* (Düsseldorf, 1961), hereafter, *Jugoslawien*; Käthe von Normann, *Ein Tagebuch aus Pommern 1945–1946* (Gross-Denkte/Wolfenbüttel, 1955), 1. Beiheft; Margarete Schell, *Ein Tagebuch aus Prag 1945–46* (Kassel-Wilh., 1957), 2. Beiheft; and Hans Graf von Lehndorff, *Ein Bericht aus Ost- und Westpreussen 1945–1947* (Düsseldorf, 1960), 3. Beiheft. On the background of the project, see Josef Henke, "Exodus aus Ostpreussen und Schlesien: Vier Erlebnisberichte," in Benz, *Die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten*, 91. In later citations, I have indicated the authors of individual accounts, the date the account was written, and the volume in which it appears.

[42] *Oder-Neisse*, 1/1: iii–iv, vi. On the geographic distribution of the testimonies, see Kulturstiftung der deutschen Vertriebenen, ed., *Vertreibung und Vertreibungsverbrechen 1945–1948* (Bonn, 1989), 101–05.

[43] "Dokumente des Grauens," *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, September 2, 1954, copy in BAK, B150/5641.

[44] "Die deutsche Tragödie," *Westfälische Zeitung*, October 30, 1957; and "Zeitgeschichte in Dokumenten," *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, September 5, 1958, copies in BAK, B150/5643.

[45] For example, see "Bericht des ehemaligen Bezirksbürgermeisters H. aus Breslau. Beglaubigte Abschrift (1946)," in *Oder-Neisse*, 1/2: 327–36. This was an exceptional testimony, because H. identified himself as a Jew and an "anti-fascist," and because he had been put in his position as mayor by the Russian forces. For a fuller discussion of this documentation project, see Robert G. Moeller, "Driven into 'Contemporary History': The Expulsion from the East in the Public Memory of the Federal Republic of Germany," Working Paper 5.30: Center for German and European Studies, University of California, Berkeley (May 1995).

[46] Carl Schuster, "Kriegsgefangene schreiben Zeitgeschichte," *Aachner Volkszeitung*, April 19, 1961,

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The documentation should serve "for the present and future of our nation to secure the suffering of the prisoners, which has already begun to fade from public consciousness," a record that could meet the most demanding criteria of "objectivity" and "exactitude."[47]

Heading the project was Erich Maschke, a chairholder at the University of Jena under the Nazis, a prisoner of war in the Soviet Union until his release in 1953, and in the 1950s a professor of social and economic history at the University of Heidelberg.[48] Maschke and his co-workers ultimately sifted through more than 45,000 written and tape-recorded accounts. Of the twenty-two books published by the project, thirteen described the areas where German POWs had been most numerous, their treatment had been worst, and they had remained imprisoned the longest—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and particularly the Soviet Union, which alone filled eight volumes; the testimonies assembled were more evidence of Communist atrocities in Eastern Europe.[49] This emphasis on the East corresponded to the contemporary assessment that the differences in the treatment of German POWs by Western Allies and Communists were ones of kind, not degree.[50]

For POWs, no concerns loomed larger than malnutrition and starvation, and they described the dangerous balancing act of remaining sick enough to avoid forced labor but well enough to avoid death.[51] Work rebuilding the Soviet Union was sometimes remembered as a source of pride and accomplishment, but it was more frequently equated with slave labor, as one POW remarked, a form of direct retribution that represented the "payment of reparations."[52] Particularly for the period of the late 1940s, reports were filled not only with tallies of death from

copy in BAMF, B205/6. See "Entwurf für eine 'Dokumentation des Schicksals der deutschen Gefangenen des 2. Weltkrieges,'" prepared by the minister for Expellees, Refugees and War-Damaged, May 23, 1957, BAMF, B205/1720a.

[47] See the notes on the discussion of the documentation staff in Munich, January 14, 1958, BAMF, B205/1754.

[48] On Maschke's background, including his service in the educational and political work of the Nazi party and the SA, see Michael Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards: A Study of "Ostforschung" in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 1988), 137.

[49] Erich Maschke, "Deutsche Kriegsgefangenengeschichte: Der Gang der Forschung," in *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges: Eine Zusammenfassung*, Erich Maschke, ed. (Munich, 1974), 3–37; and Maschke, "Quellen und Methoden," *ibid.*, 41–59; Steinbach, "Jenseits von Zeit und Raum," 637–49. The series title is *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges*. On the background of the project, see Rolf Steininger, "Some Reflections on the Maschke Commission," in *Eisenhower and the German POWs: Facts against Falsehood*, Günther Bischof and Stephen E. Ambrose, eds. (Baton Rouge, La., 1992), 170–80.

[50] In general, see Arthur L. Smith, *Heimkehr aus dem Zweiten Weltkrieg: Die Entlassung der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen* (Stuttgart, 1985), 151–69; and Dieter Bach and Jochen Leyendecker, eds., *"Ich habe geweint vor Hunger": Deutsche und russische Gefangene in Lagern des zweiten Weltkriegs* (Wuppertal, 1993). The analysis offered here is based only on the volumes that describe conditions in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

[51] See, in particular, Hedwig Fleischhacker, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in der Sowjetunion: Der Faktor Hunger* (Bielefeld, 1965).

[52] Erich Maschke, "Grundzüge der sowjetischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte bis 1955: Der Rahmen der deutschen Kriegsgefangenschaft," in Werner Ratza, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in der Sowjetunion: Der Faktor Arbeit* (Bielefeld, 1973), xiii. Quotation in Diether Cartellieri, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in der Sowjetunion: Die Lagergesellschaft; Eine Untersuchung der zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen in den Kriegsgefangenenlagern* (Bielefeld, 1967), 253, 259–60.

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malnutrition but also with accounts of mass shootings by Red Army troops and Communist partisans and the dumping of the dead into unmarked graves.[53]

The experiences of POWs in the Soviet Union diverged from those of expellees in important respects. The POW camp was a world without women, a sharp contrast with the westward "treks" of expellees, in which women outnumbered men. In addition, for at least some of the students in the "barbed-wire university," as POWs ironically called the camps, the school term ended only in the mid-1950s; while, for most expellees, the return "not to home [*Heimat*] but at least to the Fatherland" was complete by the late 1940s.[54] Despite these differences, the accounts of expellees and POWs also provided much evidence of the ways in which they had experienced the end of the same war. As the Red Army moved westward in late 1944, the line between front and home front dissolved. In the words of Margarete Schell, a German actress from Prague and the author of one of the full-length diaries published by the Schieder project, Germans in Czechoslovakia had lived "a soldier's life . . . only much worse."[55]

The history of National Socialism and the war that both expellees and POWs told began only at the moment when the Red Army appeared, reaching the outskirts of the village or capturing the soldier. In neither documentation project did the editors elicit testimony about Germany's war of aggression on the eastern front or German rule in Eastern Europe; both projects recorded and sanctioned silence and selective memory. In both cases as well, victimization by the Red Army followed victimization by benighted, fanatical Nazis who postponed evacuation in the face of the red flood or insisted on fighting to the bitter end. This was the same history that was told from the floor of the Bundestag in debates over measures to meet the material needs of expellees and returning veterans, a history peopled with innocents in which a handful of zealous Nazis had deluded good Germans. Victims of Germans were not completely absent from these accounts, but when those who testified acknowledged the suffering of Jews at the hands of Germans, it was most frequently in order to establish a measure for the horror of their own experience.[56] In some cases, POWs, expellees, and the editors of the documentation projects

[53] Böhme, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen*, 151, 282–300.

[54] Wolfgang Schwarz, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in der Sowjetunion: Aus dem kulturellen Leben* (Bielefeld, 1969), 34; and "Erlebnisbericht der Schneiderin Anna Schwartz aus Schönberge, Kreis Karthaus i. Westpr. . . . 5. Juni 1952," in *Oder-Neisse*, 1/2: 103.

[55] Schell, *Ein Tagebuch aus Prag 1945–46*, 50, 106; also see "Erlebnisbericht der Hausfrau A. F. aus Königsberg i. Ostpr. . . . 25. November 1952," in *Oder-Neisse*, 1/1: 130; Diehl, *Thanks*, 231. On the intersecting fates of POWs and expellees, see Michael Reck, *Tagebuch aus sowjetischer Kriegsgefangenschaft 1945–1949: Aufzeichnungen*, Beiheft 1, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des zweiten Weltkrieges*, Erich Maschke, ed. (Bielefeld, 1967), 14; and "Erlebnisbericht der Regierungsangestellten Elisabeth Erbrich aus Breslau . . . April 1946," in *Oder-Neisse*, 1/1: 444.

[56] See the suggestive comments of Utz Jeggle, "Sage und Verbrechen," in Schulze, Brelie-Lewien, and Grebing, *Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene*, 201–06; also see Albrecht Lehmann, *Im Fremden ungewollt zuhaus: Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene in Westdeutschland* (Munich, 1991), 240–41; Alexander von Plato, "Fremde Heimat: Zur Integration von Flüchtlingen und Einheimischen in die neue Zeit," in *"Wir kriegen jetzt andere Zeiten": Auf der Suche nach der Erfahrung des Volkes in nachfaschistischen Ländern*, Lutz Niethammer and Alexander von Plato, eds. (Berlin, 1985), 198–99; and the parallels in women's memoirs, suggested by Heineman, "Hour of the Woman," 359–60; and Robert G. Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 8–14.

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"Expellees: Your Misery Is Our Misery." This poster, issued by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), represents the kind of direct political appeals that all postwar West German political parties made to victim groups. The use of a female image to symbolize the fate of the expellee also suggests that, among those driven out of Eastern Europe at the end of the war, women and children were in the majority. Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

claimed that what Germans had suffered under Communists was comparable in its horror only to what Jews had suffered under Nazis.

History had repeated itself, once as tragedy, once as farce, concluded Maria Zatschek, an expellee from Czechoslovakia, who remarked, "what a bad comedy all this is: nothing is original, a copy of the Hitler regime, again and again we have to

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hear: 'Just as you have treated the Jews.' "[57] It was this, reflected Wolfgang Schwarz, author of the volume on "cultural life" among German POWs in the Soviet Union, that made the POWs "brothers of the prisoners in the concentration camps."[58] In their assessment of the documentation on the expulsion from Czechoslovakia, the editors expressed similar views. They pointed out that the analogy between German and Jewish victims was unmistakable when Germans took the place of Jews in former Nazi concentration camps: "In some of these camps, particularly Theresienstadt, only the victims had changed: where Jewish prisoners had suffered from the National Socialist system of oppression, Germans were now tortured and maltreated."[59] Both POWs and expellees depicted themselves individually and collectively as victims of an ideology no less irrational than National Socialism; like the Nazis, the Soviets had reduced identity to ethnicity, singling out their victims only because they were Germans. The standard of measurement of the sufferings of Germans thus became "the horrible crimes committed against the Jews in Hitler's concentration camps,"[60] the goal of the Communists, nothing less than the "cleansing" and "de-Germanization" (*Entgermanisierung*) of Eastern Europe.[61]

In parliamentary debates over restitution for victims of the war, Germans and Jews were rhetorically lumped together. In the accounts provided in the documentation projects and in some of the editorial commentary that framed eyewitness stories, the overwhelming similarity of the treatment of all victims and the moral equivalence of their suffering were stated even more explicitly. Some German eyewitnesses could claim to know what Jews had experienced, not because they themselves were guilty of crimes but because what Jews had endured in concentration camps "could not possibly have been worse" than what Germans had suffered at the hands of Communists.[62]

There is no way to assess how many West Germans read the testimonies recorded in the documentation projects. The POW project only began publishing its findings in the 1960s, and the final installment was not released until 1974, partly delayed because, by the time all volumes were completed, the West German government had become far less intent on sustaining memories of Communist atrocities. In an age of "peaceful coexistence" between East and West, some pasts were best allowed to slumber or to circulate at most in small editions, distributed to research institutes and university libraries.[63] The expellee project completed publication by 1961, but

[57] "Erlebnisbericht der Frau Maria Zatschek aus Brünn" (n.d.), in *Tschechoslowakei*, 4/2: 439; also see "Bericht des Studienrats Dr. rer. nat. Hans Enders aus Saaz . . . , 15. November 1946," in *ibid.*, 4/2: 300.

[58] Schwarz, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen*, 34.

[59] Editor's introduction, *Tschechoslowakei*, 4/1: 81; see also editor's introduction, *Oder-Neisse*, 1/1: 111E; "Bericht des Kaufmanns E. M. aus Saaz . . . November 1945," in *Tschechoslowakei*, 4/2: 313, and note 2, *ibid.*

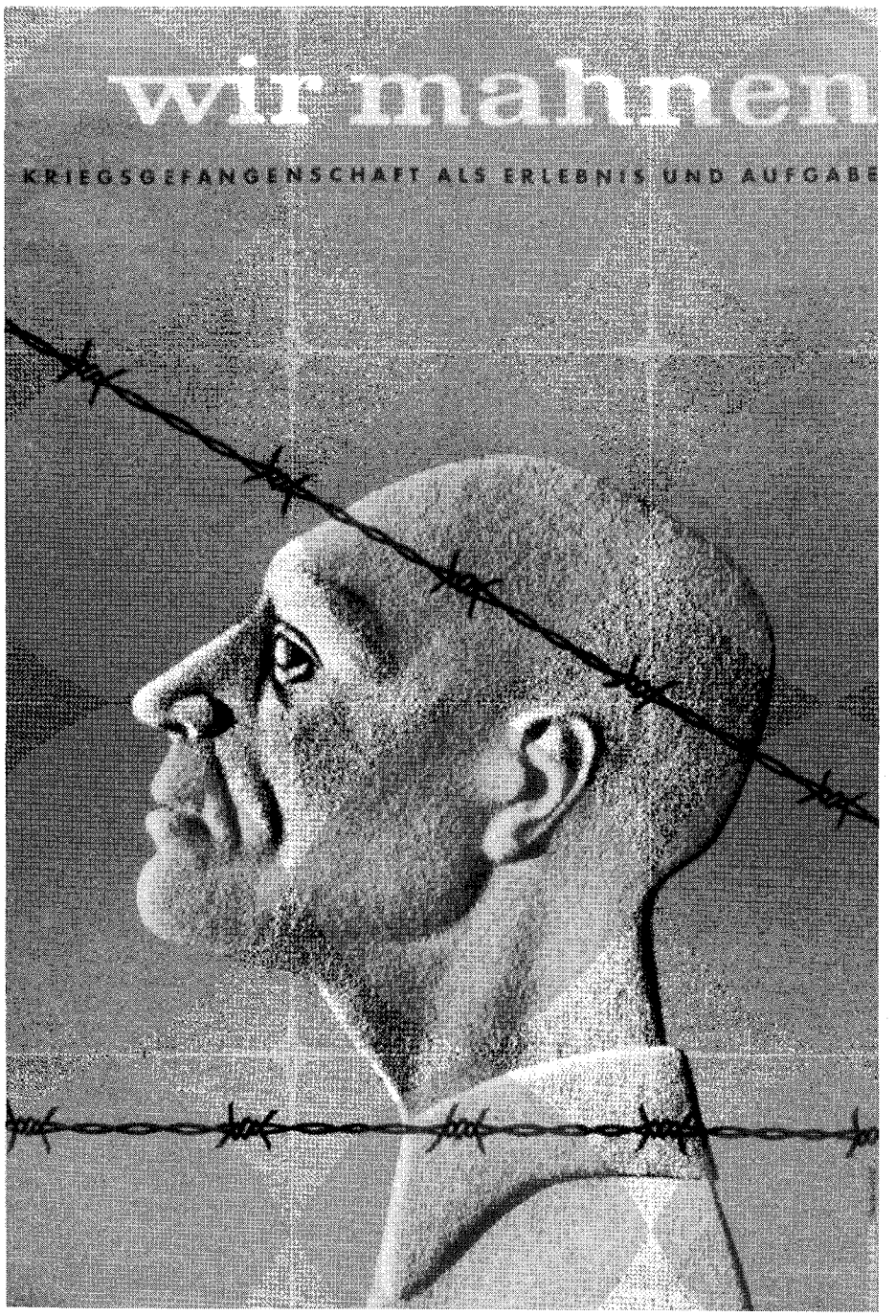
[60] "Bericht des Kaplan Paul Pfuhl aus Filipovo . . . Original, 19. Oktober 1956," in *Jugoslawien*, 5: 261.

[61] Schell, *Ein Tagebuch aus Prag 1945–46*, 34, note 1; and "Bericht des Organisationssekretärs Roman Wirkner aus Tetschen. Original, 1957," in *Tschechoslowakei*, 4/2: 527.

[62] "Erlebnisbericht (Brief) des Kaufmanns und ehemaligen Stadtrats Hubert Schütz sen. aus Jägendorf. Beglaubigte Abschrift . . . 4. Januar 1947," in *Tschechoslowakei*, 4/2: 216.

[63] Erich Maschke, "Deutsche Kriegsgefangenengeschichte: Der Gang der Forschung," in Maschke, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des Zweiten Weltkrieges: Eine Zusammenfassung*, 34–37; and Albrecht Lehmann, *Gefangenschaft und Heimkehr: Deutsche Kriegsgefangene in der Sowjetunion* (Munich, 1986), 168–69.

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"We Admonish: The Prisoner-of-War Camp as Experience and Lesson." This poster advertised a traveling exhibition sponsored by the Association of Returning Veterans in 1953. The image also appeared on a 10Pfg stamp issued by the West German government in the same year. It indicates the ways in which shaved heads and barbed wire were associated in West German popular consciousness not with victims of Nazi concentration camps but rather with German prisoners of war in Soviet captivity. Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

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its considerable bulk doubtless also limited its accessibility. However, for the tens of thousands of POWs and expellees—and the millions more they represented—the invitation to bear witness and the assurance that their memories would be preserved as part of an official chronicle made it easier, as Maschke expressed it, for these German victims to "overcome the destiny of painful and terrifying memories."[64] Public recognition and individual catharsis were parts of the same process.[65]

The federally sponsored publication projects that chronicled the fate of German expellees and POWs also corroborated other accounts of German suffering at the war's end that circulated in West German politics and popular culture in the 1950s. Expellees' and veterans' organizations encouraged their constituents to record their experiences and to publicize the enormity of their suffering; interest-group publications provided a forum in which it was possible to foster group identities.[66]

Memories of POWs in the Soviet Union and expellees also resounded in the arena of foreign policy. The record of German loss was cited as evidence in support of demands to revise the postwar settlement that had extended Poland's boundary westward significantly into territory once part of the German Reich.[67] The last remaining POWs in the Soviet Union also remained a national preoccupation until Adenauer negotiated their release in September 1955. When the 9,626 POWs began to leave the Soviet Union the next month, West German press accounts used the occasion not only to celebrate these survivors of Communist captivity but also to rehearse endlessly the horrors they had experienced.[68] As late as 1967, shortly after Adenauer's death, 75 percent of those questioned in a public opinion survey placed the release of the last POWs from the Soviet Union at the top of the list of the first chancellor's accomplishments.[69]

Themes of expulsion and the experiences of soldiers on the eastern front were also the stuff of novels and movies. For example, between 1951 and 1959, some 19 million viewers saw *Grün ist die Heide* (The heath is green), a movie that told the story of a Pomeranian landowner who flees westward at the end of the war, leaving

[64] Erich Maschke, "Das Schicksal der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des Zweiten Weltkrieges als Aufgabe zeitgeschichtlicher Forschung," in *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in Jugoslawien 1941–1949*, Kurt W. Böhme, ed., Vol. 1, pt. 1 (Bielefeld, 1962), xi.

[65] On the importance of this recognition, denied other groups of victims, see William G. Niederland, "Die verkannten Opfer: Späte Entschädigung für seelische Schäden," in Goschler and Herbst, *Wiedergutmachung*, 359; and Ulrich Herbert, "Nicht entschädigungsfähig? Die Wiedergutmachungsansprüche der Ausländer," in *ibid.*, 302.

[66] Louis Ferdinand Helbig, *Der ungeheuere Verlust: Flucht und Vertreibung in der deutschsprachigen Belletristik der Nachkriegszeit* (Wiesbaden, 1988); and Karl Heinz Gehrmann, "Versuche der literarischen Bewältigung," in Lemberg and Edding, *Die Vertriebenen*, 3: 273–317. On the work of the Verband der Heimkehrer, the most important organization of returning POWs, see Verband der Heimkehrer, Kriegsgefangenen und Vermisstenangehörigen Deutschlands, ed., *Freiheit ohne Furcht: Zehn Jahre Heimkehrerverband* (n.p. [1960]); and *idem*, *Wir mahnen: Kriegsgefangenschaft als Erlebnis und Aufgabe* (n.p., n.d.).

[67] See Schieder, "Gutachten über eine Dokumentation," October 1, 1951, BAK B150/4171/Heft 1; and "Aufzeichnung über die Besprechung über die Fortführung der Dokumentation im Bundesministerium für Vertriebene am 13.7.51," BAK B150/4171/Heft 1.

[68] See, for example, Heinz-Arndt Brüggemann, "Zwei Hände waren wie ein Symbol," *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, October 10, 1955; Rudolf Weschinsky, "Alle Herzen sagen: Willkommen in der Heimat," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, October 10, 1955; and Dietrich Schwarzkopf, " 'Jetzt bist du ein freier deutscher Bürger,' " *Der Tagesspiegel*, October 15, 1955.

[69] Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Die Ära Adenauer: Gründerjahre der Republik 1949–1957* (Stuttgart, 1981), 279; also Josef Foschepoth, "Adenauers Moskaureise 1955," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* B22 (1986): 30–46.

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In September 1955, Konrad Adenauer traveled to Moscow. In return for assuring the Soviets that he would grant them diplomatic recognition, Adenauer received promises that the last remaining German prisoners of war would be released. These returning soldiers were on one of the first transports from the Soviet Union in October 1955. Adenauer's negotiation of the release of the last German prisoners of war was long remembered as one of the most important accomplishments of his tenure as chancellor. Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, 77/4/30, 3028/1.

everything behind. Only the generosity of new friends in the Lüneburger Heide and the natural beauty of the forest allow him to "forget what I have lost."[70] An entire genre of "expellee literature" told similar tales but focused less on the successful integration of expellees into West German society than on the terror they had experienced before reaching their new home.[71]

Numerous as well were popular novels, memoirs, and movies that described the war on the eastern front and the long march into Soviet POW camps from the

[70] Gertrud Koch, Klaus Konz, Wolfgang Oehrle, Gundula Schmidt, and Barbara Wilzcek, "Die fünfziger Jahre: Heide und Silberwald," in *Der deutsche Heimatfilm: Bildwelten und Weltbilder*, Dieter Bahlinger, *et al.*, eds. (Tübingen, 1989), 88. Quotations are from Heide Fehrenbach, *Cinema in a Democratizing Germany: Reconstructing National Identity after Hitler* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), 153; see also Gerhard Bliersbach, *So grün war die Heide: Der Nachkriegsfilm in neuer Sicht* (Weinheim, 1985), 39–41; Willi Höfig, *Der deutsche Heimatfilm 1947–1960* (Stuttgart, 1973), 279; and Anton Kaes, *From Hitler to Heimat: The Return of History as Film* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 14–15.

[71] See the highly sympathetic treatment of Helbig, *Der ungeheuere Verlust*; also Klaus Weigelt, ed., *Flucht und Vertreibung in der Nachkriegsliteratur: Formen ostdeutscher Kulturförderung* (Melle, 1986).

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perspective of the common soldier, victimized first by zealous Nazi leaders, then by the Red Army. These were epic dramas of suffering, inner strength, and quiet courage stemming not from ideology but from common decency and of adventurous schemes to resist Communism by whatever means possible.[72] Such accounts were part of the general tendency in the 1950s to see the returning German veteran as a noble survivor, unjustly branded by the victors as a militaristic criminal; they contributed to a conventional wisdom according to which the Wehrmacht had dutifully carried out orders, scrupulously following the established rules of warfare.[73] The same general themes gained credence among West Germany's Western Allies, particularly as the United States increased its pressure to see West Germans once again in uniform, essential recruits in the battles of the Cold War.[74]

The imposing bound volumes from the POW and expellee documentation projects did not circulate nearly as widely as these other accounts, but they told the same stories. They sanctioned and substantiated fictionalized tales and individual memoirs, blurring the line between fiction and fact. As one reviewer of the first volumes published by the Schieder project noted, this authorized record should dispel completely whatever skepticism had greeted other dramatic presentations of the experiences of expellees in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The documentation delivered "irrefutable proof of the accuracy of those descriptions" as well.[75]

The debates over material compensation for Jews and others persecuted by the Nazis made clear that these "racial, political, and religious" victims of National Socialism were not forgotten, but they remained faceless and without speech. In Adenauer's cabinet, there was no Ministry for Survivors of Nazi Persecution and Nazi Concentration Camps, intent on acknowledging, ordering, analyzing, and sanctioning the suffering of the victims of Germans. Although a number of memoirs of concentration camp victims were published in Germany in the first two years following the war, by the late 1940s this was increasingly a genre that West German trade publishers avoided.[76]

[72] See Jochen Pfeifer, *Der deutsche Kriegsroman 1945–1960: Ein Versuch zur Vermittlung von Literatur und Sozialgeschichte* (Königstein/Ts., 1981); Jost Hermand, "Darstellungen des Zweiten Weltkrieges," in *Literatur nach 1945*, Vol. 1: *Politische und Regionale Aspekte*, Jost Hermand, ed. (Wiesbaden, 1979), 28–39; Hans Wagener, "Soldaten zwischen Gehorsam und Gewissen: Kriegsromane und -tagebücher," in *Gegenwartsliteratur und Drittes Reich: Deutsche Autoren in der Auseinandersetzung mit der Vergangenheit*, Hans Wagener, ed. (Stuttgart, 1977), 241–61; Michael Kumpfmüller, *Die Schlacht von Stalingrad: Metamorphosen eines deutschen Mythos* (Munich, 1995), 199–237; Jens Ebert, ed., *Stalingrad: Eine deutsche Legende* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1992), 96–97; and Gerd Albrecht, "Fern der Wirklichkeit: Deutsche Spielfilme der Nachkriegszeit zum Thema Kriegsgefangenschaft und Heimkehr," in *Kriegsgefangene—Voennoplennye*, 101.

[73] For a review of this literature, see Theo J. Schulte, *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford, 1989), 3–7; and on the postwar period, Detlef Bald, " 'Bürger in Uniform': Tradition und Neuanfang des Militärs in Westdeutschland," in Schildt and Sywottek, *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau*, 392–402.

[74] Georg Meyer, "Innenpolitische Voraussetzung der westdeutschen Wiederbewaffnung," in *Wiederbewaffnung in Deutschland nach 1945*, Alexander Fischer, ed. (Berlin, 1986), 31–44; and Roland G. Foerster, "Innenpolitische Aspekte der Sicherheit Westdeutschlands (1945–1950)," in *Anfänge westdeutscher Sicherheitspolitik*, Vol. 1: *Von der Kapitulation bis zum Pleven-Plan*, Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, ed. (Munich, 1982), 430, 437, 497, 540, 552–53.

[75] "Dokumente des Grauens," *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, September 2, 1954; "Katastrophen der Deutschen-Vertreibung aus dem Osten in Dokumenten," *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*, May 6, 1954, copies in BAK, B150/5641.

[76] Helmut Peitsch, *"Deutschlands Gedächtnis an seine dunkelste Zeit": Zur Funktion der Autobiographik in den Westzonen Deutschlands und den Westsektoren von Berlin 1945 bis 1949* (Berlin, 1990).

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To be sure, documentation of the crimes of Germans against others was available, and the trials of leading Nazi war criminals by the Nuremberg Tribunal alone generated a mountain of evidence of German atrocities, a crucial source for key aspects of German "contemporary history." In the 1950s, the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich drew on this documentation and other sources to begin writing a critical history of the National Socialist regime. However, no attempts were made to supplement objective analysis with personal accounts of those persecuted by the Nazi regime. Thus, for example, the Schieder documentation offered many descriptions of the crimes committed by Poles and Soviets against Germans in Łódź, but neither the West German state nor West German scholars undertook systematic efforts to record Jewish voices that could have told other stories of Germans who, until the spring of 1945, called that city Litzmannstadt.[77] For the most part, victims of Germans remained objects, not subjects, of their own history, a history never told from their perspective.[78]

In 1955, Hans Rothfels, a co-worker on the expellee documentation project and editor of the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (Quarterly journal of contemporary history), the most important new postwar German historical periodical, illuminated the "profound paradox" of the war's end by drawing up a balance sheet called "Ten Years After." He effectively summarized how competing pasts had become part of the history of the Federal Republic. Rothfels recalled both the "horrible things that took place in occupied areas, particularly in the East," and what was done "to real and imagined opponents in concentration camps," even as he described in far greater detail the expulsion of Germans from Eastern Europe and the last-gasp attempts of the German army and navy to hold off the Red Army. The way to remember May 1945, Rothfels concluded, was with an "hour of commemoration" for all victims, including those killed by Germans as well as those Germans "murdered after the end of hostilities, those who drowned or perished in the snow as they attempted to flee, who froze or starved, who did not survive the forced marches or forced labor camps . . . and also those women, who after the deepest humiliation took their own lives, or their husbands, who resisted this disgrace," an unambiguous reminder of the literal rapes that heralded the symbolic rape of eastern Germany and Eastern Europe by the Red Army. Mourning these German victims should not, Rothfels warned, diminish memories of the suffering of others. However, a complete tally could only be one that captured "reality in its horrifying totality."[79]

West Germans were by no means silent about the "horrifying totality" of the past in the first decade after the end of the war. However, their memories were selective;

[77] *Oder-Neisse*, 1/1: 348–50; 1/2: 54–56, 57–59, 593–606, 626–46.

[78] Otto D. Kulka, "Major Trends and Tendencies in German Historiography on National Socialism and the 'Jewish Question' (1924–1984)," *Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute* 30 (1985): 222. See also the useful reflections of Dan Diner, "Zwischen Bundesrepublik und Deutschland: Ein Vortrag," in *Von der Gnade der geschenkten Nation*, Hajo Funke, ed. (Berlin, 1988), 194–95; and Lüdtke, "Coming to Terms with the Past," 558–60. Rare exceptions to this rule were Eugen Kogon, *Der NS-Staat: Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* (Munich, 1946); H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt 1941–1945: Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft* (Tübingen, 1955); and Adler, *Die verheimlichte Wahrheit: Theresienstädter Dokumente* (Tübingen, 1958).

[79] Hans Rothfels, "Zehn Jahre danach" [Ten years after], *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 3 (1955): 228, 232, 237.

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about the parts of that "totality" in which some Germans were perpetrators they had less to say than about the parts that encompassed their own experiences as victims. About this past—the past of their own loss—their ability to mourn literally filled volumes.

BY THE LATE 1950S AND EARLY 1960S, increasing numbers of West Germans insisted on providing a more complex account of the National Socialist regime and the war. The past in which Germans were victims receded, displaced by a history of the Third Reich in which Nazi atrocities took center stage. A full explanation of what accomplished this complication of public memory exceeds the scope of this article. Here, I will only suggest some of the most important signposts along this path to a different understanding of the Third Reich, but I will also point to representative reminders that other pasts never completely disappeared from view.[80]

Among historians, the rapidly growing commitment to identify National Socialism as a system deeply rooted in German history and politics, not as a "catastrophe" or the demonic projection of a small elite, was signaled by the coming of age of a group of scholars more likely to have experienced Nazism as adolescents than as young adults and largely trained after 1945. Many moved away from the focus on high politics that had long dominated German historiography and explored the possibilities of methodologies borrowed from the social sciences. Particularly important was the work of historians who turned an older, conservative emphasis on German exceptionalism—a *Sonderweg*—on its head. The *Sonderweg* explained not the triumph of Germany as a major power and a preeminent Kulturstaat in Europe but the peculiar route from an authoritarian Kaiserreich to an authoritarian Third Reich. In their accounts, May 1945 represented a "zero hour" (*Stunde Null*), a complete rupture that dramatically separated the Third Reich from the Bonn republic. By the late 1960s, a generation of radical students, children of the rubble who had little or no direct experience of National Socialism, added its critical voice. Reviving Marxist analyses of fascism, they discovered a path that had not ended in 1945; rather, the capitalist system that had brought fascism to Germany defined lines that tied Hitler's Germany to Adenauer's. What unified these diverse approaches was their commitment to a far more complete and troubling account of National Socialism.

The new version of the German past that emerged by the early 1970s analyzed the popular bases of Nazi support and the success of the state's efforts to invade and transform German society; it emphasized the virtual absence of German resistance to Nazi racialism, terrorism, and expansionist aggression and the presence of broad support for the regime, at least until the war turned sour after the German defeat at Stalingrad in 1943; and it charted the history of German anti-Semitism and the persecution of the Jews, including the participation of the Wehrmacht in the

[80] For a good introduction to the historiography on National Socialism, see Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 3d edn. (London, 1993); and Bernd Faulenbach, "Emanzipation von der deutschen Tradition? Geschichtsbewusstsein in den sechziger Jahren," in *Politische Kultur und deutsche Frage: Materialien zum Staats- und Nationalbewusstsein in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Werner Weidenfeld, ed. (Cologne, 1989), 73–92. I have also benefited enormously from the superb essay by Jane Caplan, "The Historiography of National Socialism" (forthcoming).

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murder of Jews and other civilians. The authors of this critical history focused not on German suffering but on the crimes committed by Germans against others, and they explained World War II as a logical outgrowth of National Socialist ideology, not an aberration attributable to Hitler. This historiographical shift took place against a broad political background that included the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem, the prosecution of major Nazi war criminals in the Federal Republic, and repeated parliamentary debates over the extension of the statute of limitations for prosecution of those who had committed atrocities during the Third Reich.[81]

By the late 1960s, after two decades of uninterrupted rule by Christian Democratic chancellors, many West German voters were also ready for a dramatic political change at the national level; they supported a chancellor who had spent the war not in "internal migration" nor in a Wehrmacht uniform but fighting Germans in the Norwegian resistance. Willy Brandt publicly held his fellow citizens collectively accountable for their past as perpetrators. The preoccupation of the 1950s with the crimes of Communists against Germans was dramatically eclipsed by Brandt's public acknowledgment of the crimes of Germans against Poles and Jews in his December 1970 trip to Warsaw. In this highly symbolic visit, Brandt concluded treaty negotiations that marked the postwar normalization of relations with Poland and the state's abandonment of expellees' claims to their former homeland. Brandt's stop at the monument to the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising represented the commemoration of another past and drew international attention. His *Ostpolitik* was a foreign policy that at once expressed West Germany's ability to assert itself as an independent geo-political actor and West Germany's acknowledgement of the disastrous consequences of its independent foreign policy in the past. It was not surprising that, in this context, rhetorics of German victimization figured far less prominently.[82]

To be sure, other accounts of the war's legacy never entirely vanished. Two of the three diaries published by the expellee project were reissued periodically, and, by the mid-1960s, 235,000 copies of Hans Graf von Lehndorff's *Report from East and West Prussia* were in print in German.[83] The supply of eyewitness accounts of the expulsion was also constantly renewed, and those testifying insisted that they would not allow the voices of German suffering to be silenced, although the authors never specified precisely when silence had prevailed.[84]

[81] In general, see Adalbert Rückerl, *NS-Verbrechen vor Gericht: Versuch einer Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (Heidelberg, 1982); and Jürgen Weber and Peter Steinbach, eds., *Vergangenheitsbewältigung durch Strafverfahren? NS-Prozesse in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Munich, 1984).

[82] The literature on *Ostpolitik* is vast. For an introduction, see Timothy Garton Ash, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (New York, 1993).

[83] Hans Graf von Lehndorff, *Ostpreussisches Tagebuch: Aufzeichnungen eines Arztes aus den Jahren 1945–1947* (Munich, 1966). Käthe von Normann, *Tagebuch aus Pommern 1945/46*, another of the diaries published in the expellee project, also appeared in an inexpensive paperback edition, published by Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag in Munich, 1962.

[84] See, for example, Hans Edgar Jahn, *Pommersche Passion* (Preetz/Holstein, 1964); Rolf O. Becker, *Niederschlesien 1945: Die Flucht—Die Besetzung* (Bad Nauheim, 1965); and Wolfgang Schwarz, *Die Flucht und Vertreibung: Oberschlesien 1945/46* (Bad Nauheim, 1965). These volumes, though providing no specific citations, claimed to be based "on documents of the Bundesministerium für Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge und Kriegsgeschädigte" and the "documents from the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz." See also Karl Friedrich Grau, *Schlesisches Inferno: Kriegsverbrechen der Roten Armee beim Einbruch in Schlesien 1945* (Stuttgart, 1966); Egbert Kieser, *Danziger Bucht 1945: Dokumentation einer Katastrophe* (Esslingen am Neckar, 1978); Fritz Brustat-Naval, *Unternehmen Rettung* (Herford, 1970); Günter Böddeker, *Die*

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The documentation of Erich Maschke's POW project continued to appear steadily as well. Although it was accessible only to a limited public, the controversies over restrictions on its release and circulation became a medium for the protests of those who clamored against what they saw as attempts to censor crucial parts of German history. Thus, for example, from March until July 1972, the mass-market weekly *Quick* ran a series of articles allegedly leaked in part from the Maschke documentation, presenting tales of arms amputated with nail files, brutal partisans, the "white hell" of POWs shipped behind the Urals, wedding rings exchanged for bread rations, and heroes behind barbed wire, horror stories all verified in the "secret documents in *Quick*," accounts that were "simple and straightforward, a piece of history."[85]

Other memories were regularly generated by institutes of East European research that had been established after the war to preserve the heritage of the "German East." At least in the 1950s and 1960s, the work of the scholars in these institutes focused primarily on the social, economic, political, and cultural contributions of German-speaking communities and the harmonious mix of ethnicities and cultures that had characterized Eastern Europe before the Versailles Treaty injected a poisonous, xenophobic nationalism into this multi-cultural idyll; Jews were virtually absent in the history of East-Central Europe presented in this scholarship.[86]

Told with an explicitly political inflection, a similar version of the history of Germans in Eastern Europe was repeated in the political lobbying of expellee interest groups that railed against any conciliatory gestures in West German–East European relations.[87] Political opposition to any moves toward better relations with East European countries in the 1970s could emphasize that "Germans had to suffer, too" by pointing to the authoritative documentation that the government had assembled and asserting that "Auschwitz is only half of the truth, according to the findings of the documentation of the crimes committed during the expulsion."[88]

Flüchtlinge: Die Vertreibung der Deutschen im Osten (Munich, 1980); Donauschwäbishe Kulturstiftung, ed., *Leidensweg der Deutschen im kommunistischen Jugoslawien*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1992); and, for a detailed review of novels, Helbig, *Der ungeheuere Verlust*. The American author Alfred-Maurice de Zayas also contributed to this steady stream, publishing in both English and German. See most recently *A Terrible Revenge: The Ethnic Cleansing of the East European Germans, 1944–1950* (New York, 1994).

[85] "Wieder ein Geheimdokument in Quick: Diesmal geht es um den grausamen Tod von 1,5 Millionen deutschen Soldaten," *Quick* no. 11, March 2, 1972. The series continued through July 17, 1972; Lothar Labusch, " 'Noch mal satt werden und dann Schluss': Dokumentation unter Verschluss," *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, March 31–April 1, 1973, copy in BAMF, B205/5; and see Maschke's account of the political reasons for the delay of release of all volumes, Maschke, "Deutsche Kriegsgefangenengeschichte," 27–37.

[86] In the 1950s, these institutes were often filled with historians who were themselves expellees and whose scholarly careers under the Nazis included "scientific" justification of the Nazis' expansionist policies. See Christoph Klessmann, "Geschichtsbewusstsein nach 1945: Ein neuer Anfang?" in *Geschichtsbewusstsein der Deutschen: Materialien zur Spurensuche einer Nation*, Werner Weidenfeld, ed. (Cologne, 1987), 118–19; Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards*, 306, 313–14.

[87] See, for example, Dieter Bingen, "Westverschiebung Polens und Revisionsanspruch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Die polnische Westgrenze als Stein des Anstosses in den polnisch-deutschen Beziehungen," in *Unfertige Nachbarschaften: Die Staaten Osteuropas und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Othmar Nikola Haberl and Hans Hecker, eds. (Essen, 1989), 155–76; Werner Jakobsmeier, "Das Münchner Abkommen: Unüberbrückbarer Graben zwischen Bonn und Prag?" in *ibid.*, 177–203.

[88] Dieter von König, "Auch Deutsche mussten leiden," *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, July 31, 1974, copy in BAMF, B205/6.

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Preserving memories of German victimization was by no means the exclusive territory of irredentist special-interest groups. The West German television broadcast of the American mini-series *Holocaust* in 1979, frequently cited as a high point in West Germans' confrontation with the individual face of mass extermination, was followed two years later by *Geflohen und vertrieben* (Flight and expulsion), a three-part series on West German television that documented other crimes.[89] A combination of historical analysis, documentary footage, and personal memories captured in interviews, it was announced as a courageous attempt to address directly a topic "as good as taboo" in the Federal Republic, a "consequence of our lack of historical consciousness."[90] Reinforcing the point, an inexpensive paperback edition of the original expellee documentation was reissued three years later. In a highly favorable review in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Gotthold Rhode recommended that in discussions of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the war's end, the "voice of those be heard whose time of suffering only really began once the weapons were silenced."[91]

By the late 1970s, the "New German Cinema," the progressive artistic movement that sought to break in every possible respect with the film traditions of the "fathers," an older generation associated with National Socialism, was also offering empathetic reflections on what fathers—and mothers—had suffered during the war.[92] Three examples illustrate the New German Cinema's preoccupation with war stories that were not entirely new. In *Deutschland, bleiche Mutter* (Germany, pale mother), first shown in 1980, the feminist director Helma Sanders-Brahms told a daughter's story of her mother's odyssey from Hitler's Germany to Adenauer's. In Sanders-Brahms's account, World War II liberated German women, revealing their strength and resourcefulness in the absence of men; for women, the real war began in 1945, when rape by Allied soldiers and the return of German men brutally transformed them from self-reliant agents into victims. However, the film's powerful images of the decaying corpse of a German soldier and bombed-out cities were not only the backdrop for the heroic acts of the mother and daughter at the center of the movie, they were also forceful reminders of the devastation of Germany brought on by the Nazis' war. In one of the most extended sequences in the movie, mother and daughter find refuge in an abandoned factory, where smokestacks and ovens in the background implicitly associate the fate of different victims.[93]

[89] Ivo Frenzel and Peter Märthesheimer, eds., *Im Kreuzfeuer: Der Fernsehfilm "Holocaust"* (Frankfurt am Main, 1979); Jeffrey Herf, "The 'Holocaust' Reception in West Germany: Right, Center and Left," *New German Critique* no. 19 (1980): 30–52.

[90] Rudolf Mühlfenzl, ed., *Geflohen und vertrieben: Augenzeugen berichten* (Königstein/Ts., 1981), 8; and see the enthusiastic reception in "Persönliches Leid, kollektives Schicksal," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, January 29, 1981; also "Die alten Wunden: Zur Dokumentation der Vertreibung im Fernsehen," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 29, 1981; and "Wahrheit ist keine Rache," *Die Welt*, February 7, 1981.

[91] Gotthold Rhode, "Das Leid der Vertreibung: Zum Neudruck einer Dokumentation," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 14, 1985. See also Josef Henke, "Flucht und Vertreibung der Deutschen aus ihrer Heimat im Osten und Südosten 1944–1947," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* B23/85 (June 8, 1985): 15–44.

[92] My thought on these subjects is particularly influenced by Kaes, *From Hitler to Heimat*.

[93] Kaes, *From Hitler to Heimat*, 150; Barbara Kosta, *Recasting Autobiography: Women's Counterfictions in Contemporary German Literature and Film* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 144; Richard W. McCormick,

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In the political context of the late 1970s and anti-Americanism high on the Left's agenda, it is not surprising that the rapist in Sanders-Brahms's drama was a U.S., not a Red Army, soldier. However, if on an allegorical level, the rape is intended to suggest, as Anton Kaes argues, that "postwar Germany is the innocent victim of rape by America," the scene also evoked memories of other rapes, both literal and allegorical, recorded in memoirs and described throughout the official documentation of the expulsion. Much of the war experienced by the mother and daughter also takes place in an unspecified German East, where they escape the bombs falling on Berlin. And a homeless little boy, incorporated in the film with original documentary footage shot during the war, is a representative of the innocents who lost homes and family during the expulsion. Indeed, the same footage was used in the television series *Flight and Expulsion*.[94] The film thus evoked strong memories of the war in both West and East.

In Alexander Kluge's 1979 movie, *Die Patriotin* (The patriot), the war in the East figures not as background but as a central character, weaving in and out of the story of a West German high school teacher's search for ways to present German history to her students. Kluge makes much use of documentary film footage of the battle of Stalingrad, the beginning of the end of the war in the East and a battle that for thousands of Germans resulted not in death but a long stay in Soviet captivity.[95] In his analysis of the movie, Kaes suggests that Kluge's selective use of background music, composed for the movie *Night and Fog*, the French director Alain Resnais' 1958 account of the Holocaust, first shown in the Federal Republic twenty years later, "may hint at a consciousness that does not want to exclude Auschwitz from the patriotic *Trauerarbeit* [work of mourning]" in the film; but it may also suggest a consciousness in which all of the war's victims are equated. In Kluge's movie, however, Jews killed by Germans are present as a subtle musical allusion, while the fallen dead at Stalingrad and bombed German cities are vividly portrayed.[96]

Edgar Reitz's *Heimat*, the saga of one German town from the end of World War I until the early 1980s, aired on West German television in eleven episodes during the fall of 1984. Reitz painstakingly presented pasts not of Nazi crimes or even the banality of evil but of a German society cloaked in ignorance and innocence, caught in patterns of daily life that seemed entirely normal. At least 25 million West Germans watched at least one part of the series, and it was the subject of extensive media attention. Although set in western Germany, the title of Reitz's film evoked memories linked since the war's end with a German *Heimat* in Eastern Europe that had been lost literally, not metaphorically. The mini-series opens on May 9, 1919,

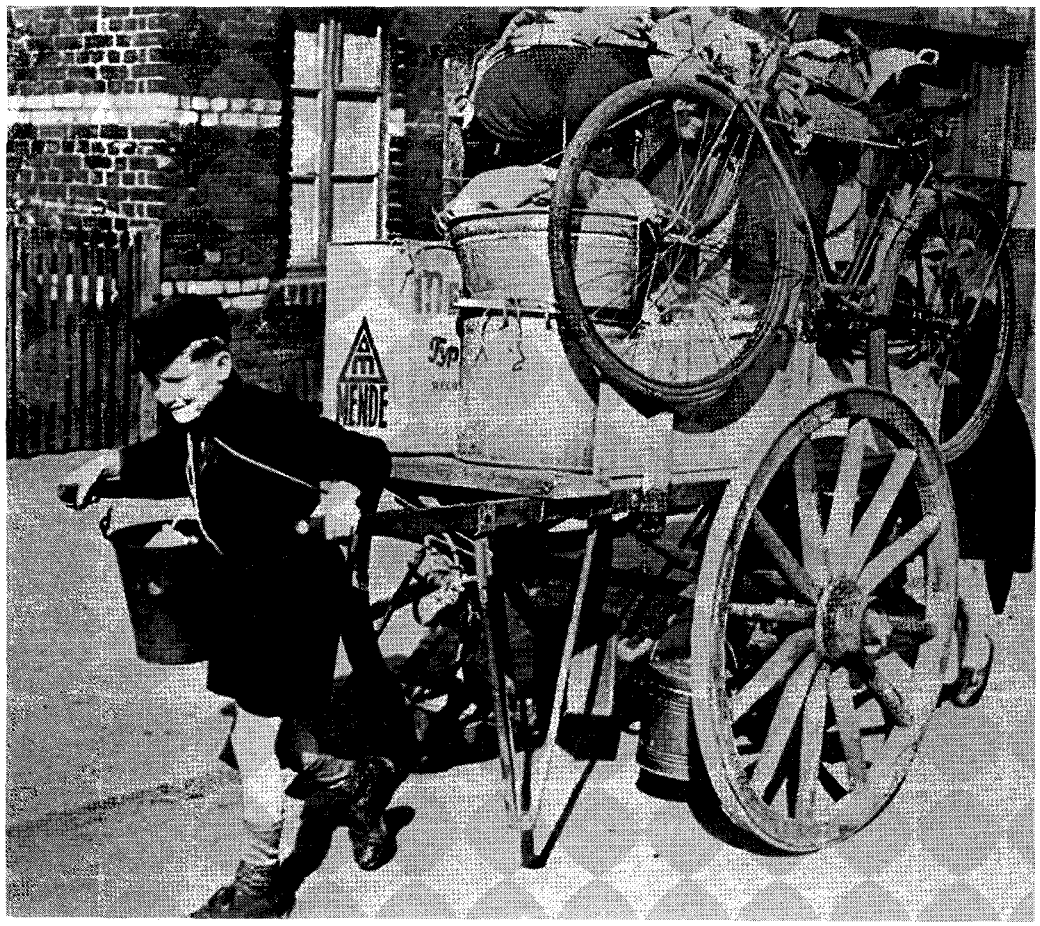
"Confronting German History: Melodrama, Distantiation, and Women's Discourse in *Germany, Pale Mother*," in *Gender and German Cinema: Feminist Interventions*, Vol. 2: *German Film History/German History on Film*, Sandra Frieden, *et al.*, eds. (Providence, R.I., 1993), 201; the insightful review of the film by Jane Caplan, *AHR* 96 (October 1991): 1126–28; and Helma Sanders-Brahms, *Deutschland, bleiche Mutter: Film Erzählung* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1980), 71–80.

[94] Mühlfenzl, *Geflohen*, 159.

[95] Alexander Kluge, *Die Patriotin: Texte/Bilder 1–6* (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), 59.

[96] Kaes, *From Hitler to Heimat*, 133; see also Omer Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing and Representation* (New York, 1996), 139–52. Kluge's fascination with the battle of Stalingrad long predated the film. See Alexander Kluge, *The Battle*, Leila Vennewitz, trans. (New York, 1967) (orig. pub. as *Schlachtbeschreibung*, 1964).

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Helma Sanders-Brahms's *Deutschland, Bleiche Mutter* focused on the survival of a mother and daughter in World War II; it captured the memories of many other daughters—and sons—displaced from their homes during the war. In Sanders-Brahms's movie, original newsreel footage of a young expellee suggested the ways in which the war brought suffering to many Germans. This picture from the end of the war tells a similar story of a son and mother, expellees from Eastern Europe. Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, 76/137/8A.

as one of the central characters, Paul Simon, returns from a French prisoner-of-war camp, a "survivor of the western front."[97] Surely few West Germans could miss the reference to another war that ended in May and to other survivors of the eastern, not the western, front, of Soviet, not French, prisoner-of-war camps. When Reitz's saga moves into the 1930s and 1940s, his focus remains on what one reviewer called a "history of small people who live their lives in dignity,"[98] but there is little room in his drama for the history of other small people denied the right to life of any sort.

Sanders-Brahms, Kluge, and Reitz insisted on the necessity, validity, and in some ways superiority of a subjective perspective—the history of the war and postwar

[97] Kenneth Barkin's review of the movie, *AHR* 96 (October 1991): 1124; Santner, *Stranded Objects*, 60; and in general, the thoughtful treatment of Kaes, *From Hitler to Heimat*, 163–92.

[98] Karsten Witte, "Of the Greatness of the Small People: The Rehabilitation of a Genre," *New German Critique* no. 36 (1985): 6; also see Gertrud Koch, "How Much Naiveté Can We Afford? The New *Heimat* Feeling," *ibid.*, 13–16; Kenneth D. Barkin, "Modern Germany: A Twisted Vision," *Dissent* 34 (1987): 252–55.

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Edgar Reitz's *Heimat* focused on the character of Paul Simon, a "survivor of the western front" in World War I. But it also invoked memories of other survivors of the eastern front in World War II and images like this one of German soldiers being marched to a Soviet prisoner-of-war camp in 1943. In Alexander Kluge's *Die Patriotin*, references to the war in Russia are even more explicit, and the film includes documentary footage of the battle of Stalingrad. Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, ADN GX1939, SU, EO406/22/8N.

years seen through a daughter's eyes, a soldier's suffering, the daily lives of common people. They responded to what they perceived to be the erasure of individual experience and personal voices in historical accounts that focused on ideologies, structures, and institutions. Like the Schieder and Maschke projects, the actors in their historical dramas spoke German and were not Jewish; subjective stories of other victims of the war remained untold.

THE *WENDE*, THE TURN, is now a term most closely associated with the monumental changes of 1989 that led to the unification of the two Germanies. However, in the early 1980s, the *Wende* described the political shift rightward, as the Free Democratic Party dropped its alliance with Social Democrats for a coalition with the Christian Democratic Union and the chancellorship of Helmut Kohl. Under this conservative political constellation, pasts of German suffering, never entirely absent from political discourse and popular culture, took on far greater significance. In the spring of 1985, forty years after the end of World War II in Europe,

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competing German pasts became the topic of intense debate, particularly in the Federal Republic, the United States, and Israel.

Memories of victims were linked when the U.S. president Ronald Reagan joined the West German chancellor Kohl in a day of commemoration that began at Bergen-Belsen, the site of a Nazi concentration camp, and continued with a visit to a military cemetery in Bitburg in western Germany, where, among others, soldiers of the SS were buried. At ceremonies following the cemetery visit, Kohl called for remembrance of the "infinite suffering that the war and totalitarianism inflicted on nations," and at a press conference before leaving for the Federal Republic, Reagan asserted that the German dead at Bitburg "are victims of Nazism also . . . They were victims, just as surely as the victims in the concentration camps."[99]

Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen were not the only controversial sites of commemoration that spring. In his comments to the Bundestag on May 8, Richard von Weizsäcker, then president of the Federal Republic, remembered "the six million Jews who were murdered in German concentration camps" and reminded his fellow citizens who chose to focus on their own suffering that "the 8th of May was a day of liberation. It liberated all of us from the inhumanity and tyranny of the National Socialist regime."[100] In other venues, however, there were other interpretations of "liberation." Kohl followed Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen with a visit to Hanover for the annual rally of the national organization representing those Germans expelled from Silesia at the end of the war.[101] For them, 1985 marked the fortieth anniversary of the "expulsion," "liberation" not from National Socialism but from their homes in Eastern Europe. Breaking a promise to tone down their most outspokenly nationalist rhetoric in return for assurances of Kohl's attendance, some of those present at the Hanover meeting raised banners at the moment of the chancellor's appearance reiterating the claim that "Silesia Remains Ours" (*Schlesien bleibt unser*). Public opinion polls revealed that this was a minority view; 76 percent of all West Germans were ready to live with the postwar border. Still, nearly one in four was not.[102]

Historians had not defined the terms of this public debate over the German past, and their claims to a privileged role in "shaping identity" (*Identitätsstiftung*) in the mid-1980s sprung largely from their own narrow conception of the potential arenas in which identity takes shape. However, the "historians' controversy" (*Historikerstreit*), a scholarly controversy over the place and significance of National Socialism and the Holocaust in the narrative of modern German history, which ultimately involved a "who's who" of senior male historians in the Federal Republic and many

[99] "Address by Chancellor Helmut Kohl to German and American Soldiers and Their Families at Bitburg, May 5, 1985," in Hartmann, *Bitburg*, 256. Hartmann's collection is an excellent source of key documents on the controversy surrounding Reagan's trip. "Remarks of President Ronald Reagan to Regional Editors, White House, April 18, 1985," in Hartmann, *Bitburg*, 240.

[100] "Speech by Richard von Weizsäcker, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, in the Bundestag during the Ceremony Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the End of the War in Europe and of National Socialist Tyranny, May 8, 1985," in Hartmann, *Bitburg*, 263.

[101] Timothy Garton Ash, "Germany after Bitburg," *New Republic* (July 15 and 22, 1985): 15–17, rpt. in Hartmann, *Bitburg*, 199–203.

[102] "Schindluder mit der Friedenspolitik," *Der Spiegel* no. 6 (February 4, 1985): 93. See also "'Die Polen sind Teil des Abendlandes': Der Vorsitzende der CDU/CSU-Fraktion, Alfred Dregger, über Ostpolitik und Vertriebene," *ibid.*, 95.

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students of Germany elsewhere, did focus discussions over the relationship between history and politics that Kohl and others had forcefully placed on the agenda.

The "historians' controversy" generated a mountain of books and articles, and by the late 1980s, a small cottage industry churned out commentaries on West German historians' tortured search for a historically grounded national identity.[103] However, like the memories of wars, memories of "historians' controversies" can fade; over a decade after the fact, it is perhaps useful briefly to review some of the key events in the dispute in order to locate it in the context of the frameworks for understanding the meanings of May 8 that existed long before historians and public intellectuals contested how best to remember the German past in 1985 and 1986.

In one of the most important interventions in the *Historikerstreit*, Andreas Hillgruber brought together expanded versions of two talks given independently in 1984 and 1985 to juxtapose *Two Sorts of Demise: The Destruction of the German Reich and the End of European Jewry* (in German).[104] Hillgruber had long been a student of Eastern Europe. His dissertation was a study of German-Romanian relations in the years from 1938 to 1944, and the book that earned him a professorship analyzed Hitler's planning for the war in the East.[105] Research into the war also meant reflecting on a chapter in his own history. Born in 1925 and raised in Königsberg, where his father, a schoolteacher, was removed from his post by the Nazis, he had been old enough to be drafted into the German army late in the war, and he had fought on the eastern front; much of his professional career was then dedicated to fighting over its meanings.[106]

In his short book, Hillgruber devoted most of his attention to the first of his "demises," the collapse of the German front in East Prussia in the winter of 1944–1945 and the "expulsion of Germans from East Central Europe," events that for Hillgruber defined "the destruction of the German Reich." The historian considering the war's end and searching for a point of empathetic identification, argued Hillgruber,

> must identify himself with the concrete fate of the German population in the east and with the desperate and sacrificial exertions of the German army of the East and the German fleet in the Baltic, which sought to defend the population of the German east from the orgy of revenge of the Red Army, mass rapes, arbitrary killing, and compulsory deportations.[107]

From this perspective, the advance of the Red Army could be designated as a "liberation" for those victims of the Nazis released from concentration camps and prisons, but for the "German nation as a whole, it is inappropriate."[108]

[103] Among the most important are Geoff Eley, "Nazism, Politics and Public Memory: Thoughts on the West German *Historikerstreit* 1986–1987," *Past and Present* 121 (November 1988): 171–208; Charles S. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Richard J. Evans, *In Hitler's Shadow: West German Historians and the Attempt to Escape from the Nazi Past* (New York, 1989); the essays collected in Baldwin, *Reworking the Past*; and Saul Friedlander, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

[104] Andreas Hillgruber, *Zweierlei Untergang: Die Zerschlagung des Deutschen Reiches und das Ende des europäischen Judentums* (Berlin, 1986).

[105] See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Entsorgung der Vergangenheit? Ein polemischer Essay zum "Historiker-streit"* (Munich, 1988), 20–23, 47.

[106] See the insightful analysis of Bartov, *Murder*, 71–89.

[107] Hillgruber, *Zweierlei Untergang*, 24–25.

[108] Hillgruber, *Zweierlei Untergang*. See also Andreas Hillgruber, "Jürgen Habermas, Karl-Heinz

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In his contribution to the "historians' controversy," Ernst Nolte also stressed the comparability of the Nazis' extermination of the Jews and other forms of state terror in the twentieth century. The "final solution," Nolte argued, was not unique but, rather, an expression of extremism and politically motivated violence that could be traced back at least to the "reign of terror" of the French Revolution, reaching a twentieth-century high point with mass murder under Stalin. Nolte's emphasis on the atrocities of Stalinism was familiar to those who knew his work,[109] but what sparked controversy in the 1980s was the comparison of Stalin's and Hitler's crimes, a clear challenge to those who claimed the singularity of Auschwitz.

What went largely unnoticed in the paper wars surrounding the "historians' controversy" was that the battle lines drawn by Hillgruber, Nolte, and the politics of Bitburg had long histories, stretching back into the Federal Republic's first decade.[110] Saul Friedlander chastised Hillgruber for equating the Holocaust and the expulsion, thus elevating to "an element of learned discourse" an "image of the past carried by part of the West German population," and he criticized Nolte for transforming German perpetrators and bystanders into victims. But neither he nor any other commentator on the "historians' controversy" appreciated to what extent learned discourse and popular consciousness had reinforced such an "image of the past" in the public memory of the Federal Republic long before Hillgruber joined "two demises" and Nolte equated victims of Hitler and Stalin.[111] Rothfels had linked victims' fates "Ten Years After," not forty, pointing not only to a "system that had liquidated alleged class enemies just as thoroughly as National Socialism had [liquidated] alleged racial enemies" but also to the crimes perpetrated by Soviets against Germans at the end of the war.[112]

The musings of Michael Stürmer and others that, after the war, West Germans had suffered a "loss of history" completely disregarded the selective "contemporary history" that was written in the first postwar decade. Stürmer's claim that a German history capable of "shaping identity" was possible only once Germans had mourned "for the victims and the pain of what was lost" took no note of how much mourning of this variety had already taken place.[113] When Joachim Fest fretted that "the public sphere, despite all encouragement from the political side, has still not emerged from the shadow cast by Hitler and the crimes committed under him," he also seemed to have suffered a "loss of history," the history of the 1950s in which the crimes committed by Germans had received far less systematic scrutiny than the

Janssen und die Aufklärung Anno 1986," in *"Historikerstreit": Die Dokumentation der Kontroverse um die Einzigartigkeit der nationalsozialistischen Judenvernichtung* (Munich, 1987), 339. The documents are available in English: *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler? Original Documents of the "Historikerstreit," the Controversy Concerning the Singularity of the Holocaust*, James Knowlton and Truett Cates, trans. (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1993). See also Wehler, *Entsorgung*, 164–65.

[109] Wehler, *Entsorgung*, 15–17.

[110] Bartov, *Murder*, 120, also see 86–88.

[111] Saul Friedlander, *A Conflict of Memories? The New German Debates about the "Final Solution"* (New York, 1988), 14.

[112] Rothfels, "Zehn Jahre danach," 232.

[113] Michael Stürmer, "Kein Eigentum der Deutschen: Die deutsche Frage," in *Die Identität der Deutschen*, Werner Weidenfeld, ed. (Munich, 1983), 84.

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crimes committed against Germans.[114] Those calling in the 1980s for West Germans to escape the "shadow of Hitler" paid little attention to the fact that in the 1950s, Hitler's shadow hardly obscured a West German landscape filled with German suffering and accounts in which the real heroes were survivors of Communist aggression, not survivors of concentration camps.[115]

The call in the mid-1980s to link victims of Germans and German victims triggered vehement responses from many who protested Reagan's Bitburg visit, aggressively contested Hillgruber's juxtaposition of two "demises," and denounced Nolte's rejection of the singularity of Auschwitz. Jürgen Habermas questioned the motives of "whoever insists on mourning collective fates, without distinguishing between culprits and victims."[116] A minority opinion in the early postwar years, four decades after the war's end, Habermas's critique was endorsed and repeated with variations by a broad spectrum of West German historians, public intellectuals, and the president of the Federal Republic; this clearly distinguished debates over competing pasts in the 1980s from precedents in the 1950s. The past of Nazi crimes, described by Karl Jaspers, Eugen Kogon, and a handful of other critical observers in the late 1940s and early 1950s, had moved from the margins to center stage.[117] Still, it was by no means the only actor. The past of German victimization did not have to be written anew, because it was already in place.

Assessments in the late 1980s that the "historians' controversy" was over were premature. In the early 1990s, it was apparent that the issues raised in the rancorous exchanges among Hillgruber, Nolte, their allies and critics, and the politics of the Bitburg controversy were not isolated incidents but, rather, parts of a protracted debate over the relationship between history and memory in Germany, which entered into yet another stage following unification of east and west. In Germany after the *Wende* of 1989–1990, the search for a usable past remained no less pressing than it was in the immediate postwar years or the *Wende* of the 1980s.[118]

[114] Joachim Fest, "Die geschuldete Erinnerung: Zur Kontroverse über die Unvergleichbarkeit der nationalsozialistischen Massenverbrechen," *"Historikerstreit,"* 100.

[115] There are interesting parallels with postwar French history, described by Henry Rousso in *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1991). However, the "repressed" that returned in the 1970s in France was the repressed history of collaboration and French anti-Semitism. Another potential point of reference is the Japanese case, where memories of Japanese aggression and terror were far more completely submerged. See Carol Gluck, "The Past in the Present," in *Postwar Japan as History*, Andrew Gordon, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 64–95; Dower, "Triumphal and Tragic Narratives," 1130–31; the thoughtful reflections of Norma Field, *In the Realm of the Dying Emperor: Japan at Century's End* (New York, 1993); and John W. Dower, "The Bombed: Hiroshimas and Nagasakis in Japanese Memory," in Hogan, *Hiroshima*, 116–42. For a bibliographic overview of postwar historiography, see R. J. B. Bosworth, *Explaining Auschwitz and Hiroshima: History Writing and the Second World War* (London, 1993); and Ian Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (London, 1994).

[116] Jürgen Habermas, "A Kind of Settlement of Damages (Apologetic Tendencies)," *New German Critique* no. 44 (1988): 26.

[117] See, for example, Karl Jaspers, *Die Schuldfrage: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Frage* (Zurich, 1946); Eugen Kogon, "Gericht und Gewissen," *Frankfurter Hefte* 1, no. 1 (April 1946): 29–31; and Kogon, "Über die Situation," *Frankfurter Hefte* 2, no. 1 (January 1947): 29, 34; see also Kogon, *Der NS-Staat*. The first edition of 35,000 copies was published in 1946, and a second edition of 100,000 copies appeared a year later. See also Hannah Arendt, "The Aftermath of Nazi Rule: Report from Germany," *Commentary* 10 (October 1950): 342–43.

[118] See the suggestive comments of Claudia Koonz, "Between Memory and Oblivion: Concentration Camps in German Memory," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, John R. Gillis, ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 258–80; Koonz, "Germany's Buchenwald: Whose Shrine? Whose Memory?" in

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Even before May 1995, there were many indications that pasts of German victims and pasts of the victims of Germans were still vying for space and recognition in public consciousness. When Helmut Kohl addressed the first meeting of the parliament of a reunified Germany in October 1990, he began by calling for a moment's silence in honor of the victims of Nazism, moving without pause to call for the same measure of respect for the victims of Communism.[119] The controversy surrounding a memorial in Berlin that would commemorate victims of Nazi terror alongside German victims of the war provided additional evidence that Germans were still far from unified about whether they should "insist on mourning collective fates."[120]

Competing pasts also continued to face off in movie theaters. Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* played in Germany a year after Helke Sander's *Liberators Take Liberties* (in German, *BeFreier und Befreite*), which focused on the experience of women raped at the end of the war by Red Army soldiers. Joseph Vilsmaier's film *Stalingrad* marked another fiftieth anniversary and another form of commemoration that attracted nearly 1.5 million viewers; it was a movie that, in the words of *Die Zeit* columnist Andreas Kilb, "shows the Germans just as they most like to see themselves: as victims."[121]

The warning against forgetting in the advertisement that began this article was only one indication that the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war was another moment for multiple commemorations, but the passing of the Cold War meant that 1995 would not be a repeat of 1985; President Bill Clinton's dilemma was not how to cram visits to Bergen-Belsen and Bitburg into a few hours but, rather, how to be at Arlington National Cemetery on the morning of one day and make it to Moscow by the next. The geopolitical politics of war and peace had shifted, and 1995 was a year for the United States to acknowledge other alliances, other pasts.

Still, the events of the spring of 1995 made it apparent that remembering the end of the war continues to define a central arena for debates over the relationship between history and political identity in a post–Cold War unified Germany. In his famous 1985 address to parliament, President Weizsäcker intoned a ritualistic call for German-German unity and maintained that "Germans are one people and one nation . . . because [we] have lived through the same past."[122] But fifty years after the war's end in a Germany now unified, the past looked no more one-dimensional

The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History, James E. Young, ed. (New York, 1994), 111–19; and Michael Geyer and Miriam Hansen, "German-Jewish Memory and National Consciousness," in *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory*, Geoffrey H. Hartmann, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 175–90.

[119] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 25.

[120] Stephen Kinzer, "The War Memorial: To Embrace the Guilty, Too?" *New York Times*, November 15, 1993; and Daniela Büchten and Anja Frey, eds., *Im Irrgarten deutscher Geschichte: Die neue Wache 1818 bis 1993* (Berlin, 1993).

[121] Andreas Kilb, "Warten, bis Spielberg kommt," *Die Zeit* (January 28, 1994): 1. See also Helke Sander and Barbara Johr, eds., *BeFreier und Befreite: Krieg, Vergewaltigungen, Kinder* (Munich, 1992); Atina Grossmann, "A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers," *October* no. 72 (1995): 43–63, part of a special issue devoted to the film; Heineman, "Hour of the Woman," 365–74; and the superb treatment of this topic by Norman M. Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945–1949* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 69–140.

[122] "Speech by Richard von Weizsäcker," 272.

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than it did in 1945. A series in the liberal weekly *Die Zeit*, reflecting on "1945 and today," included installments on the Holocaust, soldiers, deserters, trials of Nazi war criminals, and crimes committed against Germans. In his contribution on the Holocaust, "The Elimination of a People," Elie Wiesel argued that the "Germans' attempt to kill the Jews of Europe remains a unique crime." Wiesel warned against attempts to "water down" the meaning of the Holocaust, a term that should be applied only to the attempts of Germans to eliminate European Jewry. Use of the term "genocide" also called for particular care. "We must be careful with words," Wiesel advised. "Language is very important, we must use it with care."[123] Contrary to Wiesel, Peter Glotz, writing on "The Sickness of Nationalism" and the expulsion of Germans from Eastern Europe, invoked a familiar comparison when he insisted that "the destruction of the Jewish people, planned by Hitler, was not the only genocide" of the twentieth century. "Genocidal" as well were all "expulsions that are carried out against the will of the population and without the possibility that it can be resettled altogether in one place."[124] As the *Spiegel* poll on the comparability of the expulsion and the Holocaust indicated, many Germans agreed with Glotz, not Wiesel. In the midst of the "historians' controversy," Nolte bemoaned the "past that will not pass." The forms of remembering the war's end ten years later revealed that there were still many pasts that would not pass.[125]

THE COMMEMORATIVE CEREMONIES of May 1995 indicated that German reflections on the war's end were no longer framed by the global politics of the East-West conflict as they were when postwar West Germans bemoaned the loss of the "German East" in the 1950s and Reagan visited Bitburg thirty years later. In the context of the Cold War, crimes of Nazis in the past were easily tied to Communist crimes in the present. In his May 1985 speech, Weizsäcker insisted that it was essential for Germans to commemorate the date "amongst themselves." That internal process of introspection has become decidedly easier after the dramatic transformation of relations between East and West beginning in the late 1980s; as a front-page headline in *Die Zeit* announced in September 1994, with the withdrawal of the last Russian troops from Germany, "Only now is the war over."[126]

To be sure, how Germans and post-Communist nations in Eastern Europe remember the war that ended in 1945 will continue to shape their relations. Before 1989, Hillgruber's invocation of a history in which Germany served as a bridge—rather than a dividing line—between East and West could be called a "geopolitics of nostalgia," and in the midst of the "historians' controversy," no one would have

[123] Elie Wiesel, "Ein Volk auslöschen," *Die Zeit* (April 21, 1995): 16.

[124] Peter Glotz, "Die Krankheit Nationalismus," *Die Zeit* (March 24, 1995): 16. The same issue carried a long account of "The Fight for East Prussia" in the spring of 1945. See Heinz Werner Hübner, "Noch siebzig Tage bis Pillau," 6–8.

[125] See also Helmut Kohl, "Jedem einzelnen Schicksal schulden wir Achtung," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 6, 1995. It is also worth noting that in 1994, Weltbild Verlag in Augsburg commenced another reprinting of the original Schieder project's documentation on the expulsion.

[126] Speech by Richard von Weizsäcker," 262; Theo Sommer, "Jetzt erst ist der Krieg zu Ende," *Die Zeit*, September 9, 1994.

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predicted that the bridge would be reconstructed quite so rapidly.[127] Now it is in place. As Germans and their East European neighbors confront this dramatically altered reality, it will be important to see whether the legacy of Nazi occupation and the ravages of the SS and the Wehrmacht will inevitably be juxtaposed to the legacy of the expulsion.[128] As new democracies to Germany's east leave the shadow of the former Soviet Union, they will reassess their own histories of occupation by the Nazis, collaboration, and resistance. Former East Germans will also unearth their history as victims of the war and postwar Soviet occupation, erased by a Communist regime that euphemistically referred to the Soviet imprisonment of German soldiers as anti-fascist re-education and called the postwar expulsion of ethnic Germans a population transfer.[129] How Germans and East Europeans come to terms with their intersecting pasts will have an important influence on both foreign diplomacy and on the shape of new political identities domestically.

In addition, more than fifty years after the war's end, categories of complicity and responsibility do not carry the same highly personal meanings for Germans. Commenting on the "historians' controversy," the novelist and social critic Peter Schneider remarked, "When German historians address the past, they do so not only as scholars, but necessarily as participants too."[130] The commemoration in 1995 could well be the last major one of the end of World War II in which large numbers of participants will be alive to offer their perspectives. The second postwar generation participates in a national identity powerfully shaped by historical memory, but it was neither on the eastern front with Hillgruber, nor operating anti-aircraft guns on the home front at the war's end, nor in concentration camps or exile.

In the sixth decade after the war's end, however, the German search for a usable past is not at an end. It must involve not only the continued study of National Socialism, European Jewry before the Holocaust, the "final solution," World War II, the emergence of the Cold War, and the postwar settlement in Central Europe but also a clearer understanding of how Germans came to terms with these pasts in the early history of the Federal Republic.[131] In the 1950s, most West Germans were able to interpret their experience only in absolute moral categories; a nation of victims confronted a handful of perpetrators. The forceful reemergence of this postwar history in the 1980s and 1990s indicates how vivid this image of the past remains.

[127] Maier, *Unmasterable Past*, 23.

[128] See, for example, "'Alles so trostlos': SPIEGEL-Redakteur Hans-Ulrich Stoldt über die Hoffnung der tschechischen Nazi-Opfer auf Entschädigung aus Bonn," *Der Spiegel* no. 19 (May 8, 1995): 24–25; Sabine Herre, "Viel Lob für Havel," *die tageszeitung*, February 20, 1995; Berthold Kohler, "Havels Heimkehr," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 20, 1995; "Europa, das bedeutet vor allem die Freiheit der Person: Auszüge aus der Rede des polnischen Aussenministers Bartoszewski vor dem Deutschen Bundestag," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 29, 1995; "Klaus bedauert Verbrechen bei der Vertreibung," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 8, 1995; and Alan Cowell, "Memories of Wartime Brutalities Revive Czech-German Animosity," *New York Times*, February 9, 1996.

[129] Wolfgang Zank, *Wirtschaft und Arbeit in Ostdeutschland 1945–1949: Probleme des Wiederaufbaus in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands* (Munich, 1987), 142–52; the excellent framework offered by Naimark, *Russians in Germany*; and Koonz, "Germany's Buchenwald."

[130] Peter Schneider, "Hitler's Shadow: On Being a Self-Conscious German," *Harper's Magazine* (September 1987): 50; also Bartov, *Murder*, 120; and Dower, "Triumphal and Tragic Narratives," 1124.

[131] Ultimately, such a perspective would also include the former German Democratic Republic. See Danyel, "Die geteilte Vergangenheit."

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Perhaps it is difficult to find new positions from which to assess the significance of the war's end and to incorporate an adequate account of this past into modern German history because of the problems inherent in the binary opposition of perpetrator and victim, categories that in turn imply guilt and innocence. Choosing between these two positions was the option Hillgruber seemed to offer Germans in his call for historical empathy. But in the Third Reich, if some Germans lived such absolute choices, most did not. An account of May 1945 that did not pit one past against another would deny no victim the ability to mourn, but it would follow Habermas in insisting that "mourning collective fates" is inappropriate. It would avoid any tendency to establish the moral equivalence of the victims of Germans and German victims, just as it would reject an analysis that explained the suffering of all Germans as the quid pro quo for the suffering inflicted on others by the National Socialist state. It would also move beyond a language in which the categories of victim and perpetrator were mutually exclusive; it would seek to capture the complexities of individual lives and "mass fates" by exploring how during the Third Reich it was possible both to suffer and to cause suffering in others.

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AHR Forum

Shopping Malls in America

Over the last forty years, shopping malls have spread across the United States and beyond its borders to become ubiquitous parts of the global landscape. During those years, they quickly became a primary American emblem and export. This AHR Forum *places the emergence of shopping malls as dominant consumption centers and symbols in historical context. It does so by treating the phenomenal growth of malls as critical sources for understanding the cultural and economic changes of the post–World War II era. The articles by Lizabeth Cohen and Thomas W. Hanchett make a compelling case for considering shopping malls as both sources and products of key elements of postwar life. From the conscious creation of malls as particular kinds of gendered spaces to the formulation of governmental policies that fostered suburban growth at the expense of urban redevelopment, Cohen and Hanchett demonstrate the centrality of malls in the construction of postwar American social life and public policy. Kenneth T. Jackson's commentary not only offers astute appraisals of the two essays but also places the growth of shopping malls in a wider context by suggesting why the United States was a such a hospitable environment for shopping centers and why malls have acquired such global appeal. Taken together, the essays and the commentary demonstrate the importance of subjecting the seemingly mundane aspects of the past and present to historical analysis.*

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AHR Forum

From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar America

LIZABETH COHEN

WHEN THE EDITORS OF *TIME* MAGAZINE set out to tell readers in an early January 1965 cover story why the American economy had flourished during the previous year, they explained it in terms that had become the conventional wisdom of postwar America. The most prosperous twelve months ever, capping the country's fourth straight year of economic expansion, were attributable to the American consumer, "who continued spending as if there were no tomorrow." According to *Time*'s economics lesson, consumers, business, and government "created a nonvicious circle: spending created more production, production created wealth, wealth created more spending." In this simplified Keynesian model of economic growth, "the consumer is the key to our economy." As R. H. Macy's board chair Jack Straus explained to *Time*'s readers, "When the country has a recession, it suffers not so much from problems of production as from problems of consumption." And in prosperous times like today, "Our economy keeps growing because our ability to consume is endless. The consumer goes on spending regardless of how many possessions he has. The luxuries of today are the necessities of tomorrow." A demand economy built on mass consumption had brought the United States out of the doldrums of the Great Depression and World War II, and its strength in the postwar period continued to impress those like retail magnate Straus whose own financial future depended on it.[1]

Although Straus and his peers invested great energy and resources in developing new strategies for doing business in this mass-consumption economy, historians

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[1] "The Economy: The Great Shopping Spree," *Time* (January 8, 1965): 58–62 (and cover).

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have paid far less attention to the restructuring of American commercial life in the postwar period than to the transformation of residential experience. An impressive literature documents the way the expansion of a mass consumer society encouraged a larger and broader spectrum of Americans to move into suburban communities after the war.[2] Between 1947 and 1953 alone, the suburban population increased by 43 percent, in contrast to a general population increase of only 11 percent.[3] At an astonishing pace, the futuristic highways and mass-built, appliance-equipped, single-family homes that had been previewed at the New York World's Fair in 1939–1940 seemed to become a reality. Thanks to a shortage in urban housing, government subsidies in highway building and home construction or purchase, and pent-up consumer demand and savings, a new residential landscape began to take shape in metropolitan areas, with large numbers of people commuting into cities for work and then back to homes in the suburbs. (Increasingly as the postwar era progressed, suburbanites worked, not just lived, outside cities.)

Less explored by historians and slower to develop historically was the restructuring of the consumer marketplace that accompanied the suburbanization of residential life. New suburbanites who had themselves grown up in urban neighborhoods walking to corner stores and taking public transportation to shop downtown were now contending with changed conditions. Only in the most ambitious suburban tracts built after the war did developers incorporate retail stores into their plans. In those cases, developers tended to place the shopping district at the core of the residential community, much as it had been in the pre-war planned community of Radburn, New Jersey, and in the earliest shopping centers, such as Kansas City's Country Club Plaza of the 1920s. These precedents, and their descendents in early postwar developments in Park Forest, Illinois, Levittown, New York, and Bergenfield, New Jersey, replicated the structure of the old-style urban community, where shopping was part of the public space at the settlement's core and residences spread outward from there.[4] But most new suburban home developers made no effort to provide for residents' commercial needs. Rather, suburbanites were expected to fend for themselves by driving to the existing

[2] See Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, 1985); Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York, 1987); Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (Garden City, N.Y., 1991); William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock, "Bold New City or Built-Up 'Burb? Redefining Contemporary Suburbia," with comments by Robert Bruegmann, Robert Fishman, Margaret Marsh, and June Manning Thomas, *American Quarterly* 46 (March 1994): 1–61; Carol O'Connor, "Sorting Out Suburbia," *American Quarterly* 37 (Summer 1985): 382–94.

[3] The Editors of *Fortune*, *The Changing American Market* (Garden City, N.Y., 1995), 76.

[4] Ann Durkin Keating and Ruth Eckdish Knack, "Shopping in the Planned Community: Evolution of the Park Forest Town Center," unpublished paper in possession of author; Howard Gillette, Jr., "The Evolution of the Planned Shopping Center in Suburb and City," *American Planning Association Journal* 51 (Autumn 1985): 449–60; Daniel Prosser, "The New Downtowns: Commercial Architecture in Suburban New Jersey, 1920–1970," in Joel Schwartz and Daniel Prosser, *Cities of the Garden State: Essays in the Urban and Suburban History of New Jersey* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1977), 113–15; "Park Forest Moves into '52," *House and Home: The Magazine of Building* 1 (March 1952): 115–16; William S. Worley, *J. C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities* (Columbia, Mo., 1990); Richard Longstreth, "J. C. Nichols, the Country Club Plaza, and Notions of Modernity," *The Harvard Architecture Review, Vol. 5: Precedent and Invention* (New York, 1986), 121–32; William H. Whyte, Jr., "The Outgoing Life," *Fortune* 47 (July 1953): 85; Michael Birkner, *A Country Place No More: The Transformation of Bergenfield, New Jersey, 1894–1994* (Rutherford, N.J., 1994), 174–77; *Bergen Evening Record*, Special Foster Village Edition, August 10, 1949.

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"market towns," which often offered the only commerce for miles, or by returning to the city to shop. Faced with slim retail offerings nearby, many new suburbanites of the 1940s and 1950s continued to depend on the city for major purchases, making do with the small, locally owned commercial outlets in neighboring towns only for minor needs.

It would not be until the mid-1950s that a new market structure appropriate to this suburbanized, mass-consumption society prevailed. Important precedents existed in the branch department stores and prototypical shopping centers constructed between the 1920s and 1940s in outlying city neighborhoods and in older suburban communities, which began the process of decentralizing retail dollars away from downtown. But now the scale was much larger. Even more significant, the absence or inadequacy of town centers at a time of enormous suburban population growth offered commercial developers a unique opportunity to reimagine community life with their private projects at its heart.[5]

By the early 1950s, large merchandisers were aggressively reaching out to the new suburbanites, whose buying power was even greater than their numbers.[6] The 30 million people that *Fortune* magazine counted as suburban residents in 1953 represented 19 percent of the U.S. population but 29 percent of its income. They had higher median incomes and homeownership rates, as well as more children fourteen and under than the rest of the metropolitan population, all indicators of high consumption.

Merchandisers also realized that postwar suburbanites were finally living the motorized existence that had been predicted for American society since the 1920s. As consumers became dependent on, virtually inseparable from, their cars, traffic congestion and parking problems discouraged commercial expansion in central business districts of cities and smaller market towns, already hindered by a short supply of developable space.[7] Reaching out to suburbanites where they lived, merchandisers at first built stores along the new highways, in commercial "strips" that consumers could easily reach by car. By the mid-1950s, however, commercial developers—many of whom owned department stores—were constructing a new kind of marketplace, the regional shopping center aimed at satisfying suburbanites' consumption *and* community needs. Strategically located at highway intersections or along the busiest thoroughfares, the regional shopping center attracted patrons living within half an hour's drive, who could come by car, park in the abundant lots provided, and then proceed on foot (although there was usually some bus service as well). Here was the "new city" of the postwar era, a vision of how community space

[5] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 255–61. On precedents in the pre–World War II period, see Richard Longstreth, "Silver Spring: Georgia Avenue, Colesville Road, and the Creation of an Alternative 'Downtown' for Metropolitan Washington," in *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, Zeynep Celik, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), 247–57; Longstreth, "The Neighborhood Shopping Center in Washington, D.C., 1930–1941," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 (March 1992): 5–33; Longstreth, "The Perils of a Parkless Town," in *The Car and the City: The Automobile, the Built Environment, and Daily Urban Life*, Martin Wachs and Margaret Crawford, eds. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992), 141–53.

[6] Editors of *Fortune*, *Changing American Market*, 78–80, 90. Also see "New Need Cited on Store Centers," *New York Times* (February 13, 1955): 7.

[7] Richard Longstreth, "The Mixed Blessings of Success: The Hecht Company and Department Store Branch Development after World War II," Occasional Paper No. 14, January 1995, Center for Washington Area Studies, George Washington University.

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should be constructed in an economy and society built on mass consumption. Well-designed regional shopping centers would provide the ideal core for a settlement that grew by adding residential nodes off of major roadways rather than concentric rings from downtown, as in cities and earlier suburban communities. After spending several months in the late 1950s visiting these "modern-day downtowns," *Women's Wear Daily* columnist Samuel Feinberg was moved to invoke Lincoln Steffens's proclamation on his return from the Soviet Union in the 1920s: "I have seen the future and it works."[8]

This essay will analyze the larger social and political implications of the shift in community marketplace from town center to shopping center. Although I draw on national evidence, I pay special attention to the case of Paramus, New Jersey, a postwar suburb seven miles from the George Washington Bridge that sprouted virtually overnight in the vegetable fields of Bergen County and became the home of the largest shopping complex in the country by the end of 1957.[9] Within six months, R. H. Macy's Garden State Plaza and Allied Stores Corporation's Bergen Mall opened three quarters of a mile from each other at the intersection of Routes 4, 17, and the soon-to-be-completed Garden State Parkway. Both department store managements had independently recognized the enormous commercial potential of Bergen and Passaic counties; although the George Washington Bridge connected the area to Manhattan in 1931, the Depression and the war postponed major housing construction until the late 1940s. By 1960, each shopping center had two to three department stores as anchors (distinguishing it from many pre-war projects built around a single anchor), surrounded by fifty to seventy smaller stores. Attracting half a million patrons a week, these shopping centers dominated retail trade in the region.[10] (See Figures 1 and 2.)

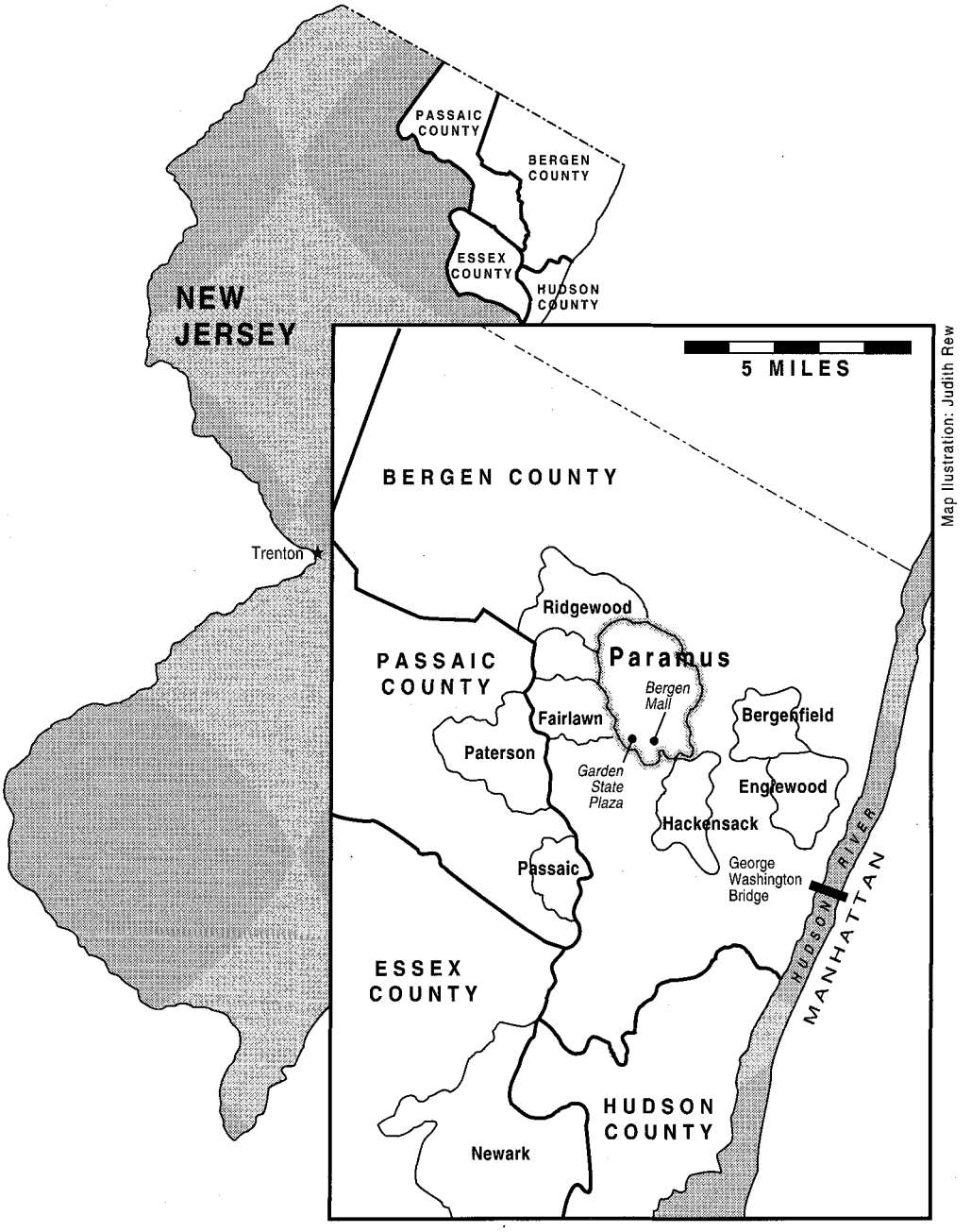
The Paramus malls have special significance because of their location adjacent to the wealthiest and busiest central business district in the nation. If these malls could prosper in the shadow of Manhattan, the success of their counterparts elsewhere should come as no surprise. Moreover, the Paramus case illuminates three major effects of shifting marketplaces on postwar American community life: in commer-

[8] Samuel Feinberg, "Story of Shopping Centers," *What Makes Shopping Centers Tick*, reprinted from *Women's Wear Daily* (New York, 1960), 1. For useful background on the development of regional shopping centers, see William Severini Kowinski, *The Malling of America: An Inside Look at the Great Consumer Paradise* (New York, 1985); Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago, 1990), 7, 76–77, 278–88; Margaret Crawford, "The World in a Shopping Mall," in Michael Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York, 1992), 3–30; Gillette, "Evolution of the Planned Shopping Center."

[9] On the postwar growth of Paramus and Bergen County, see Raymond M. Ralph, *Farmland to Suburbia, 1920–1960*, Vol. 6, Bergen County, New Jersey History and Heritage Series (Hackensack, N.J., 1983), 62–71, 76–90; Catherine M. Fogarty, John E. O'Connor, and Charles F. Cummings, *Bergen County: A Pictorial History* (Norfolk, Va., 1985), 182–93; *Beautiful Bergen: The Story of Bergen County, New Jersey*, 1962; Patricia M. Ryle, *An Economic Profile of Bergen County, New Jersey* (Office of Economic Research, Division of Planning and Research, New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry, March 1980); League of Women Voters of Bergen County, *Where Can I Live in Bergen County: Factors Affecting Housing Supply* (Closter, N.J., 1972).

[10] Feinberg, *What Makes Shopping Centers Tick*, 2, 94–102; Ralph, *Farmland to Suburbia*, 70–71, 84–85; Mark A. Stuart, *Our Era, 1960–Present*, Vol. 7, Bergen County, New Jersey History and Heritage Series (Hackensack, N.J., 1983), 19–22; Prosser, "New Downtowns," 119–20; Edward T. Thompson, "The Suburb That Macy's Built," *Fortune* 61 (February 1960): 195–200; "Garden State Plaza Merchant's Manual," May 1, 1957, and certain pages revised in 1959, 1960, 1962, 1963, 1965, 1969, Garden State Plaza Historical Collection.

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Location of Shopping Centers in Paramus, New Jersey, 1957

FIGURE 1

cializing public space, they brought to community life the market segmentation that increasingly shaped commerce; in privatizing public space, they privileged the rights of private property owners over citizens' traditional rights of free speech in

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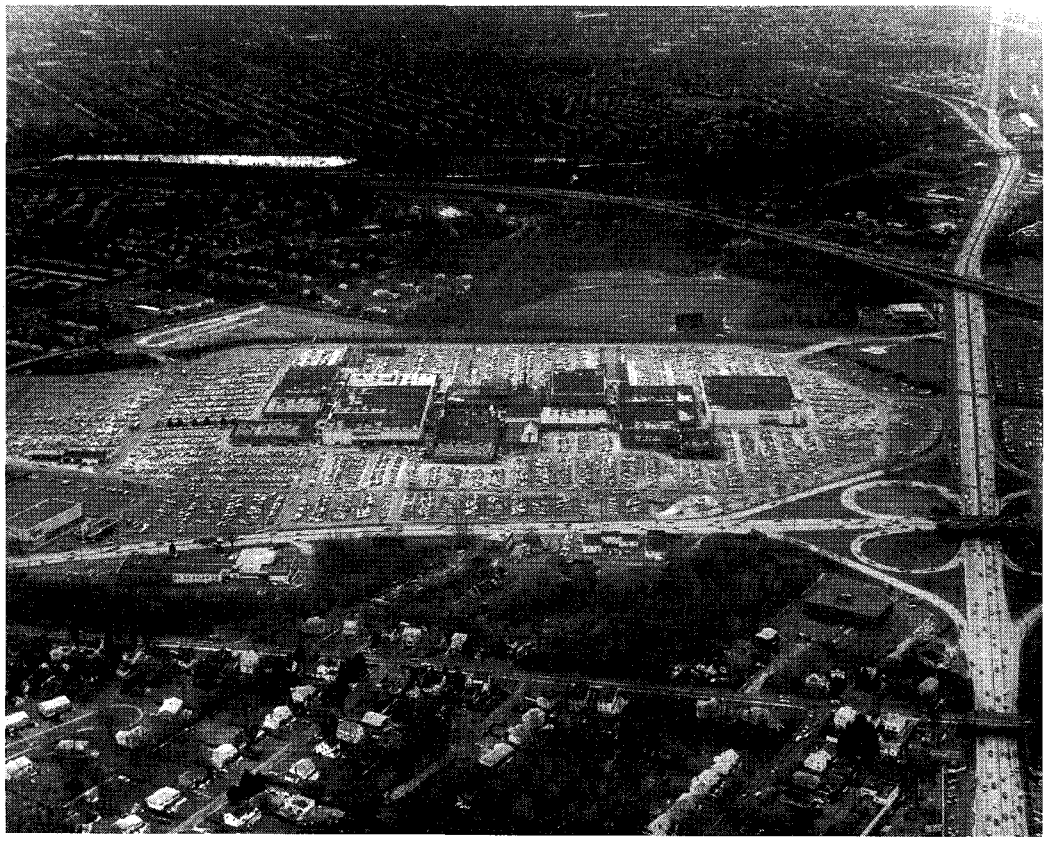


FIGURE 2: This aerial view of the Garden State Plaza in Paramus, New Jersey, shows its orientation to the car. Note its convenient location at the intersection of Routes 4 and 17 and the Garden State Parkway, as well as the extensive space allocated for parking. Courtesy of Garden State Plaza Historical Collection.

community forums; and in feminizing public space, they enhanced women's claim on the suburban landscape but also empowered them more as consumers than producers.

WHEN PLANNERS AND SHOPPING-CENTER DEVELOPERS envisioned this new kind of consumption-oriented community center in the 1950s, they set out to perfect the concept of downtown, not to obliterate it, even though their projects directly challenged the viability of existing commercial centers such as Hackensack, the political and commercial seat of Bergen County. It is easy to overlook this visionary dimension and focus only on the obvious commercial motives developers and investors shared. Of course, developers, department stores, and big investors such as insurance companies (who leapt at the promise of a huge return on the vast amounts of capital they controlled) were pursuing the enormous potential for profit in shopping-center development.[11] But they also believed that they were participating in a rationalization of consumption and community no less significant than

[11] On the financing of shopping centers and the great profits involved, see Jerry Jacobs, *The Mall: An Attempted Escape from Everyday Life* (Prospect Heights, Ill., 1984), 52.

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the way highways were improving transportation or tract developments were delivering mass housing.

The ideal was still the creation of centrally located public space that brought together commercial and civic activity. Victor Gruen, one of the most prominent and articulate shopping-center developers, spoke for many others when he argued that shopping centers offered to dispersed suburban populations "crystallization points for suburbia's community life." "By affording opportunities for social life and recreation in a protected pedestrian environment, by incorporating civic and educational facilities, shopping centers can fill an existing void."[12] Not only did Gruen and others promote the construction of community centers in the atomized landscape of suburbia, but in appearance their earliest shopping centers idealized—almost romanticized—the physical plan of the traditional downtown shopping street, with stores lining both sides of an open-air pedestrian walkway that was landscaped and equipped with benches.[13] (See Figure 3.)

While bringing many of the best qualities of urban life to the suburbs, these new "shopping towns," as Gruen called them, also sought to overcome the "anarchy and ugliness" characteristic of many American cities. A centrally owned and managed Garden State Plaza or Bergen Mall, it was argued, offered an alternative model to the inefficiencies, visual chaos, and provinciality of traditional downtown districts. A centralized administration made possible the perfect mix and "scientific" placement of stores, meeting customers' diverse needs and maximizing store owners' profits. Management kept control visually by standardizing all architectural and graphic design and politically by requiring all tenants to participate in the tenants' association. Common complaints of downtown shoppers were directly addressed: parking was plentiful, safety was ensured by hired security guards, delivery tunnels and loading courts kept truck traffic away from shoppers, canopied walks and air-conditioned stores made shopping comfortable year 'round, piped-in background music replaced the cacophony of the street. The preponderance of chains and franchises over local stores, required by big investors such as insurance companies, brought shoppers the latest national trends in products and merchandising techniques. B. Earl Puckett, Allied Stores' board chair, boasted that Paramus's model shopping centers were making it "one of the first preplanned major cities in America."[14] What made this new market structure so unique and appealing to businessmen like Puckett was that it encouraged social innovation while maximizing profit.

Garden State Plaza and Bergen Mall provide good models for how shopping

[12] Victor Gruen, "Introverted Architecture," *Progressive Architecture* 38, no. 5 (1957): 204–08; Victor Gruen and Larry Smith, *Shopping Towns USA: The Planning of Shopping Centers* (New York, 1960), 22–24; both quoted in Gillette, "Evolution of the Planned Shopping Center." For more on Gruen, see Kowinski, *Malling of America*, 118–20, 210–14; "Exhibit of Shopping Centers," *New York Times* (October 19, 1954): 42. Paul Goldberger recently profiled shopping-center builder Martin Bucksbaum in "Settling the Suburban Frontier," *New York Times Magazine* (December 31, 1995): 34–35.

[13] Robert Bruegmann made the same point about the way the earliest design of suburban shopping centers resembled downtown shopping streets in a talk to the Urban History Seminar of the Chicago Historical Society, February 17, 1994.

[14] Quoted in Feinberg, *What Makes Shopping Centers Tick*, 101. In addition to sources already cited on the control possible in a shopping center versus a downtown, see "Shopping Centers Get 'Personality,'" *New York Times* (June 29, 1958): 1.

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FIGURE 3: Garden State Plaza in the early 1960s featured open-air and landscaped walkways, suggesting a pedestrian Main Street. Courtesy of Garden State Plaza Historical Collection.

centers of the 1950s followed Gruen's prescription and became more than miscellaneous collections of stores. As central sites of consumption, they offered the full range of businesses and services that one would previously have sought downtown. They not only sold the usual clothing and shoes in their specialty and department stores—Sterns and J. J. Newberry at Bergen Mall, Bamberger's (Macy's New Jersey division), J. C. Penney's and Gimbels at Garden State Plaza—but also featured stores specifically devoted to furniture, hardware, appliances, groceries, gifts, drugs, books, toys, records, bakery goods, candy, jewelry, garden supplies,

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FIGURE 4: The in-house publication *Penney News* (November–December 1958) published this photo as part of a feature story on the recent opening of J. C. Penney's Garden State Plaza store. The caption read, "This community club room which can also serve as selling area will be made available free of charge to women's clubs and civic groups." Penney's created this community club room, its first ever, as part of the campaign to make the shopping center the heart of suburban life. P-N.J., Paramus-11. Courtesy of JCPenney Archives and Historical Museum, Dallas, Texas.

hearing aids, tires, even religious objects. Services grew to include restaurants, a post office, laundromat, cleaners, key store, shoe repair, bank, loan company, stock brokerage houses, barber shop, travel agency, real estate office, "slenderizing salon," and Catholic chapel. Recreational facilities ranged from a 550-seat movie theater, bowling alley, and ice-skating rink to a children's gymnasium and playground.

Both shopping centers made meeting rooms and auditoriums available to community organizations and scheduled a full range of cultural and educational activities to legitimize these sites as civic centers, which also attracted customers. (See Figure 4.) Well-attended programs and exhibitions taught shoppers about such "hot" topics of the 1950s and 1960s as space exploration, color television, modern art, and civics. Evening concerts and plays, ethnic entertainment, dances and classes for teenagers, campaign appearances by electoral candidates, community outreach for local charities: these were some of the ways that the Bergen Mall and Garden State Plaza made themselves indispensable to life in Bergen County. In sum, it was hard to think of consumer items or community events that could not be found at one or the other of these two shopping centers. (In the 1970s, a cynical reporter

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cracked that "the only institution that had not yet invaded" the modern shopping mall was the funeral home.) Furthermore, stores and services were more accessible than those downtown, as the centers were open to patrons from 10 a.m. to 9:30 p.m., at first four nights a week and by the 1960s, six nights a week. To a regional planner such as Ernest Erber, these postwar shopping centers helped construct a new kind of urbanism appropriate to the automobile age: the "City of Bergen," he named the area in 1960. The *New York Times* agreed, remarking of the Paramus commercial complex, "It lives a night as well as a day existence, glittering like a city when the sun goes down."[15]

When developers and store owners set out to make the shopping center a more perfect downtown, they aimed to exclude from this public space unwanted urban groups such as vagrants, prostitutes, racial minorities, and poor people. Market segmentation became the guiding principle of this mix of commercial and civic activity, as the shopping center sought perhaps contradictorily to legitimize itself as a true community center and to define that community in exclusionary socioeconomic and racial terms. The simple demographics of postwar America helped: when nine of the ten largest cities in the United States lost population between 1950 and 1960 while all metropolitan areas grew, three whites were moving out for every two non-whites who moved in, laying the groundwork for the racially polarized metropolitan populations of today.[16] In this way, suburbanization must be seen as a new form of racial segregation in the face of a huge wave of African-American migration from the South to the North during the 1950s.

Shopping centers did not exclude inadvertently by virtue of their suburban location. Rather, developers deliberately defined their communities through a combination of marketing and policing. Macy's reminded its stockholders in 1955 as it was building its first shopping center, the Garden State Plaza, "We are a type of organization that caters primarily to middle-income groups, and our stores

[15] Ernest Erber, "Notes on the 'City of Bergen,'" September 14, 1960, Box B, Ernest Erber Papers (hereafter, Erber), Newark Public Library (hereafter, NPL), Newark; "Paramus Booms as a Store Center," *New York Times* (February 5, 1962): 33–34; "The Mall the Merrier, or Is It?" *New York Times* (November 21, 1976): 62. For details on particular stores and activities at Bergen Mall and Garden State Plaza, see Feinberg, *What Makes Shopping Centers Tick*, 97–100; Fogarty, *et al.*, *Bergen County*, 189; Prosser, "New Downtowns," 119. Almost every issue of the *Bergen Evening Record* from 1957 and thereafter yields valuable material (in articles and advertisements) on mall stores, services, and activities. The discussion here is based particularly on issues from November 8, 13, and 19, 1957, January 8, 1958, June 10, 1959, and March 2, 1960. Also see "Shoppers! Mass Today on Level 1," *New York Times*, June 14, 1994; press release on Garden State Plaza's opening in the Historical Collection of Garden State Plaza, folder "GSP history"; "It Won't Be Long Now . . . Bamberger's, New Jersey's Greatest Store, Comes to Paramus Soon," promotional leaflet, stamped August 22, 1956, file "Bergen County Shopping Centers," Johnson Free Public Library, Hackensack, N.J.; "The Shopping Center," *New York Times* (February 1, 1976): 6–7.

For data on the allocation of shopping-center space in ten regional shopping centers in 1957, see William Applebaum and S. O. Kaylin, *Case Studies in Shopping Center Development and Operation* (New York, 1974), 101. For evidence of the community orientation of shopping centers nationwide, see Arthur Herzog, "Shops, Culture, Centers—and More," *New York Times Magazine* (November 18, 1962): 34–35, 109–10, 112–14; in the *New York Times*: "A Shopping Mall in Suffolk Offering More Than Goods," June 22, 1970: 39; "Supermarkets Hub of Suburbs," February 7, 1971: 58; "Busy Day in a Busy Mall," April 12, 1972: 55. On the community-relations efforts of branch stores, see Clinton L. Oaks, *Managing Suburban Branches of Department Stores* (Stanford, Calif., 1957), 81–83.

[16] George Sternlieb, *The Future of the Downtown Department Store* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 10.

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reflect this in the merchandise they carry and in their physical surroundings."[17] It was this concern for "physical surroundings" that made the setting of the suburban shopping center appealing to retailers—and ultimately to customers. As Baltimore's Planning Council explained more explicitly than merchants ever would, "Greater numbers of low-income, Negro shoppers in Central Business District stores, coming at the same time as middle and upper income white shoppers are given alternatives in . . . segregated suburban centers, has had unfortunate implications [for downtown shopping]."[18]

Store selection, merchandise, prices, and carefully controlled access to suburban shopping centers supported the class and color line. A survey of consumer expenditures in northern New Jersey in 1960–1961 revealed that while 79 percent of all families owned cars, fewer than one-third of those with incomes below $3,000 did, and the low-income population included a higher percentage of non-white families than the average for the whole sample.[19] Although bus service was available for shoppers without cars, only a tiny proportion arrived that way (in 1966, a daily average of only 600 people came to the Garden State Plaza by bus compared to a mid-week daily average of 18,000 cars and a holiday peak of 31,000 cars, many carrying more than one passenger), and bus routes were carefully planned to serve non-driving customers—particularly women—from neighboring suburbs, not low-income consumers from cities such as Passaic, Paterson, and Newark.[20] Whereas individual department stores had long targeted particular markets defined by class and race, selling, for example, to "the carriage trade" at the upper end, shopping centers applied market segmentation on the scale of a downtown. In promoting an idealized downtown, shopping centers like Garden State Plaza and Bergen Mall tried to filter out not only the inefficiencies and inconveniences of the city but also the undesirable people who lived there.

[17] R. H. Macy & Company, *Annual Report* (New York, 1955). The *Times-Advocate*, March 14, 1976, argues that Bamberger's, Macy's store at the Garden State Plaza, was at the forefront of the chain's appeal to the middle to upper-income shopper. On market segmentation of shopping centers, also see William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York, 1956), 316–17; Jacobs, *The Mall*, 5, 12; and Albert Bills and Lois Pratt, "Personality Differences among Shopping Centers," *Fairleigh Dickinson University Business Review* 1 (Winter 1961), which distinguishes between the customers of the Bergen Mall and Garden State Plaza in socioeconomic terms. Crawford's "World in a Shopping Mall," in Sorkin, *Variations on a Theme Park*, discusses the sophisticated strategies that market researchers use to analyze trade areas and pitch stores to different kinds of customers, 8–9.

[18] George Sternlieb, "The Future of Retailing in the Downtown Core," *AIP Journal* 24 (May 1963), as reprinted in Howard A. Schretter, *Downtown Revitalization* (Athens, Ga., 1967), 95, and quoted in Jon C. Teaford, *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940–1985* (Baltimore, Md., 1990), 129.

[19] United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Consumer Expenditures and Income, Northern New Jersey, 1960–61," BLS Report No. 237–63, December 1963, Schomburg Center, New York Public Library, Clipping File "Consumer Expenses & Income-NJ."

[20] "The Wonder on Routes 4 and 17: Garden State Plaza," brochure, file "Bergen County Shopping Centers," Johnson Free Public Library, Hackensack, New Jersey; "Notes on Discussion Dealing with Regional (Intermunicipal) Planning Program for Passaic Valley Area (Lower Portion of Passaic Co. and South Bergen," n.d., Box A, Folder 3, Erber, NPL; "Memorandum to DAJ and WBS from EE," November 22, 1966, Box B, Erber, NPL; National Center for Telephone Research (A Division of Louis Harris and Associates), "A Study of Shoppers' Attitudes toward the Proposed Shopping Mall in the Hudson County Meadowlands Area," conducted for Hartz Mountain Industries, February 1979, Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

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IF DEVELOPERS AND RETAILERS ENVISIONED the regional shopping center as the new American city of postwar suburbia, what actually happened? How successful were shopping centers in attracting patrons and displacing existing urban centers? By investigating the behavior of consumers, on the one hand, and retail businessmen on the other, we can assess the impact of Bergen Mall and Garden State Plaza on the commercial and community life of Bergen County.

Consumer surveys of the late 1950s and early 1960s, carried out by sociologists and market researchers interested in evaluating the changes wrought by the new regional shopping centers, provide a remarkably good picture of consumer behavior in the era. Before the Bergen Mall and Garden State Plaza opened in 1957, Bergen County shoppers satisfied their immediate needs on the main streets of Hackensack and of smaller surrounding towns such as Ridgewood, Fair Lawn, Bergenfield, and Englewood. For more extensive shopping, people went to branches of Sears and Arnold Constable in Hackensack, Meyer Brothers and Quackenbush's department stores in Paterson, Bamberger's, Hahne's, and Kresge's in Newark, and quite often to the big stores in Manhattan. Even before the regional shopping centers opened, the huge influx of new suburban dwellers had raised retail sales in Bergen County from $400 million in 1948 to $700 million in 1954, an increase of 79 percent; by 1958, sales had increased another 23 percent to $866 million. Nonetheless, Bergen County residents in 1954 were still spending $650 million outside the county, almost as much as inside.[21]

Samuel and Lois Pratt, professors at Fairleigh Dickinson University, surveyed Bergen County consumers living within a ten-minute drive of the two new shopping centers in 1957, 1958, and 1959 to follow changes in their shopping habits over time. Prior to the opening of the shopping centers, seven in ten suburban families surveyed shopped in New York City to some extent. One year after the centers opened, the numbers shopping in New York dropped to six in ten, and two years after, fewer than five in ten families shopped there at all. In other words, one-fourth of the entire sample formerly had shopped in New York City but had now entirely stopped. The loss was even more substantial than that; the 15 percent of suburban families who formerly did most of their shopping in New York City—people the Pratts labeled "major shoppers"—showed the sharpest decline, 50 percent by 1958, 80 percent by 1959. Moreover, those who continued to shop in New York City were spending much less money there; the average annual expenditure in New York by suburban families dropped from $93 to $68 after the regional shopping centers opened. Furthermore, consumers were much less likely to shop in the New York stores that had opened suburban branches; by the end of the first year, the number of Bergen County families who had traded in the New York Macy's or Stern's dropped by half. A similar study of 1,100 shoppers by the New York University School of Retailing confirmed the Pratts' findings: shoppers for women's wear were half as likely to go to New York and a third as likely to go to Hackensack just one year after the shopping centers had opened. By the early 1960s, a survey of New York area shoppers by a Harvard Business School professor concluded that more than 80 percent of residents of the New Jersey suburbs were most likely to shop

[21] Stuart, *Our Era*, 20; Lois Pratt, "The Impact of Regional Shopping Centers in Bergen County," unpublished conference paper delivered April 23, 1960, in possession of the author.

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close to home for clothing and household items, while only 20 percent went most often to Manhattan and 38 percent to New Jersey cities. (Some multiple answers brought the total over 100 percent.) Nationwide, the trend was the same; retail sales in central business districts declined dramatically between 1958 and 1963, while overall metropolitan sales mushroomed from 10 to 20 percent.[22]

The reasons consumers routinely gave for shifting from downtown stores to shopping centers varied, but the overwhelming motivation they articulated was convenience—the ability to drive and park easily, more night hours, improved store layouts, increased self-selection, and simplified credit like the charge plate. The Pratts concluded that shoppers were not so much dissatisfied with New York and Hackensack stores as attracted to the ease and "progressiveness" of shopping-center shopping. People seemed to share the developers' sense that shopping centers were the modern way to consume.[23]

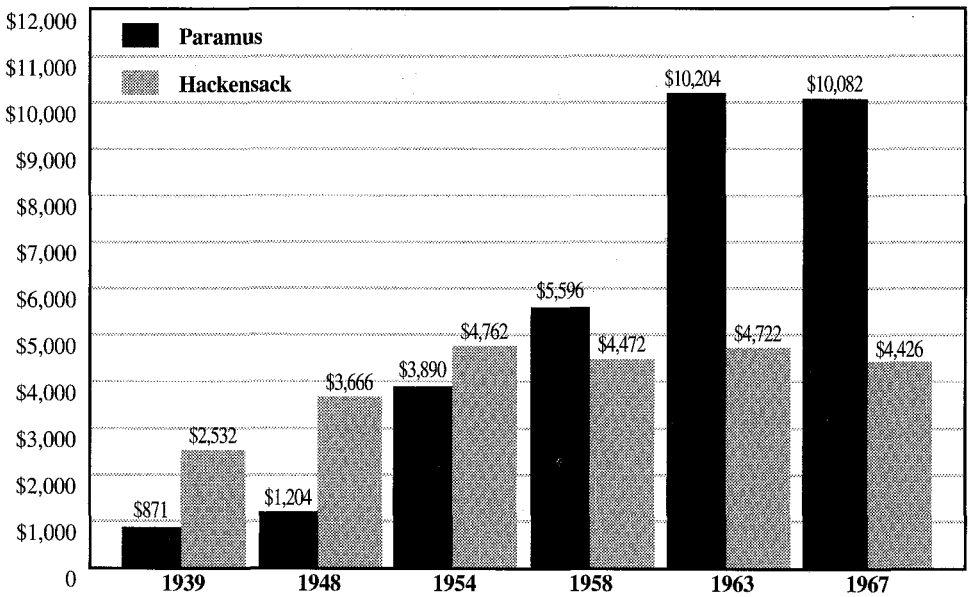
While overall patronage of stores in surrounding downtowns declined as shopping-center patronage increased, researchers discovered that the story was not so simple; some local stores were benefiting as Bergen County residents became less dependent on New York. Small purchases that shoppers would have made alongside larger ones in New York were now handled closer to home, often in locally owned shops in small downtowns. A large town like Hackensack, however, did not benefit as much as a Ridgewood or Englewood, since it was being displaced as a major shopping site by the shopping centers, and its stores were less likely to foster the same kind of loyalty to merchants as shops in small towns. In fact, within a year of the shopping centers' opening, major shoppers used Hackensack a third less; as a consequence, 50 percent of the retail establishments on Main Street reported they had done less business than the previous year. By 1960, 10 percent of the stores on Hackensack's Main Street had closed from competition. Bergen County residents were restructuring their consumption patterns by substituting the new shopping centers for New York and for closer, large shopping towns like

[22] Samuel Pratt and Lois Pratt, "The Impact of Some Regional Shopping Centers," *Journal of Marketing* 25 (October 1960): 44–50; Samuel Pratt, "The Challenge to Retailing," an address to the 1957 Annual Meeting of the Passaic Valley Citizens Planning Association, April 24, 1957, in possession of the author; L. Pratt, "Impact of Regional Shopping Centers in Bergen County"; Samuel Pratt and James Moran, "How the Regional Shopping Centers May Affect Shopping Habits in Rochelle Park (Preliminary)," *Business Research Bulletin* 1, Bureau of Business Research, Fairleigh Dickinson University (1956); New York University study cited in Thompson, "Suburb That Macy's Built," 196, 200; Regional Plan Association, Committee on the Second Regional Plan, "Work Book for Workshops," Princeton, N.J., May 25–26, 1966, Box D, pp. V–7–9, Erber, NPL; Stuart U. Rich, *Shopping Behavior of Department Store Customers: A Study of Store Policies and Customer Demand, with Particular Reference to Delivery Service and Telephone Ordering* (Boston, 1963), esp. 133–56, 228; Plan One Research Corporation, New York City, for the Bergen Evening Record Corporation, *The Mighty Market* (Hackensack, N.J., 1971). For national statistics on the decline of retail sales in central business districts while they mushroomed in metropolitan areas between 1958 and 1963, see Teaford, *Rough Road to Renaissance*, 129–31.

[23] Pratt and Moran, "How the Regional Shopping Centers May Affect Shopping Habits in Rochelle Park"; Pratt, "Challenge to Retailing," 13–15. For surveys of consumers outside of the New York area, see C. T. Jonassen, *Downtown versus Suburban Shopping*, Ohio Marketing Studies, The Ohio State University Special Bulletin Number X-58 (Columbus, Ohio, 1953); Sternlieb, *Future of the Downtown Department Store*, 33, 131–33; Rich, *Shopping Behavior of Department Store Customers*; and several important studies described in Pratt, "Challenge to Retailing," 15–19.

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Per Capita Annual Retail Sales, 1939-1967, Paramus and Hackensack, New Jersey



Sources: U.S. Census of Business: Retail Trade-area Statistics, 1939, 1948, 1954, 1958, 1963, 1967; U.S. Bureau of the Census: Census of Population, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970.
Calculated as: (Total Retail Sales/Consumer Price Index)/Population for Nearest Year.
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FIGURE 5

Hackensack, while continuing to shop—mostly for convenience goods and services—in the small town centers near their homes.[24] (See Figure 5.)

While it is hard to evaluate the extent to which people viewed the shopping centers as more than places to shop—as community centers—anecdotal evidence suggests that they did. Many reporters writing stories in the late 1950s and 1960s on the way malls were becoming central to the nation's culture made this point, and they routinely introduced their readers to people like Ernest J. Weinhold, a retired designer, who said that he and his wife came to the Cherry Hill Mall in southern New Jersey four days a week. "I love it here—there are things going on that you don't find anywhere else. I don't shop every day but what I do buy I get here."[25] The general manager of Willowbrook Mall, a shopping center not far from Paramus, explained that the Ernest Weinholds of the suburban world made it easy to program activities about forty-five weeks a year. "Whether it's charity fairs, 4-H exhibits, meetings of the Weight-Watchers or the concert by the local barbershop quartet, we find that people respond—and that's what counts."[26] In the new public place of the shopping center, consuming and leisure were becoming inseparably intertwined,

[24] See all the Pratt studies listed in note 22, as well as "Hackensack Faces Year of Decision," *Bergen Evening Record* (January 10, 1958): 47.
[25] Herzog, "Shops, Culture, Centers—And More," 110, quote on 114.
[26] "The Shopping Centers," *New York Times* (February 1, 1976): 7.

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constructing community experiences around the cultural tastes of white middle-class suburbanites.

The response of businessmen in the existent town centers of northern New Jersey provides further evidence of the crisis confronting local retailers with the arrival of the shopping centers in the late 1950s. As the openings of the Bergen Mall and Garden State Plaza neared, and particularly once they were a reality, Main Street retailers in Hackensack, Paterson, and other shopping towns told interviewers that they knew they had to improve their own stores and work cooperatively with other merchants to promote downtown. In 1957, Hackensack's Chamber of Commerce launched the first of many campaigns to make shopping in Hackensack more attractive, featuring the covering of downtown meters at Christmas time so customers could park free. Paterson, four miles away, formed the Commercial Development Fund for Paterson's Future, which raised $65,000 to promote downtown through marketing and advertising; at the same time, the Municipal Parking Authority issued $1.8 million in bonds to double the capacity of Paterson's downtown parking lots, raising the total to 800. (By contrast, each shopping center offered parking for more than 8,000 cars!)

Despite the best of intentions to ease parking and traffic, make downtown safer, improve customer service, cooperate in promoting downtown shopping, expand merchandise, modernize stores, and strengthen community ties, merchants in Bergen County's town centers had a tough time. Organizing cooperative campaigns of merchants who by identity and practice were independent was extremely difficult. Chambers of Commerce and similar entities lacked the coercive, centralized authority of shopping-center managements. One downtown's promotional campaign, unfortunately, was more likely to draw shoppers away from another town in crisis than from the shopping centers. Paterson's gain through the Commercial Development Fund for Paterson's Future, for example, turned out to be neighboring Fair Lawn's loss, as retail sales there dropped to half their 1954 level by the end of 1958. In the specific case of Hackensack, moreover, the Pratts found in a study of Bergen County retailers that even before the shopping centers opened, the city was in relative decline; although total retail sales grew along with the exploding suburban population, Hackensack's share of the county market decreased from about 20 to 16 percent between 1948 and 1954. Hence, the shopping centers were only the latest blow to provincial merchants who had not figured out how to prosper in a world undergoing so much social and cultural change.[27]

[27] The discussion in the two previous paragraphs on the response of local businessmen to shopping-center development is based on the following sources: "From Now On—Until When?" *Bergen Evening Record* (December 6, 1957): 6; "Bergen Shoppers Shun New York," *Bergen Evening Record* (December 19, 1957): 1; "Main Street Making Comeback in Duel with Shopping Centers," *New York Times* (May 31, 1962): 1; "Malls Threaten Downtown Suburbia," *New York Times* (December 20, 1972): 92; Samuel Pratt and Lois Pratt, *Suburban Downtown in Transition: A Problem in Business Change in Bergen County, New Jersey* (Rutherford, N.J., 1958); L. Pratt, "Impact of Regional Shopping Centers in Bergen County."

Articles on Hackensack merchants' struggle to compete include, in the *Bergen Evening Record*, "A City with Faith: Hackensack Grows," October 29, 1957: 19; "Alma [Anderson-Linden Merchants Association] Continues to Work to Better Shopping Area," December 2, 1957: 35; "The Way of Alma," December 7, 1957: 28; "Life Line to a City's Future: Hackensack Must Plan, Promote," January 10, 1958: 35; "How to Stimulate Business," January 10, 1958: 42; "What's Ahead for Hackensack Business in '58," January 10, 1958: 48; "So the Fight Is Worth Making," January 10, 1958: 58; "Work Together

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Recognizing the limits of what they could do alone, or through their volunteer merchants' organizations, local Bergen County retailers endorsed two strategies for improving their situation, both of which mobilized the authority and resources of government on their behalf. First, they joined a coalition of other interests—including churches and citizens concerned with traffic congestion—to pass blue laws prohibiting Sunday sales. If the shopping centers were allowed to open on Sunday, small, family-run stores for whom a seven-day week was a great hardship would suffer a handicap. If all stores were required to close, the score would be somewhat even. "It's easy for the big stores to open, but it's different for the independents," explained the owner of a men's clothing store in Hackensack, adding that he and most of his staff of ten worked six days a week. "We are truly a service store, which consists of all full-time people. If you open seven days, you might have to hire part-timers. Our customers want to find a familiar face. They don't want to hear that the person they expect to see is off today."[28] The best defense that downtown retailers had against the shopping centers—service—would thus be jeopardized.

Losing no time, Paramus prohibited Sunday sales of virtually all goods except "necessities" (food, drugs, gasoline, newspapers) in 1957, the year the shopping centers opened; violators were subject to a $200 fine per offense or ninety days in jail, or both, which finally put teeth into a longstanding statute on the state books. Although the merchants in highway shopping centers protested and sued to have the ordinance revoked, arguing all the way to the New Jersey Supreme Court that their ability to compete with stores in neighboring towns was undermined, they lost. Meanwhile, agitation continued for an effective state-wide restriction of Sunday shopping so as not to penalize particular locales with blue laws, and the New Jersey legislature finally agreed to allow counties to hold referenda on the question. In November 1959, voting took place in fifteen of the state's twenty-one counties; twelve counties, including Bergen, voted a Sunday ban into law. Although highway discount stores appealed, the State Supreme Court eventually upheld the law, as did the U.S. Supreme Court indirectly when it ruled in 1961 on four companion cases concerning the constitutionality of Sunday closing laws in Maryland, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. The Supreme Court held that such laws did not violate freedom of religion as protected under the First Amendment or the equal protection guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment and thereby left it to individual states

to Build Business, Chamber Told," January 30, 1958: 3; "Gooding Introduced to City Merchants: First Paid Executive Secretary Will Plan Promotions for Stores," January 30, 1958: 31; "Bohn Rejects Business Role in Tax Boost," June 6, 1959: 9; and "Main Street Is After Money," *The Record* (March 21, 1968): C1.

On other towns in northern New Jersey, see, in *Bergen Evening Record*, "O'Neil Proposes Park Garage as Boon to Englewood Stores," October 18, 1957: 25; "Village Preparing Spaces for Parking of 90 Cars" [Ridgewood], November 6, 1957: 33; "Chamber to Try Charge-It Plan" [Ramsey], November 8, 1957: 20; "Ridgewood Storekeepers Act to Attract Holiday Shoppers," November 12, 1957: sect. 2, p. 1; "Chamber President Finds Shopping Off" [Bergenfield], December 27, 1957: 9; "Drop of 5–10% Reported in Christmas Business" [Dumont], December 31, 1957: 5; "Shop at Local Stores, Kiwanis Members Told" [New Milford], March 2, 1960: 9. For an excellent case study of Lancaster, Pennsylvania's struggle with suburban retail competition and central city decline, see David Schuyler, "Prologue to Urban Renewal: The Problem of Downtown Lancaster, 1945–1960," *Pennsylvania History* 61 (January 1994): 75–101.

[28] "Bergen Wary of Shopping on Sundays," *New York Times*, September 7, 1993.

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and localities to regulate Sunday selling as they wished. Due, no doubt, to strong advocacy by influential local businessmen, Bergen County was reputed to have made the greatest effort at enforcing blue laws of any county in New Jersey; a local magistrate even ordered that cigarette vending machines in a Howard Johnson restaurant be unplugged on Sunday. Nationwide during the late 1950s and early 1960s, retailers skirmished over Sunday closing laws, not so much defending traditional mores as using the separation of church and state to veil intense struggles over the extent to which discount stores, shopping centers, and chain stores could capture millions of dollars in retail business through restructuring consumer markets.[29]

The second way that downtown business people sought to harness the power of the state in fighting the shopping centers involved the use of federal funds for urban renewal. The 1954 National Housing Act and the 1956 Federal Highway Act made it possible for cities to use urban renewal grants for rehabilitation of commercial areas; the federal government pledged from two-thirds to three-quarters of the cost of acquiring land and demolishing structures. Paterson proved the most aggressive of the cities in Bergen and Passaic counties in pursuing this strategy, joining with at least sixteen other communities in the metropolitan New York area. Dissatisfied with the gains from the Commercial Development Fund's promotional and parking efforts, civic leaders founded PLAN (Paterson Looks Ahead Now) in the early 1960s to redevelop 121 acres at the core of downtown. PLAN implemented a design by Victor Gruen, who had become an early advocate of the revival of downtowns through careful commercial planning, much as he had pioneered the development of regional shopping centers, themselves the source of many cities' economic ills.

Bringing many of the characteristics of Bergen County shopping centers to the Paterson city center, Gruen designed wide, landscaped pedestrian areas, accessible through loop roadways tied in with six parking garages accommodating 4,500 cars. With Uncle Sam committed to footing three-quarters of the $24 million bill, local civic leaders headed by PLAN president Raymond J. Behrman, owner of a downtown luggage and women's accessories store, worked to reverse a drastic decline: by 1962, the number of Paterson shoppers had fallen to half what it had been in 1940, despite all the population growth in the region. Soon, Hackensack was talking about applying for urban renewal funds as well. But this injection of federal dollars failed as a remedy. In 1971, shopping centers in the Paterson/Passaic

[29] Thompson, "Suburb That Macy's Built," 200; Feinberg, *What Makes Shopping Centers Tick*, 101. The political and legal struggle over establishing blue laws in Paramus and Bergen County can be traced in the *Bergen Evening Record*, beginning in 1957. The battle continued into recent times, with another Bergen County referendum in November 1993, which upheld the Sunday closing ban. Paramus and Bergen County are among a very few places in New Jersey that still have blue laws on the books. On the recent referendum, see, in the *New York Times*, "On Sundays, Bergen Shoppers Rest," December 7, 1992; "Bergen Stores Try to Repeal 'Blue Laws,'" August 27, 1993: B1; "Bergen Wary of Shopping on Sundays," September 7, 1993: B1; "Malls Wrestle with the Blues," September 26, 1993; and "Both Sides of Aisle Converge over Blue Laws," *The Record* (October 13, 1993): C3; "Bergen Stores to Stay Closed on Sundays," *Star-Ledger*, November 3, 1993. On the struggle over blue laws nationwide, including New Jersey, during the late 1950s and 1960s, see Gerald Gunther, *Cases and Materials on Individual Rights in Constitutional Law*, 3d edn. (Mineola, N.Y., 1981), 1183–84; E. B. Weiss, "*Never* on Sunday? A Study on Sunday Retailing" (New York: Doyle Dane Bernbach, Inc., 1962), mimeograph, esp. 11, 36–43, 59, 63, 79, 83–84. My thanks to Alexis McCrossen for bringing this last document to my attention.

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metropolitan area captured 79 percent of all retail trade, well beyond the average of 50 percent for the nation's twenty-one largest metropolitan areas. In 1950, Paterson was a major shopping district, while retail in Paramus hardly existed; twenty years later, Paterson found itself suffering from long-term economic decline, ignored by recently constructed parkways, turnpikes, and interstates and facing intense competition from shopping centers, while Paramus was well on its way to becoming one of the largest retail centers in the world. As the segmentation of consumer markets became the guiding principle in postwar commerce, no amount of revitalization could make a city whose population was becoming increasingly minority and poor attractive to the white middle-class shoppers with money to spend.[30]

While local merchants in Bergen and Passaic counties struggled, the big New York and Newark stores developed their own strategy for dealing with the competition from the new suburban shopping centers: they opened branch stores. Rather than be eclipsed by the postwar shift in population, they followed it. By the late 1950s, branch stores—once a rarity—had become a national trend among large department stores. When department stores with annual net sales of $10 million or more were considered, the percentage of branch sales skyrocketed from 4 percent of total sales in 1951 to 32 percent by 1959; specialty stores with sales over $1 million made a comparable shift from 6 percent of sales through branches to 33 percent over the same period. By 1959, the very success of a regional shopping center like Bergen Mall or Garden State Plaza depended on the quality of the department-store branches that served as its anchors. In time, branch stores evolved from small outlets of Fifth Avenue flagship stores into full-fledged department stores carrying a wide range of merchandise. In the early 1970s, in fact, Bergen Mall's Stern Brothers took the dramatic step of closing its New York City stores, investing everything in its more profitable shopping-center branches. Sterns was not alone; by 1976, branch sales amounted to nearly 78 percent of total department-store business nationwide. The huge postwar investment in suburban stores had significant consequences for consumers, for local retailers, and, as we shall see, for department store employees as well.[31]

By the 1960s, the mass-consumption economy had brought about a major restructuring of consumer markets. As retail dollars moved out of major cities and away from established downtowns within suburban areas, regional shopping centers

[30] "Supermarkets Hub of Suburbs," *New York Times* (February 7, 1971): 58; "Main Street Making Comeback in Duel with Shopping Centers," *New York Times* (May 31, 1962): 1; Feinberg, *What Makes Shopping Centers Tick*, 100–02; Gillette, "Evolution of the Planned Shopping Center," 454–56; "A New Hackensack Sky Line Looms on Drawing Boards," *Bergen Evening Record* (December 26, 1957): 40; James B. Kenyon, *Industrial Localization and Metropolitan Growth: The Paterson-Passaic District* (Chicago, 1960), 209–10; Paterson Planning Board and Boorman and Dorram, Inc., Consultants, "Traffic and Transportation Survey, Paterson Master Plan, Report 3, August 1964"; Rutgers University Bureau of Economic Research in contract to New Jersey Dept. of Conservation and Economic Development for the Meadowland Regional Development Agency and the State of New Jersey, "Technical Report No. 1H: Patterns of Urban Growth and Decline," November 1966, Box A, Folder 7, pp. IH-38, 64, Erber, NPL.

[31] Sternlieb, *Future of the Downtown Department Store*, 33–36; Rich, *Shopping Center Behavior of Department Store Customers*, 52–54; Editors of *Fortune*, *Changing American Market*, 85–86; John Wallis Johnston, *The Department-Store Buyer: A View from Inside the Parent-Branch Complexes*, Studies in Marketing No. 12 (Austin, Tex., 1969), 25; Jay Scher, *Financial and Operating Results of Department and Specialty Stores of 1976* (New York, 1977), cited in Teaford, *Rough Road to Renaissance*, 208.

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became the distinctive public space of the postwar landscape. Suburban populations increasingly looked to the mall for a new kind of community life—consumption-oriented, tightly controlled, and aimed at citizen-consumers who preferably were white and middle class. This commercialization of public space during the postwar era had profound effects, perhaps the most important of which was the struggle to define what kind of political behavior was permissible in the new, privately owned public place.

WHEREAS, AT FIRST, DEVELOPERS had sought to legitimize the new shopping centers by arguing for their centrality to both commerce and community, over time they discovered that those two commitments could be in conflict. The rights of free speech and assembly traditionally safeguarded in the public forums of democratic communities were not always good for business, and they could conflict with the rights of private property owners—the shopping centers—to control entry to their land. Beginning in the 1960s, American courts all the way up to the Supreme Court struggled with the political consequences of having moved public life off the street and into the privately owned shopping center. Shopping centers, in turn, began to reconsider the desirable balance between commerce and community in what had become the major sites where suburbanites congregated.[32]

Once regional shopping centers like the Paramus malls had opened in the 1950s, people began to recognize them as public spaces and to use them to reach out to the community. When the Red Cross held blood drives, when labor unions picketed stores in organizing campaigns, when political candidates campaigned for office, when anti-war and anti-nuclear activists gathered signatures for petitions, they all viewed the shopping center as the obvious place to reach masses of people. Although shopping centers varied in their responses—from tolerating political activists to monitoring their actions to prohibiting them outright—in general, they were wary of any activity that might offend customers. A long, complex series of court tests resulted, culminating in several key Supreme Court decisions that sought to sort out the conflict between two basic rights in a free society: free speech and private property. Not surprisingly, the cases hinged on arguments about the extent to which the shopping center had displaced the traditional "town square" as a legitimate public forum.[33]

The first ruling by the Supreme Court was *Amalgamated Food Employees Union Local 590 vs. Logan Valley Plaza, Inc.* (1968), in which Justice Thurgood Marshall, writing for the majority, argued that refusing to let union members picket the Weis

[32] Shopping centers retreated from promoting themselves as central squares and street corners not only because of the free speech issue but also to limit the loitering of young people. *New York Times*: "Supermarkets Hub of Suburbs," February 7, 1971: 58; "Coping with Shopping-Center Crises, Dilemma: How Tough to Get If Young Are Unruly," March 7, 1971: sect. 3, p. 1; "Shopping Centers Change and Grow," May 23, 1971: sect. 7, p. 1.

[33] For a useful summary of the relevant court cases and legal issues involved, see Curtis J. Berger, "*PruneYard* Revisited: Political Activity on Private Lands," *New York University Law Review* 66 (June 1991): 633–94; also "Shopping Centers Change and Grow," *New York Times* (May 23, 1971): sect. 7, p. 1. The corporate shopping center's antagonism to free political expression and social action is discussed in Herbert I. Schiller, *Culture Inc.: The Corporate Takeover of Public Expression* (New York, 1989), 98–101.

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Markets in the Logan Valley Plaza in Altoona, Pennsylvania, violated the workers' First Amendment rights, since shopping centers had become the "functional equivalent" of a sidewalk in a public business district. Because peaceful picketing and leaflet distribution on "streets, sidewalks, parks, and other similar public places are so historically associated with the exercise of First Amendment rights," he wrote, it should also be protected in the public thoroughfare of a shopping center, even if privately owned. The Logan Valley Plaza decision likened the shopping center to a company town, which had been the subject of an important Supreme Court decision in *Marsh vs. Alabama* (1946), upholding the First Amendment rights of a Jehovah's Witness to proselytize in the company town of Chickasaw, Alabama, despite the fact that the Gulf Shipbuilding Corporation owned all the property in town. The "Marsh Doctrine" affirmed First Amendment rights over private property rights when an owner opened up his or her property for use by the public.[34] The stance taken in Logan Valley began to unravel, however, as the Supreme Court became more conservative under President Richard Nixon's appointees. In *Lloyd Corp. vs. Tanner* (1972), Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., wrote for the majority that allowing anti-war advocates to pass out leaflets at the Lloyd Center in Portland, Oregon, would be an unwarranted infringement of property rights "without significantly enhancing the asserted right of free speech." Anti-war leaflets, he argued, could be effectively distributed elsewhere, without undermining the shopping center's appeal to customers with litter and distraction.[35]

The reigning Supreme Court decision today is *PruneYard Shopping Center vs. Robbins* (1980). The Supreme Court upheld a California State Supreme Court ruling that the state constitution granted a group of high school students the right to gather petitions against the U.N. resolution "Zionism is Racism." The court decided that this action did not violate the San Jose mall owner's rights under the U.S. Constitution. But, at the same time, the court reaffirmed its earlier decisions

[34] On *Amalgamated vs. Logan Valley Plaza*, see "Property Rights vs. Free Speech," *New York Times* (July 9, 1972): sect. 7, p. 9; "Amalgamated Food Employees Union Local 590 v. Logan Valley Plaza," 88 S.Ct. 1601 (1968), *Supreme Court Reporter*, 1601–20; 391 US 308, U.S. Supreme Court Recording Briefs 1967, No. 478, microfiche; "Free Speech: Peaceful Picketing on Quasi-Public Property," *Minnesota Law Review* 53 (March 1969): 873–82. On *Marsh vs. State of Alabama*, see 66 S.Ct. 276, *Supreme Court Reporter*, 276–84. Other relevant cases between *Marsh vs. Alabama* and *Amalgamated vs. Logan Valley Plaza* are *Nahas vs. Local 905, Retail Clerks International Assoc.* (1956), *Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America vs. Wonderland Shopping Center, Inc.* (1963), *Schwartz-Torrance Investment Corp. vs. Bakery and Confectionary Workers' Union, Local No. 31* (1964); with each case, the Warren court was moving closer to a recognition that the shopping center was becoming a new kind of public forum.

[35] "4 Nixon Appointees End Court's School Unanimity, Shopping Centers' Right to Ban Pamphleteering Is Upheld, 5 to 4," *New York Times* (June 23, 1972): 1; "Shopping-Center Industry Hails Court," *New York Times* (July 2, 1972): sect. 3, p. 7; "Lloyd Corporation, Ltd. v. Donald M. Tanner (1972)," 92 S.Ct. 2219 (1972), *Supreme Court Reporter*, 2219–37. The American Civil Liberties Union brief went to great lengths to document the extent to which shopping centers have replaced traditional business districts; see "Brief for Respondents," U.S. Supreme Court Record, microfiche, 20–29. See also People's Lobby Brief, U.S. Supreme Court Record, microfiche, 5.

The Supreme Court majority wanted to make it clear that in finding in favor of the Lloyd Center, it was not reversing the Logan Valley decision, arguing for a distinction based on the fact that anti-war leafletting was "unrelated" to the shopping center, while the labor union was picketing an employer. The four dissenting justices, however, were less sure that the distinction was valid and that the Logan Valley decision was not seriously weakened by Lloyd. The important court cases between *Amalgamated vs. Logan Valley Plaza* and *Lloyd vs. Tanner* included *Blue Ridge Shopping Center vs. Schleininger* (1968), *Sutherland vs. Southcenter Shopping Center* (1971), and *Diamond vs. Bland* (1970, 1974).

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in *Lloyd vs. Tanner* and *Scott Hudgens vs. National Labor Relations Board* (1976) that the First Amendment did not guarantee access to shopping malls, and it left it to the states to decide for themselves whether their own constitutions protected such access.

Since *PruneYard*, state appellate courts have been struggling with the issue, and mall owners have been winning in many more states than they have lost. Only in six states, California, Oregon, Massachusetts, Colorado, Washington, and most recently New Jersey, have state supreme courts protected citizens' right of free speech in privately owned shopping centers. In New Jersey, the courts have been involved for some time in adjudicating free speech in shopping centers. In 1983, the Bergen Mall was the setting of a suit between its owners and a political candidate who wanted to distribute campaign materials there. When a Paramus Municipal Court judge ruled in favor of the mall, the candidate's attorney successfully appealed on the familiar grounds that "there is no real downtown Paramus. Areas of the mall outside the stores are the town's public sidewalks." He further noted that the mall hosted community events and contained a meeting hall, post office, and Roman Catholic chapel. In this case, and in another one the following year over the right of nuclear-freeze advocates to distribute literature at the Bergen Mall, free speech was protected on the grounds that the mall was equivalent to a town center.[36]

Such suits should be unnecessary (at least for a while) in New Jersey, because in a historic decision in December 1994 the New Jersey Supreme Court affirmed that the state constitution guaranteed free speech to opponents of the Persian Gulf War who wanted to distribute leaflets at ten regional malls throughout the state. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice Robert N. Wilentz confirmed how extensively public space has been transformed in postwar New Jersey:

> The economic lifeblood once found downtown has moved to suburban shopping centers, which have substantially displaced the downtown business districts as the centers of commercial and social activity . . . Found at these malls are most of the uses and activities citizens engage in outside their homes . . . This is the new, the improved, the more attractive downtown business district—the new community—and no use is more closely associated with the old downtown than leafletting. Defendants have taken that old downtown away from its former home and moved all of it, except free speech, to the suburbs.

Despite the New Jersey Supreme Court's commitment to free speech, it nonetheless put limits on it, reaffirming the regional mall owners' property rights. Its ruling allowed only the distribution of leaflets—no speeches, bullhorns, pickets, parades, demonstrations, or solicitation of funds. Moreover, the court granted owners broad

[36] Berger, "*PruneYard* Revisited"; Kowinski, *Malling of America*, 196–202, 355–59; "Shopping Malls Protest Intrusion by Protesters," *New York Times* (July 19, 1983): B1; "Opening of Malls Fought," *New York Times* (May 13, 1984): sect. 11 (New Jersey), 7; "Michael Robins v. PruneYard Shopping Center (1979)," 592 P. 2nd 341, *Pacific Reporter*, 341–51; "PruneYard Shopping Center v. Michael Robins," 100 S.Ct. 2035 (1980), *Supreme Court Reporter*, 2035–51; U.S. Supreme Court Record, *PruneYard Shopping Center vs. Robins* (1980), microfiche. The most important Supreme Court case between *Lloyd vs. Tanner* and *PruneYard* was *Scott Hudgens vs. National Labor Relations Board* (1976), where the majority decision backed further away from Logan Valley Plaza and refused to see the mall as the functional equivalent of downtown. "Scott Hudgens v. National Labor Relations Board," 96 S.Ct. 1029 (1976), *Supreme Court Reporter*, 1029–47.

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powers to regulate leaflet distribution by specifying days, hours, and areas in or outside the mall permissible for political activity. Thus, although shopping centers in New Jersey and five other states have been forced to accommodate some political activity, they have retained authority to regulate it and are even finding ways of preventing legal leafletters from exercising their constitutional rights, such as by requiring them to have million-dollar liability policies, which are often unobtainable or prohibitively expensive. In many other states, shopping centers have been able to prohibit political action outright, much as they control the economic and social behavior of shoppers and store owners.[37]

An unintended consequence of the American shift in orientation from public town center to private shopping center, then, has been the narrowing of the ground where constitutionally protected free speech and free assembly can legally take place. As Justice Marshall so prophetically warned in his *Lloyd vs. Tanner* dissent in 1972, as he watched the Berger court reverse many of the liberal decisions of the Warren court,

> It would not be surprising in the future to see cities rely more and more on private businesses to perform functions once performed by governmental agencies . . . As governments rely on private enterprise, public property decreases in favor of privately owned property. It becomes harder and harder for citizens to communicate with other citizens. Only the wealthy may find effective communication possible unless we adhere to Marsh v. Alabama and continue to hold that "the more an owner, for his advantage, opens up his property for use by the public in general, the more do his rights become circumscribed by the statutory and constitutional rights of those who use it."[38]

And yet, as Marshall's dissent hinted, and as New Jersey Supreme Court Justice Marie Garibaldi further spelled out, even while advocates for freedom of speech rightfully insist that private property owners respect free speech because their malls have become the new public places, ironically they are endorsing a restructuring of community that could undermine democratic freedom. In the words of Garibaldi's dissent, "Under the majority's theory, private property becomes municipal land and private property owners become the government." The recent growth of self-taxing districts to clean, police, and upgrade neighborhoods, free of municipal oversight or public accountability, suggests some of the worrisome directions American society may be headed as once-public spaces and services become privatized.[39]

[37] "Court Protects Speech in Malls," *New York Times* (December 21, 1994): A1; "Big Malls Ordered to Allow Leafletting," *Star-Ledger* (December 21, 1994): 1; "Now, Public Rights in Private Domains," *New York Times* (December 25, 1994): E3; "Free Speech in the Mall," *New York Times* (December 26, 1994): 38; Frank Askin, "Shopping for Free Speech at the Malls," 1995, unpublished ms. in possession of the author.

[38] Marshall dissent, Lloyd vs. Tanner, 92 S.Ct. 2219 (1972), *Supreme Court Reporter*, 2237.

[39] *New York Times*: "Business Districts Grow at Price of Accountability," November 20, 1994: A1; "Now, Public Rights in Private Domains," December 25, 1994: E3; "'Goon Squads' Prey on the Homeless, Advocates Say," April 14, 1995: B1; "City Council Orders Review of 33 Business Improvement Districts," April 19, 1995: B1; "When Neighborhoods Are Privatized," November 30, 1995. A 1992 Supreme Court ruling, written by Justice Clarence Thomas, strengthened the hand of private property owners like the Lechmere store chain in keeping out union organizers. The decision has led malls to ban Salvation Army bell ringers at holiday time in order to protect themselves against union claims to equal access. "A New Grinch Turns Up at the Mall," *New York Times* (December 18, 1995): A12.

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ALONG WITH TRENDS TOWARD COMMERCIALIZATION and privatization, the shift from downtown to shopping center entailed a feminization of public space. For at least the last two centuries, American women have been the major shoppers in their families. That pattern continued in the postwar period, with marketers estimating that women not only took on anywhere from 80 to 92 percent of the shopping but also spent a great deal of their time at it.[40] In a noteworthy departure from earlier times, however, the era of the shopping center saw significant public space—in private hands—being tailored to women's needs and desires as consumers. While the department store born of the nineteenth century created similarly feminized space, the urban commercial district of which it was a part catered as much to male consumption, leisure, and associational life—through bars, clubs, pool halls, and smoke shops, to say nothing of the male-dominated street resulting from the mix of commercial and corporate culture downtown. The shopping center, in contrast, created the equivalent of a downtown district dedicated primarily to female-orchestrated consumption.[41]

Shopping centers were planned with the female consumer in mind. As women patrons increasingly drove their own cars, they found parking spaces at the shopping center designed wider than usual for the express purpose of making it easier for them—many of whom were new drivers—to park.[42] Women then entered a well-controlled "public" space that made them feel comfortable and safe, with activities planned to appeal especially to women and children. From the color schemes, stroller ramps, baby-sitting services, and special lockers for "ladies' wraps," to the reassuring security guards and special events such as fashion shows, shopping centers were created as female worlds. "I wouldn't know how to design a center for a man," admitted Jack Follet of John Graham, Inc., a firm responsible for many shopping centers. And if New Jersey resident Mrs. Bonnie Porrazzo was any indication, designers like Follet knew what they were doing. Four or five times a week, she visited a shopping center three minutes from her suburban home because, "It's great for women. What else is there to do?"[43]

Not only did the shopping center pitch itself to women, it sought to empower them as orchestrators of their families' leisure. Marketing surveys revealed that

[40] Jonassen, *Downtown versus Suburban Shopping*, 15; Alan Voorhees, *Shopping Habits and Travel Patterns* (Washington, D.C., 1955), 6; Rich, *Shopping Behavior of Department Store Customers*, 61–64; on the long history of women as shoppers, see Steven Lubar, "Men and Women, Production and Consumption," keynote address to the "His and Hers: Gender and the Consumer" conference, Hagley Museum and Library, April 1994. The increasingly sophisticated field of market research addressed itself to motivating the female consumer. An excellent example is Janet L. Wolff, *What Makes Women Buy: A Guide to Understanding and Influencing the New Woman of Today* (New York, 1958).

[41] My thanks to William Becker and Richard Longstreth, both of George Washington University, for their suggestions on comparing the gendered character of the downtown street to the shopping center. Also see Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1980); Elaine Abelson, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (New York, 1989); William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890–1925," *Journal of American History* 71 (September 1984): 319–42.

[42] On women driving, and specifically using a car for shopping, see Rich, *Shopping Behavior of Department Store Customers*, 84–85, 137–38; L. Pratt, "Impact of Regional Shopping Centers in Bergen County"; Voorhees, *Shopping Habits and Travel Patterns*, 17.

[43] Herzog, "Shops, Culture, Centers—and More," 35; "Busy Day in Busy Willowbrook Mall," *New York Times* (April 2, 1972): 55, 65; Harris, *Cultural Excursions*, 281.

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almost half of all women shopped for four or more people, usually members of their families. With the advent of the suburban malls, they were increasingly bringing those family members along. Female shoppers in Bergen County surveyed by the Pratts in the first few years after the centers opened revealed that four in ten families were spending more time shopping, three in ten were making more shopping trips, two in ten were taking the children more often, and two in ten were including their husbands more frequently than before the malls were built. A study comparing family shopping in downtown Cincinnati with its suburban shopping centers concurred, finding that while 85 percent of downtown patrons shopped alone, only 43 percent of shopping-center patrons were alone; most of them were accompanied by family members. Accordingly, evenings and weekends were by far the busiest time in malls, creating peaks and valleys in shopping that had not affected downtown stores nearly as much. In many suburban centers, more than half the volume of business was done at night. At the Bergen Mall, the peak traffic count was at 8 p.m., and shopping was very heavy on Saturdays as well. A May Company executive described one of the largest problems in branch-store operation: "the biggest day in the suburban store will be ten times the poorest day, instead of five as it usually is downtown."[44]

Shopping centers responded with stores and programming specifically designed to appeal to families, to encourage them further to spend leisure time at the mall. William M. Batten, board chair of J. C. Penney, for example, recalled "the broadening of our lines of merchandise and our services to encompass a fuller spectrum of family activity" as the company began building stores in shopping centers rather than on Main Street in the late 1950s and 1960s; only then did Penney's start selling appliances, hardware, and sporting goods and offering portrait studios, restaurants, auto service, and Singer sewing instruction. As families strolled and shopped together at the mall, they engaged in what increasingly was becoming a form of leisure that was female directed and hence bore witness to a wife's or mother's control.[45] (See Figure 6.)

Female authority was also enhanced by shopping centers as they became associated with a huge expansion of consumer credit in the postwar era. In 1950, the ratio of credit to disposable income was 10.4 percent, with $21.5 billion worth of debt outstanding. By 1960, the ratio had grown to 16.1 percent, the debt to $56.1 billion; a decade later, they had reached 18.5 percent and $127 billion, respectively. The trend was apparent in Bergen County. Bamberger's promoted its Garden State Plaza store as offering "a credit plan to suit every need," a choice between Regular

[44] Rich, *Shopping Behavior of Department Store Customers*, 64, 71–74; L. Pratt, "Impact of Regional Shopping Centers in Bergen County"; Sternlieb, *Future of the Downtown Department Store*, 27–28, 184; Feinberg, *What Makes Shopping Centers Tick*, 97; Oaks, *Managing Suburban Branches of Department Stores*, 72.

[45] JCPenney, "An American Legacy, A 90th Anniversary History" (1992), brochure, 22, 25, JCPenney Archives, Dallas, Texas; Mary Elizabeth Curry, *Creating an American Institution: The Merchandising Genius of J. C. Penney* (New York, 1993), 311–13; William M. Batten, *The Penney Idea: Foundation for the Continuing Growth of the J. C. Penney Company* (New York, 1967), 17. The opening of the J. C. Penney store in Garden State Plaza in 1958 is featured in a film, *The Past Is a Prologue* (1961), which is one of several fascinating movies made by the company that have been collected on a video, *Penney Premieres*, available through the JCPenney Archives. Also see *Penney News* 24 (November–December 1958): 1, 7, on the new Paramus store, JCPenney Archives; R. H. Macy & Company, *Annual Report for 1957* (New York, 1957), 26.

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FIGURE 6: This page from Macy's annual report to shareholders the year its Garden State Plaza opened conveys the importance of the female-dominated family market to shopping-center merchandising. Note particularly the invocation of "the 'togetherness' of family shopping" in the bottom caption. Reproduced from R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., *1957 Annual Report*, courtesy of Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University, from its Department Store Workers—Local 1-S Collection, Box 2, Folder 61.

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Charge Accounts, Budget Charge Accounts, and Deferred Payment Accounts. Once customers came into the store, an innovative teletype hook-up with the Bergen County Credit Bureau enabled charge accounts to be established quickly. Another Garden State Plaza anchor store, J. C. Penney, which had long built its identity around low price, cash-and-carry purchasing, finally recognized in 1957 that credit was expected, even demanded, by consumers, and became the last of the large nationwide retailers to introduce a company credit card. By 1962, national credit facilities and systems were operating with the latest electronic data-processing technology, and charging had become the standard way to buy. As credit cards increasingly became the legal tender of shopping-center purchasing, they expanded women's control over family finances from spending the domestic allowance assigned from the weekly or monthly paycheck to committing the family's present and future savings. It should also be noted, however, that credit cards at the same time reinforced women's economic dependence on men, since qualifying generally depended on husbands' or fathers' income, even when women earned money of their own.[46]

As the example of credit cards illustrates, even as women gained power in the family and in the public realm with the emergence of shopping centers, so, too, were their horizons limited by them. Women's public roles were expected to remain defined as consumers, and transcending that role was difficult. The most telling case involved the fate of women as workers in shopping centers like Bergen Mall and Garden State Plaza. As the department stores established branches, they increasingly turned to suburban housewives as retail clerks. The fit seemed perfect. Many women were interested in part-time work, and the stores were looking for part-time labor to service the notorious peaks and valleys in suburban shopping. As a Stanford Business School professor advised branch managers in the year the Bergen County shopping centers opened, "Fortunately, most of these suburban stores have in their immediate neighborhood a large number of housewives and other nonemployed women who have been willing to work during these evening and Saturday peak periods . . . Many of these women apparently work as much because of interest as because of economic necessity, and, as a rule, they have proved to be excellent salespeople." The Paramus malls took heed: by the mid-1960s, the

[46] Barry Bluestone, Patricia Hanna, Sarah Kuhn, and Laura Moore, *The Retail Revolution: Market Transformation, Investment, and Labor in the Modern Department Store* (Boston, 1981), 46–47; Rich, *Shopping Behavior of Department Store Customers*, 100–01; " 'It Won't Be Long Now . . . ': Bamberger's New Jersey's Greatest Store, Comes to Paramus Soon," stamped August 22, 1956, file "Bergen County Shopping Centers," Johnson Free Public Library, Hackensack; press release, "The Garden State Plaza Opens Wednesday, May 1st at the Junction of Routes 4 and 17, Paramus," Garden State Plaza Historical Collection; JCPenney, "An American Legacy," 21–22; Curry, *Creating an American Institution*, 305–07.

On the expansion of credit in the postwar period, see Marie de Vroet Kobrak, "Consumer Installment Credit and Factors Associated with It" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1958); Lewis Mandell, *The Credit Card Industry: A History* (Boston, 1990); Hillel Black, *Buy Now Pay Later* (New York, 1961). For a 1971 study documenting the possession of bank cards and store charge cards in the counties of Bergen, Passaic (New Jersey), and Rockland (New York) and when they were last used, see Plan One Research Corporation, *Mighty Market*, 382–85. In 1958, the *Paterson Evening News* cited a recent newspaper poll on family finances showing that the wife has full control of the family purse in 90 percent of all families; "Even as You and I," *Bergen Evening Record* (January 10, 1958): 58; also "Handling Your Money," January 25, 1958, *Bergen Evening Record*, Weekend Magazine, 4.

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part-time employment of women had swelled the malls' combined employee ranks to almost 6,000 people, two-thirds of them part-time and many of them local residents.[47]

But according to New York–area labor unions such as Local 1-S, RWDSU (Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union), which represented employees at Macy's and Bamberger's, and District 65, RWDSU, which represented them at Gimbels, Sterns, and Bloomingdale's, the department stores had another motive for hiring so many part-timers in their new suburban branches: they were trying to cut labor costs and break the hold of the unions, which had organized their New York stores successfully enough to make retail clerking a decent job. Certainly, retailers gave a lot of attention to keeping labor costs down, judging them to be the greatest obstacle to higher profits. Suburban branch managers sought to limit the number of salespeople needed by depending more on customer self-service and "pipe-racking," putting goods on floor racks rather than behind counters. Some stores, such as Sears Roebuck, Montgomery Ward, and J. C. Penney, expanded their catalog operations.[48] But the basic strategy of the suburban department store was to control wages through hiring more part-timers at minimum wages and benefits.

Organizing the new suburban branches became a life-and-death struggle for the unions beginning in the 1950s. They recognized that not only was the fate of new branch jobs at stake but, as retail dollars left the city for the suburbs, jobs in the downtown stores were threatened as well. The branch store was becoming, in effect, a kind of runaway shop that undermined the job security, wages, benefits, and working conditions of unionized downtown workers. Local 1-S and District 65 tried all kinds of strategies, such as demanding contract coverage of the new branches when renegotiating their existing contracts with downtown stores; getting permission from the National Labor Relations Board to split the bargaining units within particular branch stores (such as into selling, non-selling, and restaurant) to facilitate organization; assigning downtown store workers to picket suburban branches during strikes and organizing campaigns; and gaining the right for city-store employees to transfer to branches without losing accumulated seniority and benefits.

But still, successful labor organization of the suburban branches proved extremely difficult. Branch-store management at Sterns, Bamberger's, and a Bloomingdale's that opened nearby took an aggressive stand against unionism, harassing and firing employees who showed the least inclination to organize, particularly women. Bill Michelson, executive vice-president of District 65, pointed to the mentality of part-time employees as another obstacle to successful organizing: "The part-timer, usually a housewife in a suburban town, is interested in picking up extra money and does not have deep roots in her job." The large turnover among

[47] Oaks, *Managing Suburban Branches of Department Stores*, 73; "Paramus Booms as a Store Center," *New York Times* (February 5, 1962): 34; "Sales Personnel Ready to Work," *Bergen Evening Record*, November 13, 1957.

[48] Rich, *Shopping Behavior of Department Store Customers*, 20; Sternlieb, *Future of the Downtown Department Store*, 27; R. H. Macy & Company, *Annual Report for 1955*, 29; JCPenney, "An American Legacy," 25; Stuart, *Our Era*, 20.

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part-time workers—through lay-offs as well as voluntary resignation—made organizing them all the harder.[49]

Despite the determined efforts of Local 1-S and District 65 to organize all department store workers in the Paramus shopping centers, Gimbels was the only store to sign a union contract that covered its Paramus store, and this in exchange for a lesser wage increase and the cancellation of a threatened strike. At all the rest, an overwhelmingly female work force worked part-time at minimum wage, with few benefits, no union representation, and limited opportunities for career advancement. (See Figure 7.) Work became a way for women to maintain their status as consumers, but it did not significantly empower them as producers who could contribute substantially to—or be independent of—male earnings. At Bamberger's, in fact, the handbook for new employees urged them to use their staff discount to purchase store merchandise (20 percent off for apparel worn on the job, 10 percent on other items) so they could serve as model consumers for customers. The shopping center, then, contributed to a segmentation not only of consumers but of workers as well in a postwar labor market that offered new jobs to women but marked these jobs as less remunerative and more dead-end.[50] Furthermore, as a workplace, much like as a public space, the shopping center constricted the rights available to the people who frequented it. That women came to dominate the ranks of workers and consumers there meant that their political freedom was particularly circumscribed. The shopping center thus posed a contradiction for women in the 1950s and 1960s: it empowered them in their families through creating a new community setting catering to female needs and desires, yet it contained them in the larger society as consumers and part-time workers. In this era before feminist revolt and affirmative action opened other opportunities, women's choices were limited not simply through peer pressure and personal priorities, as is often claimed, but also through the larger economic restructuring taking place in the metropolitan marketplace.

MASS CONSUMPTION IN POSTWAR AMERICA created a new landscape, where public space was more commercialized, more privatized, and more feminized within the

[49] My understanding of labor conditions and organizing in the New York area, and in the Paramus malls specifically, comes from two manuscript collections at the Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University: the papers of Local 1-S, Department Store Workers' Union (RWDSU), and District 65, now of the UAW, then of the RWDSU. I have based my analysis on the clippings, meeting minutes, and legal files in those collections, which I have not cited individually unless I quoted from them. Michelson quote from "NLRB Ruling Spurs New York Area Union: Target—50 Stores," Box 4, Folder 36, District 65; similar statement with two-thirds figure from "Report to General Council Meeting, Department Store Section, by William Michelson," January 12, 1965, Box 5, Folder 4, District 65. On department store efforts with part-timers, see "Part-Timer: New Big Timer," *Women's Wear Daily*, January 8, 1964, Box 4, Folder 35, Local 1-S; also see the records of a fascinating case that Local 1-S brought before the NLRB concerning the firing of a young woman employee who had shown interest in the union: Box 9, Folder 21, Local 1-S.

On industrial relations in department stores nationally, with a case study of the Boston metropolitan area, see Bluestone, *et al.*, *Retail Revolution*, 70, 80–119, 148–49, which provides an excellent analysis of the restructuring of the labor market in the retail trade. Also see Jacobs, *The Mall*, 49.

[50] Bamberger's Paramus, "Welcome to New Friends and a New Career," Employee Handbook, 1957, Box 7, Folder 16, pp. 4, 9–12, Local 1-S.

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FIGURE 7: Bamberger's Department Store prepared an employee handbook, of which this is the cover, for the opening of its Garden State Plaza store in 1957. Hoping to recruit part-time female employees among housewives in neighboring suburban towns, the store offered them "new friends," while male applicants were promised "a new career." Courtesy of Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University, from its Department Store Workers, Local 1-S Collection, Box 7, Folder 16.

regional shopping center than it had been in the traditional downtown center. This is not to romanticize the city and its central business district. Certainly, urban commercial property owners pursued their own economic interests, political activity in public spaces was sometimes limited, and the priorities of women and men did not always peacefully coexist. Nonetheless, the legal distinction between public and private space remained significant; urban loitering and vagrancy laws directed against undesirables in public places have repeatedly been struck down by the courts, while privately owned shopping centers have been able to enforce trespass-

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ing laws.[51] Overall, an important shift from one kind of social order to another took place between 1950 and 1980, with major consequences for Americans. A free commercial market attached to a relatively free public sphere (for whites) underwent a transformation to a more regulated commercial marketplace (where mall management controlled access, favoring chains over local independents, for example) and a more circumscribed public sphere of limited rights. Economic and social liberalism went hand in hand and declined together.

Not by accident, public space was restructured and segmented by class and race in New Jersey, as in the nation, just as African Americans gained new protections for their right of equal access to public accommodations. Although civil rights laws had been on the books in New Jersey since the late nineteenth century, comprehensive legislation with mechanisms for enforcement did not pass until the 1940s. With the "Freeman Bill" of 1949, African Americans were finally guaranteed equal access to schools, restaurants, taverns, retail stores, hotels, public transportation, and facilities of commercial leisure such as movie theaters, skating rinks, amusement parks, swimming pools, and beaches, with violators subject to fines and jail terms. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, African-American citizens of New Jersey—and other northern states—vigilantly challenged discrimination by private property owners. Yet larger structural changes in community marketplaces were under way, financed by private commercial interests committed to socioeconomic and racial segmentation. While African Americans and their supporters were prodding courts and legislatures to eliminate legal segregation in public places, real-estate developers, retailers, and consumers were collaborating to shift economic resources to new kinds of segregated spaces.[52]

The landscape of mass consumption created a metropolitan society in which people were no longer brought together in central marketplaces and the parks, streets, and public buildings that surrounded them but, rather, were separated by class, gender, and race in differentiated commercial sub-centers. Moreover, all commercial sub-centers were not created equal. Over time, shopping centers became increasingly class stratified, with some like the Bergen Mall marketing themselves to the lower middle class, while others like the Garden State Plaza went upscale to attract upper middle-class consumers. If tied to international capital, some central business districts—such as New York and San Francisco—have prospered, although they have not been left unscarred from recent retail mergers and leveraged buy-outs. Other downtowns, such as Hackensack and Elizabeth, New Jersey, have become "Cheap John Bargain Centers" serving customers too poor

[51] "Amtrak Is Ordered Not to Eject the Homeless from Penn Station," *New York Times* (February 22, 1995): A1.

[52] Article on passage of New Jersey Civil Rights Bill, *New York Times*, March 24, 1949; Marion Thompson Wright, "Extending Civil Rights in New Jersey through the Division Against Discrimination," *Journal of Negro History* 38 (1953): 96–107; State of New Jersey, Governor's Committee on Civil Liberties, "Memorandum on Behalf of Joint Council for Civil Rights in Support of a Proposed Comprehensive Civil Rights Act for New Jersey," 1948, II, B 8, Folder "Civil Rights, New Jersey, 1941–48," NAACP Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; "Report of Legislative Committee, NJ State Conference of NAACP Branches," March 26, 1949, II, B 8, Folder "Civil Rights, New Jersey, 1941–48," NAACP Papers. Other NAACP files on discrimination document the actual experiences of African Americans in New Jersey during the 1940s and 1950s.

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and deprived of transportation to shop at malls. Even in larger American cities, poor urban populations shop downtown on weekends while the white-collar workers who commute in to offices during the week patronize the suburban malls closer to where they live. Some commercial districts have been taken over by enterprising, often newly arrived, ethnic groups, who have breathed new life into what would otherwise have been in decay, but they nonetheless serve a segmented market. Worst off are cities like Newark, once the largest shopping district in the state, which saw every one of its major department stores close between 1964 and 1992 and much of its retail space remain abandoned, leaving residents such as Raymond Mungin to wonder, "I don't have a car to drive out to the malls. What can I do?" Mass consumption was supposed to bring standardization in merchandise and consumption patterns. Instead, diverse social groups are no longer integrated into central consumer marketplaces but rather are consigned to differentiated retail institutions, segmented markets, and new hierarchies.[53]

Finally, the dependence on private spaces for public activity and the more recent privatization of public space gravely threaten the government's constitutional obligations to its citizens. Not only freedom of speech and public assembly in shopping centers are at issue. Just recently, Amtrack's Pennsylvania Station in New York City tried to stave off two suits requiring it to respect constitutional rights guaranteed in public places: an effort by artist Michael Lebron to display a political message on the gigantic curved and lighted billboard that he had rented for two months, and a case brought by the Center for Constitutional Rights to force Amtrak to stop ejecting people from the station because they are homeless.[54] When Jürgen Habermas theorized about the rise and fall of a rational public sphere, he recognized the centrality in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of accessible urban places—cafés, taverns, coffeehouses, clubs, meeting houses, concert and lecture halls, theaters, and museums—to the emergence and maintenance of a democratic political culture. Over the last half-century, transformations in America's economy and metropolitan landscape have expanded the ability of many people to participate in the mass market. But the commercializing, privatizing, and segmenting of physical gathering places that has accompanied mass consumption

[53] "Closing of 'Last' Department Store Stirs Debate on Downtown Trenton," *Star-Ledger*, June 5, 1983; "Urban Areas Crave Return of Big Markets," *Star-Ledger*, July 17, 1984; "Elizabeth Clothier Mourns Demise of Century-Old Customized Service," *Sunday Star-Ledger*, January 10, 1988; "President's Report to the Annual Meeting, Passaic Valley Citizens Planning Association," Box A, Folder 3, Erber, NPL. On Newark, see for Raymond Mungin quotation, "Two Guys Will Be Missed," *Star-Ledger*, November 23, 1981. Also see "Last-Minute Bargain Hunters Abound as Chase Closes Up," *Newark News*, February 12, 1967; "Ohrbach's Will Close Store in Newark, Cites Drop in Sales and Lack of Lease," *New York Times*, December 7, 1973; and, in the *Star-Ledger*, "S. Klein to Shut Last State Stores Sometime in June," May 9, 1975; "Sears to Shut Newark Store," June 13, 1978; "Hahne's Bids a Farewell to Newark," June 18, 1986; "Macy's to Shut Stores in Newark, Plainfield," May 21, 1992; "Newmark & Lewis Is Closing 11 Stores," October 15, 1993; Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce, "Survey of Jobs and Unemployment," May 1973, NPL "Q" File; Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce, "Metro New Jersey Market Report" [1991], NPL "Q" File.

[54] "Amtrak Can Be Sued on Poster, Court Rules," *New York Times* (February 22, 1995): B4; "Amtrak Is Ordered Not to Eject the Homeless from Penn Station," *New York Times* (February 22, 1995): A1; "Can Amtrak Be a Censor?" *Washington Post* (February 23, 1995). The Amtrak case was complicated by the ambiguity of Amtrak's status as a government entity or private corporation.

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has made more precarious the shared public sphere upon which our democracy depends.[55]

[55] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger trans., with Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); Geoff Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century," in Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner, eds., *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 297–335.

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AHR Forum

U.S. Tax Policy and the Shopping-Center Boom of the 1950s and 1960s

THOMAS W. HANCHETT

SINCE WORLD WAR II, the shopping center has become a fixture of American society. Rather than journeying downtown or walking to a corner grocery, most people now drive to a regional mall or a neighborhood plaza. This dramatic shift in retailing underlies the analysis of numerous issues in recent historical literature. It figures directly in almost every aspect of the urban history of the last forty years, from downtown revitalization efforts to the rise of suburban "edge cities."[1] It forms the context for cultural historians' discussion of changes in the nature of "public life" and plays a role in economic historians' examination of the nation's expanding "service economy."[2] It shapes major public-policy discussions, including questions about the efficacy of federal urban spending and debates concerning the growth of an "under class" physically isolated from places of employment.[3] More simply, the

I would like to thank Robert Bruegmann, Dan Carter, Peter Coclanis, and Lawrence Zelenak for their comments on this essay. Part of the research was completed under a 1994–1995 Andrew D. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship in Southern Studies at Emory University.

[1] A good brief treatment of recent urban history is Carl Abbott, *Urban America in the Modern Age: 1920 to the Present* (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1987). Work specifically on downtown revitalization includes Jon C. Teaford, *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940–1985* (Baltimore, Md., 1990); Bernard J. Frieden and Lynne B. Sagalyn, *Downtown, Inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). On edge cities, consult Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (New York, 1991); William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock, "Bold New City or Built-Up 'Burb?: Redefining Contemporary Suburbia," *American Quarterly* 46 (1994): 1–30. Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York, 1987), chap. 7.

[2] On a decline in public life, see, for example, Michael Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York, 1992); James Howard Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape* (New York, 1993), particularly chap. 7. For contrasting views, read John Brinkerhoff Jackson, *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time* (New Haven, Conn., 1994); Lynn Hollen Lees, "Urban Public Space and Imagined Communities in the 1980s and 1990s," *Journal of Urban History* 20 (1994): 443–65. Witold Rybczynski, "The New Downtowns," *Atlantic Monthly* 271 (May 1993): 98–106. Examples of the voluminous literature on the post-industrial service economy are Thomas Stanback, *Understanding the Service Economy: Employment, Productivity, Location* (Baltimore, Md., 1979); Robert G. Sheets, Stephen Nord, and John J. Phelps, *The Impact of Service Industries on Underemployment in Metropolitan Economics* (Lexington, Mass., 1987).

[3] On the federal aid to cities, read, for example, Thomas R. Swartz and Frank J. Bonello, eds., *Urban Finance under Siege* (Armonk, N.Y., 1993); Nicholas Lehman, "The Myth of Community Development," *New York Times Magazine* (January 1994). On the under-class debate, consult Thomas Sugrue, "The Structures of Urban Poverty: The Reorganization of Space and Work in Three Periods of American History," in *The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History*, Michael B. Katz, ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1993); William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (New York, 1996).

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effects can be felt every time we buy a bag of groceries or purchase a pair of socks. The shopping center has changed the way all of us live our daily lives.

What caused the proliferation of shopping centers in the United States?[4] Almost as soon as cars became practical, entrepreneurs saw the potential for developing groups of suburban stores with parking at the door. Yet half a century elapsed before such centers appeared in any sizable number throughout the nation. This article examines the factors that scholars have usually identified as contributing to the rise of the shopping center and suggests one that has been overlooked: federal tax policy.[5] Beginning in 1954, a program called "accelerated depreciation" allowed developers rapidly to write off construction of new business buildings and even claim losses against unrelated income. As a result, shopping centers and other new commercial construction became a lucrative tax shelter for investors. Case studies of three American communities, investigation of real-estate and financial literature of the period, and a comparison with trends in Canada indicate that accelerated depreciation played a powerful role in America's shopping-center boom of the late 1950s and 1960s.

SCHOLARS HAVE LOOSELY LINKED shopping-center growth to three major trends in the post–World War II period. The most frequently cited is America's rush to the suburbs. As hundreds of thousands of new houses—many underwritten by federally financed mortgage insurance—sprang up in suburbia, "retailers joined the outward migration in hot pursuit of the suburban dollar."[6] A second factor mentioned by some scholars is rising racial tension. The postwar decades witnessed a growing concentration of the black poor in the nation's inner cities, spurring "most

[4] For the purpose of this essay, a "shopping center" (or "shopping plaza") is defined as a group of stores, developed by one development group, with adjacent parking space included as part of the development package. A "shopping mall" is defined as an enclosed shopping center. While a few highly publicized shopping centers have been created within traditional central business districts, the overwhelming majority of American examples are located outside of downtown. Statistics for numbers of centers quoted in the essay are from industry sources (as noted), which do not distinguish between downtown and suburban plazas.

[5] A handful of scholars briefly mention federal tax policy as a factor shaping commercial development, but none have given it in-depth study. It is indicated as an area meriting future research in Marc A. Weiss, "Real Estate History: An Overview and Research Agenda," *Business History Review* 63 (1989): 241–82. The premier history of suburbia, despite much discussion of other federal incentives to suburbanization, allots a single sentence to depreciation policy: Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, 1985), 191. See also Roger J. Vaughan, Anthony H. Pascal, and Mary E. Vaiana, *The Urban Impacts of Federal Policies: Volume One, Overview*, RAND Study R-2206 (Santa Monica, Calif., 1980), 14–15; Edward J. Logue, "The Impact of Political and Social Forces on Design in America," in *Who Designs America?* Laurence B. Holland, ed. (New York, 1966); Peter Blake, *God's Own Junkyard: The Planned Deterioration of America's Landscape* (New York, 1964), 28.

[6] Jon C. Teaford, *The Twentieth Century American City: Problem, Promise and Reality* (Baltimore, Md., 1986), 105–06; Peter O. Muller, *Contemporary Suburban America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1981), 120–24; William Severini Kowinski, *The Malling of America: An Inside Look at the Great Consumer Paradise* (New York, 1985), 103–05; Yehoshua S. Cohen, *Diffusion of an Innovation in an Urban System: The Spread of Planned Regional Shopping Centers in the United States, 1949–1968*, research paper 140 (Chicago, 1972), 24–28; Howard P. Chudacoff and Judith E. Smith, *The Evolution of American Urban Society*, 4th edn. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1994), 261; David Goldfield and Blaine Brownell, *Urban America: From Downtown to No Town* (Boston, 1979), 352–53; Simon Eisner, Arthur Gallion, and Stanley Eisner, *The Urban Pattern*, 6th edn. (New York, 1993), 355.

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Americans to find a safe haven in the new forms of suburbia . . . [particularly] retail growth centers."[7] The third explanation ties the shopping center to availability of the automobile. The years after 1945 saw rapid increases in car ownership and in federally funded highway construction, especially after passage of the Interstate Highway Act of 1956; "the influence of the automobile . . . produced a dispersal of major retail outlets from downtown business districts to suburban shopping centers."[8]

The stories of three particular localities provide a way to begin to evaluate suburbanization, racial tensions, and increasing auto availability as explanations for shopping-center development. The fast-expanding southern city of Charlotte, North Carolina, the slow-growing small town of Cortland, New York, and the declining metropolitan area of Scranton and Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, provide a range of city types and regional contexts. Their experiences also offer an opportunity to illustrate how the scale and design of centers have changed over time.

The Charlotte case comes closest to fitting the accepted ideas about the rise of the shopping center. The largest urban concentration in the Carolinas, Charlotte experienced rapid growth throughout the twentieth century, first as a textile center and subsequently as a banking and distribution hub for a sizable section of the southeastern "Sunbelt." Population doubled and redoubled, from 46,000 in 1920 to 101,000 in 1940, to 202,000 in 1960. Some of that rise was a result of increases in the city's black community, which comprised about 20 percent of the total population and was concentrated in the inner city and on the northwest side. But most of Charlotte's growth came in the form of new suburban housing for whites. As early as 1925, with the opening of the elite Eastover neighborhood at the city's southeast rim, developers broke free of the old streetcar system to create a sprawl of suburbs dependent on the automobile.

Auto-oriented suburban retailing began in a small way at the end of the 1920s in Charlotte. During 1928–1929, a development of half a dozen shops opened on East Morehead Street between the fashionable neighborhoods of Myers Park and Dilworth. The cluster was much like earlier "retail nodes" that had appeared on streetcar lines in Charlotte's white-collar suburbs: a drug store, a restaurant, a dairy, and three small grocery shops providing "conveniences" for nearby residents. But this development was not located on a trolley route. Instead, the buildings were set back a few yards from the street in order to provide parking for a row of automobiles at the door. The Depression and World War II slowed construction in Charlotte, but after the war as suburban housing starts boomed a handful of other "neighborhood centers" appeared in the city's upper-income southeast quadrant. The most sizable were Providence Center and Sedgefield Center. Providence Center had the Manor movie theater, a Colonial chain supermarket, a drug store, beauty salon, florist, and branch bank totaling 40,000 square feet, while Sedgefield's mix included a supermarket, drug store, men's clothing store and doctors' offices,

[7] Brian J. L. Berry and John D. Kasarda, *Contemporary Urban Ecology* (New York, 1977), 265–66. Maurice Yates and Barry Garner, *The North American City*, 3d edn. (San Francisco, 1980), 329–34.

[8] Included in this category is the increased need for parking, which presumably rose at the same rate that car ownership increased. Quotations from John B. Rae, *The Road and the Car in American Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 229–33; Muller, *Contemporary Suburban America*, 120–24; Kowinski, *Malling of America*, 49–52; Cohen, *Diffusion of an Innovation*, 24–28; Truman A. Hartshorn and John W. Alexander, *Economic Geography*, 3d edn. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1988), 305.

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TABLE 1
Shopping-Center Definitions

type	*square feet of building*	*number of stores*	*typical key tenant*
neighborhood:	30k–100k sq. ft.	under 10 stores	supermarket
community:	100k–300k sq. ft.	10–30 stores	variety store or junior department store (WT Grant, small JC Penney)
regional:	300k–1m sq. ft.	30–100 stores	department store
super-regional:	1m sq. ft. and up		

SOURCES: *Directory of Shopping Centers in the United States and Canada* (1966); Urban Land Institute, *Shopping Center Development Handbook* (1977).

at 50,000 square feet. Though slightly bigger than the 1920s center, these postwar plazas still mainly provided convenience items for surrounding suburbanites, who continued to journey downtown regularly for most purchases.

That pattern changed dramatically in Charlotte beginning in 1956 with the opening of Park Road Shopping Center. Full-page newspaper ads trumpeted the arrival of Charlotte's first large-scale suburban shopping plaza. Thirty-five stores, arranged in a modernistic V-shaped row, looked out over an astounding 3,500 parking spaces. Two giant supermarkets anchored the ends, and the stores in between included a full-sized Woolworth's and a J. C. Penney Department Store. With 350,000 square feet of space (compared to 50,000 square feet at Sedgefield), the Park Road plaza was no mere neighborhood center but instead a "regional center" that competed directly with downtown. The gala opening of Park Road marked the first of many such events, as a boom in suburban retail construction began. Charlottetown Mall, completed in 1959 by nationally known developer James Rouse and the first enclosed mall in the South, garnered the most attention, but it was only one project among many. "Shopping centers have popped up like wild onions this year," marveled a business reporter that fall.[9] By 1961, the *Charlotte Observer* counted more than a dozen sizable plazas sprinkled around the city.[10] Charlotte's rush to suburban retailing accelerated in 1962 when the Belk and Ivey families purchased land for the Southpark mall.[11] The Belk and Ivey chains were the region's leading department stores, both headquartered in downtown Charlotte; purchase of the Southpark site rang the death knell for center-city retailing, a mere six years after the shopping-center boom had begun. By the time Southpark opened in 1970, Charlotte boasted some forty-five shopping centers, including five enclosed malls.[12]

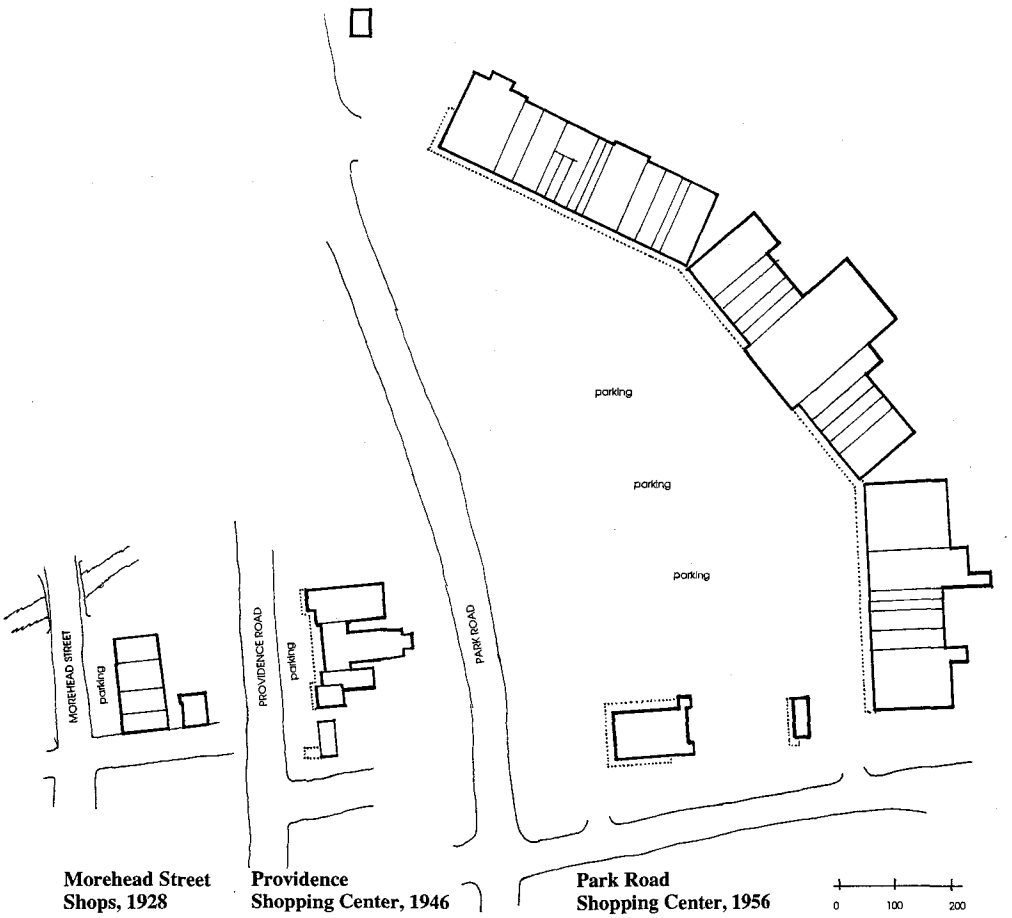
[9] Emery Wister, "Trade Talk: Watch for More Shopping Centers," *Charlotte News* (November 11, 1959). On Charlottetown Mall, see *Charlotte Observer* (October 28, 1959): special section. On Charlottetown's subsequent history, see J. Dennis Lord, "Revitalization of Shopping Centers," in *Shopping Centre Development: Policies and Prospects*, John A. Dawson and Dennis Lord, eds. (New York, 1985).

[10] "Shopping Centers Are Now in Every Part of Charlotte," *Charlotte Observer* (April 23, 1961): 19A.

[11] Howard E. Covington, Jr., *Belk: A Century of Retail Leadership* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), 166, 200, 217–20.

[12] *Directory of Shopping Centers in the United States and Canada*, 12th edn. (Burlington, Iowa, 1971).

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The changing scale of shopping centers in Charlotte. Drawn by the author, based on the *Sanborn Insurance Map* (1963) and Mecklenburg County Engineering Department aerial photographs.

The late 1950s–1960s surge in shopping-center development that took place in expanding Charlotte could also be seen, surprisingly, in the much smaller and slower-growing community of Cortland. Located in the dairy country of upstate New York, Cortland's economy rested on farming, a state teachers' college, and assembly plants for trucks and typewriters. City population grew slowly in the two decades after 1950, increasing by 2,000 persons to a total count of just under 20,000 in 1970. County population rose by only 7,000 more in the same period, to about 46,000 in 1970, reflecting a very modest rate of suburbanization. Compared to Charlotte, race ranked as a negligible factor in Cortland; as late as 1970, the town had only 90 African-American residents.

Nonetheless, plazas proliferated in Cortland during the 1960s. First came the Groton Avenue Plaza in 1963. Two big supermarkets and a pair of large variety stores (Grant's and Woolworth's) anchored the strip of stores, which faced a parking lot for 1,000 cars. Smaller separate structures included a building for doctors' and professional offices and one of Cortland's first fast-food chain restaurants. With about 134,000 square feet of buildings, the Groton Avenue Plaza

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was not large by metropolitan standards.[13] But in a small farm town, such a center meant serious competition for Main Street merchants. More centers quickly followed. All drew their clientele primarily from Cortland County; developers seemed unworried by the fact that the bigger cities in adjoining counties were getting even larger malls of their own, including Syracuse to the north, Ithaca to the west, and Binghamton to the south. By 1970, Cortland had six shopping plazas, all within a mile or two of the now-struggling downtown. The centers ranged in size from Port Watson Plaza with a supermarket, large drug store, and two smaller tenants, to the enclosed 400,000 square-foot Cortlandville Mall being developed by the Pyramid Corporation with a department store, K-Mart discount store, and some forty other planned shops.[14]

The shopping-center boom extended not only to small towns such as Cortland but even to places that were losing population, among them the Scranton–Wilkes Barre metropolitan area of Pennsylvania. Nestled side by side in the Wyoming Valley, the two cities had grown impressively with coal mining during the late nineteenth century, and Scranton had advanced to rank among America's hundred largest urban centers. By the 1920s, though, the coal gave out and stagnation set in. From 1930 onward, both city and county population fell steadily. Between 1950 and 1970, city totals dropped by almost 40,000 people, to 162,420 citizens (0.8 percent black). County totals slid even faster, dropping more than 73,000 to 576,408 residents by 1970.[15] In short, the Scranton–Wilkes Barre area experienced not suburban growth in the postwar years but actual suburban decline. That decline did little to deter shopping-center construction. The Wyoming Valley's first major suburban retail development appeared in 1955: the Gateway Shopping Center located between Scranton and Wilkes Barre, which opened with 16 stores and soon expanded to 35. More plazas followed, and by 1970 the two-county area included 31 shopping centers, flanking dying downtowns. Largest of the new projects were three major enclosed malls: the 40-store Scranton Mall, the 45-store Viewmont Mall, and the "super-regional" 110-store Wyoming Valley Mall.[16]

These case studies suggest that suburban population growth and racial fears do not hold up well as explanations for shopping-center development. The city with the most robust suburban expansion did build the most centers: Charlotte with 45. But Scranton–Wilkes Barre built 31 despite suburban decline. Likewise, racial tension does not seem to have been a major impetus. Shopping centers appeared at almost the same time in places with negligible minority concentrations—Cortland and Scranton–Wilkes Barre—as they did in Charlotte with its substantial African-American population.

Automobile and highway data in the three cities likewise produce surprising patterns. Car ownership did rise sharply. In each place, shopping centers appeared

[13] 1994 data (not including separate, free-standing buildings), Town Assessor's Office, Cortlandville Town Hall.

[14] *Directory of Shopping Centers in the United States and Canada*, 12th edn. Cortland city directories.

[15] The steep-walled valley kept urban development contained within Scranton's surrounding Lackawanna County and Wilkes Barre's surrounding Luzerne County. As late as 1970, the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas drawn for Scranton and Wilkes Barre by the Census Bureau included only those two counties.

[16] *Directory of Shopping Centers in the United States and Canada*, 12th edn.

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TABLE 2
Population Growth, Vehicle Ownership in Case Study Areas

	population of city and surrounding county increase/decrease from previous census			*persons per motor vehicle in city and surrounding county*		
year	*Charlotte*	*Cortland*	*Scranton–Wilkes Barre*	*Charlotte*	*Cortland*	*Scranton–Wilkes Barre*
1940	+23,855	+1,959	−9,154	4.03	2.97	5.39
1950	+45,226	+3,490	−43,847	2.88	2.52	3.69
1960	+75,059	+3,955	−22,865	2.27	2.30	2.37
1970	+82,545	+4,781	−427	1.65	1.85	1.55

SOURCES: population data for Mecklenburg County (Charlotte), Cortland County (Cortland), and Lackawanna and Luzerne counties (Scranton–Wilkes Barre): United States Census Bureau; motor vehicle registrations: *Profile of North Carolina Counties* (1973), New York State Department of Motor Vehicles, *Pennsylvania Statistical Abstract* (1962, 1972).

as auto registrations expanded from one car for every three persons to better than one car for every two persons. Correlation between specific ownership levels and the timing of shopping-center construction was not obvious, though. Cortland, for instance, had high auto ownership as early as the 1940s but did not get a center until 1963. Conversely, cars were scarcest in Scranton–Wilkes Barre, yet it boasted a sizable shopping plaza before either of the other cities. No specific common "tipping point," either in absolute numbers of cars or cars per capita, spurred communities suddenly to build multiple shopping centers. Federal highway construction, including the Interstate program, had even less of a clear correlation with shopping-plaza development. In each city, Interstate highways did not open until well after the boom was under way: Charlotte's first segments of I-85 were completed in the early 1960s; construction of I-81 around Scranton–Wilkes Barre began in 1962; I-81 reached Cortland in 1968. In all the cities, the majority of shopping centers tended to be located away from the interstates rather than at interchanges. In fact, many major centers were not even on federal highways at all, including Charlotte's 1956 Park Road Shopping Center and the 1970 Southpark mall, and Cortland's 1963 Groton Avenue Shopping Center and 1970 Cortlandville Mall.

The experiences of these communities parallel the chronology of shopping-center development elsewhere in the United States. For decades, small neighborhood centers predominated, and these appeared only in tiny numbers and only in places experiencing considerable suburban population growth. Not until the late 1950s and early 1960s did this gradual development give way to a boom in both the number and scale of shopping centers, with projects springing up in communities of every size.

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD RETAILING in America's suburbs dates back more than a century. The first suburban "business nodes" appeared along streetcar routes, offering "convenience" shops including drug stores, small groceries, and doctors'

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offices.[17] As autos became popular during the 1920s and 1930s, these nodes expanded into "miracle mile" strips with motels, auto showrooms, and the occasional early supermarket joining the "convenience" stores.[18] Enterprises might be located right at curbside or sometimes set back from the street a few yards to allow store-front parking. Buildings were usually developed one at a time by small investors or by the merchants themselves. Perhaps the most famous business on the nascent suburban strip was Sears, Roebuck & Company. In 1925, the huge retailer committed its construction dollars to building hundreds of freestanding individual Sears stores along thoroughfares outside of traditional business districts.[19]

While miracle mile strips proliferated, the shopping center appeared much more slowly. The reason was not any lack of imagination on the part of developers. As early as 1896, the posh Roland Park suburb of Baltimore featured a row of stores with parking at the door. In Kansas City's wealthy Country Club District, entrepreneur J. C. Nichols began building small groups of neighborhood stores in 1907. In 1922, he launched the Country Club Plaza as the district's commercial hub, a Spanish-theme cluster of upscale shops that is often cited as the world's first full-blown shopping center. Nichols's innovation garnered abundant publicity nationwide, but only a handful of other such centers appeared during the rest of the booming 1920s.[20]

The problem lay in the economics of development. For a developer dealing in raw land at a city's edge, the swiftest and easiest return came from simply selling lots or houses. A shopping center, by contrast, required the investment of considerable construction capital. Once built, its rental spaces had to be managed carefully over many years in order to generate a profit. And then there was the problem of location; to ensure success, a shopping center needed to be situated in the midst of many existing shoppers, not set at the edge of development where cheap land still existed.

From the 1920s onward, developers searched for ways to make the idea of the shopping center profitable. One approach, seen in Kansas City's Country Club Plaza, was what might be called the "residential center." These were small store clusters built as part of large, planned residential communities of well-to-do homebuyers; rents could be high, and exclusive shops could function as an amenity

[17] Michael P. Conzen and Kathleen N. Conzen, "Geographical Structure in Nineteenth Century Urban Retailing: Milwaukee, 1836–1900," *Journal of Historical Geography* 5 (1979): 45–66.

[18] Chester H. Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture* (Boston, 1985); Brian Berry, *Commercial Structure and Commercial Blight*, Research Paper 85 (Chicago, 1963). The impact of this suburban strip development was large enough to worry downtown businessmen. A study measuring retail employment in center cities versus suburbs noted declines everywhere between 1929 and 1948, a period when little or no shopping-center construction had yet occurred in most places. For instance, central Boston's share of metropolitan retail employment fell from 61 to 52 percent, central Baltimore's from 95 to 88 percent, and central Buffalo's from 79 to 70 percent. George Sternlieb, *The Future of the Downtown Department Store* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 32; Raymond Vernon, *The Changing Economic Function of the Central City* (New York, 1959), 45, 66–67.

[19] Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile*, 14, 36; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 257–58.

[20] William S. Worley, *J. C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities* (Columbia, Mo., 1990), 232–63; J. C. Nichols, "Shopping Centers: Look before You Leap," *Urban Land* 7 (June 1948): 1, 3; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 177, 258–59. Country Club Plaza and several of Nichols's other store groups as they looked *circa* 1950 are illustrated in Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro, eds., *Shopping Centers: Design and Operation* (New York, 1951), 79–89.

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to help the developer sell surrounding lots.[21] Another approach was the creation of "park and shop centers": small plazas along streets where housing development was already intense. The architectural historian Richard Longstreth has recently documented how developers around Washington, D.C.—one of the few American cities to experience rapid suburban population expansion during the Depression—perfected the concept in the 1930s. Projects such as the Park and Shop (1930) and Silver Spring Shopping Center (1938) grouped a supermarket and a handful of other stores around two or three sides of a large parking lot, located at intersections on well-traveled suburban thoroughfares.[22]

Whether part of a residential package or developed separately, virtually all of these pre–World War II projects were of neighborhood scale. In most cities, shopping centers remained unknown well into the 1940s. "Despite often substantial population growth in outlying areas during the interwar years," the geographer Peter O. Muller has observed, few major retailers departed from the bustle of downtown. "With the exception of food and convenience goods stores that followed people into the newly built auto suburbs, larger clothing, furniture and department stores heavily preferred the core city CBD [Central Business District]."[23] People might be moving outward, but the economic barriers to shopping-center construction remained formidable. Investors could still make a quicker and surer profit selling lots or houses than they could building and renting big new retail facilities.

After 1945, with the Depression and World War II over, shopping-center development increased somewhat. By the early 1950s, thirty to fifty new projects were opening each year nationwide. Nearly all were small operations, such as Charlotte's 1947 Providence Center and 1950 Sedgefield Center, offering conveniences to nearby suburbanites between major downtown shopping trips. Many were "residential centers" conceived as components of housing developments. The

[21] "The inclusion of a shopping center as part of a planned community is not a new idea. Noteworthy examples have been in existence for thirty years or more. The J. C. Nichols Company's Country Club Plaza in Kansas City [1922], Shaker Heights Shopping Center in Cleveland, River Oaks Center of Hugh Potter in Houston [1937], Hugh Prather's Highland Park Village in Dallas [1931], and Westwood Village of the Janss Bros. in Los Angeles, as well as others have been nationally known for years. For the most part, these older shopping centers were built in communities where there were to be large residential developments which catered to the higher income group, and it has only been in comparatively recent times that shopping centers have been included in the planned neighborhoods for more modest homes." "Shopping Centers: A Neighborhood Necessity," part 1, *Urban Land* 3 (September 1944): 1, 4. Other early examples included Upper Darby Center in West Philadelphia (1927), Suburban Square in Ardmore, Pennsylvania (1928), Hampton Village in St. Louis (1941), Colony in Toledo (1944), and Shirlington in Arlington, Virginia (1944). Homer Hoyt, "The Status of Shopping Centers in the United States, October 1960," *Urban Land* 19 (October 1960): 5. See also Howard Gillette, Jr., "The Evolution of the Planned Regional Shopping Center in Suburb and City," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51 (1985): 449–60. Illustrations of a number of these early centers may be found in Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers: Design and Operation*.

[22] Longstreth, "Neighborhood Shopping Center."

[23] Muller, *Contemporary Suburban America*, 48. "[The] real push in shopping center construction did not begin until after 1954," wrote Art Zuckerman, "America's Shopping Center Revolution," *Dun's Review and Modern Industry* 71 (May 1958): 36, 93–102; See also John A. Dawson, "Suburbanization of Retail Activity," in James H. Johnson, ed., *Suburban Growth: Geographical Processes at the Edge of the Western City* (London, 1974), 165; John M. Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 38; George H. Sternlieb and James W. Hughes, "Introduction: The Uncertain Future of Shopping Centers," in *Shopping Centers, USA*, Sternlieb and Hughes, eds. (Piscataway, N.J., 1981), 1–16; J. Ross McKeever, "As the Year Begins," *Urban Land* 12 (January 1953): 1, 3–4.

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Federal Housing Administration now specifically encouraged small centers in subdivision and apartment proposals seeking FHA mortgage aid, and it made available free plans.[24] A few ambitious men in these prosperous postwar years, however, sought to create centers that would transcend mere neighborhood convenience. Cameron Village in Raleigh, North Carolina (1949), Northgate in Seattle, Washington (1950), and Shoppers World outside Boston (1951) heralded a new category of suburban retailing: the planned regional shopping center.[25] Each included one or even two large branch department stores, one or two big supermarkets, and upwards of thirty other businesses. With 300,000 or more square feet of buildings and parking for over a thousand automobiles, the regional centers functioned not as supplements but as competitors to downtown shopping.

While the press greeted the regionals as the inevitable trend of the auto age, developers found that such projects continued to be devilishly tricky to make profitable. J. W. York in Raleigh, for instance, crafted a complex development package including garden apartments and single-family house lots surrounding Cameron Village, in order to generate cash flow to cover the shopping center's start-up costs.[26] Sometimes, risk overwhelmed reward, most notably when Shoppers World went bankrupt amid great publicity three years after opening. Large initial investment, slow payout, and need for careful long-term management continued to make the shopping center a less-than-ideal financial vehicle.

At the midpoint of the 1950s, fewer than two dozen regional shopping centers existed in all of the United States.[27] A handful of big-city department store corporations were known to be assembling land for regional centers near wealthy suburban customers: Marshall Field north of Chicago, Macy's in the New Jersey suburbs of New York City, J. L. Hudson northwest of Detroit, the Dayton Company outside Minneapolis. Several variety-store and grocery chains, among them W. T. Grant and Grand Union, were actively seeking spots in neighborhood and community centers. And many developers were watching the new trend with

[24] Longstreth, "Neighborhood Shopping Center," 18. For illustrations of small centers as part of housing schemes, see Gustave Ring, "Modern Trends in Garden Apartments," *Urban Land* 7 (May 1948): 1, 4; "Plan Analysis Session of the Community Builders' Council," *Urban Land* 8 (January 1949): 1, 3–5.

[25] There is considerable disagreement in the literature as to the "first" planned regional shopping center. The Cameron Village project was planned for Raleigh developer J. W. York by Seward Mott and Max Wehrly of the Urban Land Institute in consultation with the economic geographer Homer Hoyt. Its initial shops opened November 17, 1949. Raleigh *News and Observer* (November 17, 1949); Homer Hoyt, "Market Surveys for Shopping Centers," in *According to Hoyt: Fifty Years of Homer Hoyt; Articles on Law, Real Estate Cycle, Economic Base, Sector Theory, Shopping Centers, Urban Growth, 1916 to 1966*, Hoyt, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1966), 622–30; Linda Harris Edmisten, *J. W. Willie York, His First Seventy-five Years in Raleigh: An Historical Biography* (Raleigh, N.C., 1987), 63–87, 95–99. On Northgate in Seattle, see Meredith L. Clausen, "Northgate Regional Shopping Center: Paradigm from the Provinces," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 43 (1984): 144–61. On Shoppers World, see Eugene J. Kelley, *Shopping Centers: Locating Controlled Regional Centers* (New York, 1956), 79; Kathleen Kelly Broomer, "Shoppers World and the Regional Shopping Center in Greater Boston," *Society for Commercial Archeology News Journal* 13 (1994–95): 2–9. All three pioneering centers are illustrated in Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers: Design and Operation*, 147–60, 198–99, 212–21.

[26] Edmisten, *J. W. Willie York*. Northland, which opened outside Detroit in 1954, required a similarly complex development package; Rybczynski, "New Downtowns," 100. So did the early 1950s Lloyd Center in Portland, Oregon; Richard Horn, "Trends from Regional Center to 'Complete City,'" *Urban Land* 21 (September 1962): 9–10.

[27] Homer Hoyt, "Impact of Suburban Shopping Centers in September, 1956," *Urban Land* 15 (September 1956): 1, 3–7; Muller, *Contemporary Suburban America*, 121–23.

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interest. But most real-estate experts urged caution. Even officials at the Urban Land Institute, a developers' trade group that had long championed the shopping-center concept, believed that the limits of economic feasibility were being reached. Regional centers "can be supported only in the larger metropolitan areas," cautioned institute chief Max Wehrly in late 1953, and even in those places "department stores are not going to officiate at the demise of their downtown establishments." Small neighborhood centers would continue to spring up to serve fast-growing suburbs, and some additional regional centers might appear, but America would definitely witness "a marked leveling in shopping center building in the next few years," Wehrly stated assuredly. "We are approaching in this field the boundaries of our new set of economic and technological limitations, which will be just as effective in controlling the extent of urban development as were the physical walls of the middle ages."[28]

Then, in Washington, Congress passed an unexciting-sounding bit of tax law called "accelerated depreciation."

TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPACT of accelerated depreciation, it helps to look first at the background of American income tax law, especially concerning depreciation and related real-estate policy. From the creation of the income tax in 1913, federal officials accepted the need to allow businesses to deduct some amount to compensate for wear and tear on equipment and structures. Machines and buildings wear out, so the provident business person must set aside a fraction of profit in order to have money for replacement when the time comes. It seemed only fair that this money not be taxed, since it was not really "profit." The original income tax legislation of 1913 permitted businesses to deduct from their taxable profits a "reasonable allowance for the exhaustion, wear and tear of property arising out of its use or employment in the business." The Revenue Act of 1916 changed the language to "a reasonable allowance for depreciation," and the term "depreciation" has remained in the tax code ever since.[29]

But what constituted a "reasonable allowance"? In early years, the federal government let businesses themselves decide, with predictable results. By 1931, the deductions taken for depreciation in America exceeded the total taxable net income of all corporations.[30] An exasperated Congress asked the Treasury Department to create a formal procedure for calculating depreciation. In 1934, the department mandated the use of "straight-line depreciation" for buildings, machines, and other income-producing property.[31] The Treasury Department estimated the useful life of most buildings as forty years; each year, the owners could deduct from profits 1/40

[28] Max S. Wehrly, "Trends for Modern Communities," *Urban Land* 12 (September 1953): 1, 3–5; Hoyt, "Impact of Suburban Shopping Centers," 4.

[29] Revenue Act of 1913 quoted in Jerold L. Waltman, *Political Origins of the U.S. Income Tax* (Jackson, Miss., 1985), 26; Revenue Act of 1916 quoted in William T. Hogan, *Depreciation Policies and Resultant Problems* (New York, 1967), 2–15.

[30] Hogan, *Depreciation Policies*, 6.

[31] Hogan, *Depreciation Policies*, 7–8. On the typicality of Treasury allowance of a forty-year useful life, see Paul Taubman and Robert Rasche, "The Income Tax and Real Estate Investment," in Tax Institute of America, *Tax Incentives* (Lexington, Mass., 1971), 113–42, esp. 119.

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of the original cost of a building. By the end of forty years, owners would have enough cash (assuming they simply held the money they deducted) to replace the worn-out structure.

For two decades, this straight-line depreciation policy governed American real estate. A few critics asserted that the process understated depreciation in a structure's early years, when loss of "newness" caused a drop in resale value (much in the manner of new cars).[32] But most real-estate experts acknowledged that straight-line depreciation was a boon to the sophisticated investor. No law required that the money deducted actually be held for eventual building replacement. Investors could use the dollars for any sort of activity they wished, including other profit-producing ventures. Especially for "the individual in the high surtax brackets," wrote financial adviser William J. Casey in his 1951 book *Tax Sheltered Investments*, the depreciation deduction offered "tax free cash."[33]

Along with straight-line depreciation, other federal tax policies helped make real estate an attractive investment in the years before 1954. Money paid for property taxes could be written off as a business expense, thus reducing the amount of income to be taxed.[34] Interest paid on construction loans could be written off, as well.[35] Best of all, real-estate profits counted not as regular income but as "capital gains." Federal law set the tax rate for capital gains significantly lower than for most other types of income. The tax saving could be more than 50 percent. That provided a definite incentive for investors, particularly those in the top tax brackets, to put money into buildings and land.[36]

In 1953, the booming prosperity of the postwar years slowed a bit as the nation experienced a mild recession. In Washington, Congress was already considering a major update of tax laws. With Republican president Dwight D. Eisenhower in the White House and Republican majorities controlling both the House and Senate for the first time in a generation, sentiment ran strong for the federal government to use its powers to improve the business climate. Signed into law early the following year, the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 included several tax breaks designed to

[32] A few critics also questioned the "useful life" data in specific situations, such as oil refineries, where structures wore out faster than the Treasury Dept. estimated. Hogan, *Depreciation Policies*, 8–9.

[33] William J. Casey and J. K. Lasser, *Tax Sheltered Investments* (Washington, D.C., 1951), 81. Casey went on to become one of America's leading investment writers, producing numerous books, including several editions of *The Real Estate Deskbook* and *The Tax Shelter Deskbook* through the 1960s. The Treasury Dept. liberalized depreciation slightly in 1946, allowing a 150 percent declining balance. The deduction could be taken only if that 150 percent depreciation formula was used in the taxpayer's own accounting system, and each taxpayer was required to prove the legitimacy of the deduction on a case-by-case basis. Few people made use of the option. Boris Bittker and Lawrence M. Stone, *Federal Income Taxation*, 5th edn. (Boston, 1980), 384; Casey and Lasser, *Tax Sheltered Investments*, 80–87; Royal Shipp and Robert Moore Fisher, *The Postwar Boom in Hotels and Motels* (Washington, D.C., 1965), 31.

[34] Janet Davies, *Real Estate in History* (Washington, D.C., 1958), 225.

[35] Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies and Direct Subsidy Alternatives* (Washington, D.C., 1977), 16, 25.

[36] Joseph Pechman and Henry Aaron, eds., *How Taxes Affect Economic Behavior* (Washington, D.C., 1981), 1–25; Ned Eichler, *The Merchant Builders* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 4. One of the few histories of capital gains policy is to be found in Office of the Secretary of Treasury, Office of Tax Analysis, *Report to Congress on the Capital Gains Tax Reductions of 1978*, T 1.2:C17/2 (Washington, D.C., 1985), 29–39.

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stimulate the economy, chief among them an acceleration of the depreciation deduction.[37]

Accelerated depreciation replaced the straight-line approach with a choice of two formulas that offered high benefits in the early years. One was "200% declining balance" depreciation. Under it, an investor could start deductions at double the amount allowed under the straight-line method. Each year thereafter, the taxpayer calculated the taxable value of the building by subtracting from the initial value the amount already deducted, a procedure that dramatically curved the depreciation line. The other new formula was called "sum-of-the-years'-digits" depreciation. This complicated formula curved the depreciation line even more sharply in the taxpayer's favor.[38] With either method, the calculations made no change in the overall deduction. The 200-percent feature and the curves simply shifted tax deductions toward the first years of a project's life, which enabled investors swiftly to reap the benefits.

Congress evidently intended the depreciation policy primarily to stimulate capital investment in manufacturing—machinery, processing facilities, and factory buildings.[39] The House and Senate committee hearings held on the matter during the summer of 1953 featured testimony almost entirely from manufacturers. Only a single witness from the building industry spoke at length. John C. Williamson of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) used most of his time to urge the extension of favorable tax treatment to rental housing needed by workers. In the final bill, congressional concern with new factories and worker housing resulted in broad language offering the tax break to any "property used in . . . trade or business": buildings as well as machines.[40] "Acceleration of depreciation for buildings in 1954 appears to have been a happenstance," said Treasury Department

[37] John F. Witte, *The Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax* (Madison, Wis., 1985), 146–50; Hogan, *Depreciation Policies*, 9–11. The depreciation proposal merited front-page coverage in the *New York Times* (January 23, 1954). On the legislative history of the 1954 Revenue Act, see Eugene N. Feingold, "The Revenue Act of 1954: Policy and Politics" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1954); William L. Cary, "Pressure Groups and the Revenue Code: A Requiem in Honor of the Departing Uniformity of the Tax Laws," *Harvard Law Review* 68 (1955): 745–80. The 1953 recession is described in Herbert Stein, *The Fiscal Revolution in America* (Chicago, 1969), 292–93. On tax debates in the 1953–54 Congress, see E. J. Dione, Jr., *Why Americans Hate Politics* (New York, 1991), 171; Nichol C. Rae, *The Decline and Fall of Liberal Republicans: From 1952 to the Present* (New York, 1989), 39; Gary W. Reichard, *The Reaffirmation of Republicanism: Eisenhower and the Eighty-Third Congress* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1975). Proposals for tinkering with depreciation policies may have come not only from businessmen but also from military theorists. Concern over the devastating effects of atomic weapons led strategists in this era to urge a policy of "industrial dispersion"—building factories away from existing industrial cities—which was to be encouraged through generous tax breaks for new factory construction. See Roger Lotchin, *Fortress California, 1910–1961: From Warfare to Welfare* (New York, 1992), 322–34; Neil P. Hurley, "The Role of Accelerated Tax Amortization in the National Industrial Dispersion Program" (PhD dissertation, Fordham University, 1956).

[38] One expert referred to "sum-of-the-years'-digits" as "an ancient formula familiar to accountants and which only an accountant can make absolutely clear." Miles L. Colean, "Realities of Today's Real Estate Investment," *Architectural Forum* 102 (April 1955): 189. "Under this method, you total the years that make up the useful life. For example, if the useful life is 5 years, you add together 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, for a total of 15. Then, the first year's depreciation is 5/15 of your cost (say $1500), or $500. The second year, you deduct 4/15 of $1500, then 3/15 of 1500, etc." William J. Casey, *Real Estate Desk Book* (New York, 1964), T3.

[39] Marion Schlefer, *Study of Legislative History of the Rapid Depreciation Provision* (Washington, D.C., 1974), reprinted in *Congressional Record*, daily edition (March 1, 1974): 4948–49.

[40] Internal Revenue Code of 1954, section 167 (a).

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official Stanley Surrey years later, "coming along as an inadvertent appendage to the liberalization directed at machinery and equipment."[41]

"Happenstance" or not, the bill offered a bonanza to investors in real estate. The language excluded private owner–occupied housing, but every type of income-producing structure could qualify: factories, offices, apartments, and stores. Already aware of the benefits available under the old tax law, developers embraced the new provisions eagerly. A subsequent study showed that by 1959 about one-sixth of American businesspeople switched to the accelerated formula for their depreciation deductions. In real estate, however, the conjunction of the new formula with other existing policies greatly magnified the tax break. The report found that a whopping 97.9 percent of real-estate partnership returns used the accelerated formula when calculating depreciation in 1959. The reason, it explained, was that "the combined interest and depreciation deductions in the early years after the acquisition of a property are likely to be relatively large, and indeed, if taken in conjunction with other expenses, to exceed the gross income from the property and to reduce, therefore, taxable income from other sources."[42]

Accelerated depreciation, in plain language, suddenly transformed real-estate development into a lucrative "tax shelter." An investor making a profit from rental of a new building usually avoided all taxes on that income, since the "loss" from depreciation canceled it out. And when the depreciation exceeded profits from the building itself—as it virtually always did in early years—the investor could use the excess "loss" to cut other income taxes. Meanwhile, in the real world, real-estate values were actually going up in America during the 1950s and 1960s. Savvy investors quickly discovered that they could build a structure, claim "losses" for several years while enjoying tax-free income, then sell the project for more than they had originally invested.

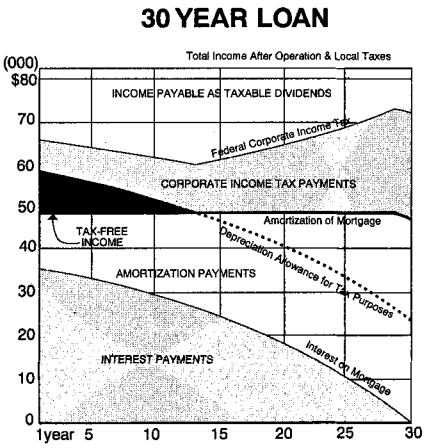
The law radically changed the business of developing buildings. Tax angles now "may even outweigh other considerations, so that a play for a tax advantage may be the compelling reason" driving a particular project, announced real-estate economist Miles L. Colean in the 1955 *Architectural Forum*.[43] The new depreciation formula, he explained, made real estate very attractive to a type of investor previously put off by the slow payout of most projects: the venture capitalist. Such investors typically looked for situations in which they could quickly recoup all of their initial cash outlay. The 1954 Tax Code made it possible "to recapture the risk capital in a building venture during a brief, tax-protected period," often as short as

[41] Quoted in Schlefer, *Study of Legislative History of the Rapid Depreciation Provision*, 4949. Surrey served as assistant secretary of the Treasury from 1961 to 1969.

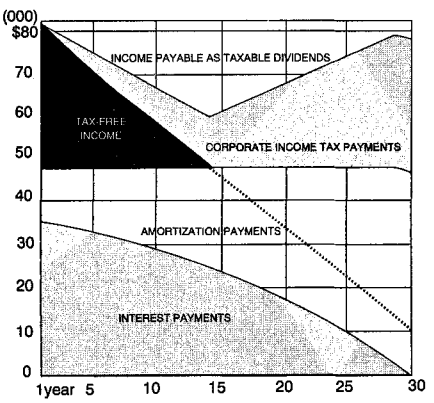
[42] The partnership, rather than the sole proprietorship or the corporation, was the business structure overwhelmingly preferred for real estate deals. Unlike a sole proprietorship, a partnership could harness the financial power of two or more investors, a necessity for most building projects. Unlike a corporation, a partnership paid no corporate income tax. Norman B. Ture, *Accelerated Depreciation in the United States, 1954–1960* (New York, 1967), 52–54; Stanley Surrey, *Pathways to Tax Reform: The Concept of Tax Expenditures* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 103.

[43] Colean, "Realities of Today's Real Estate Investment," 125–27, 188–89, 194. Also see Miles L. Colean, "Impotency of FHA Policies on Apartment Finance," *Architectural Forum* 102 (June 1955): 110–11, 162; E. H. Welter, "Tax Facts," *National Real Estate and Building Journal* 55 (August 1954): 42.

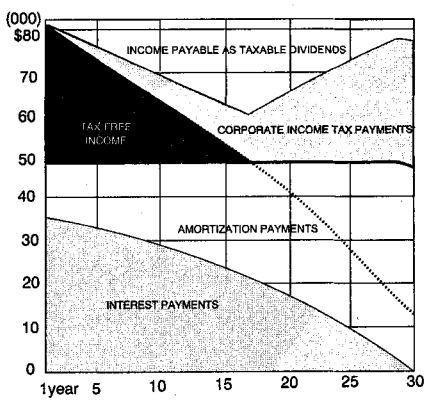
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Straight-line formula, among those specifically permitted by Internal Revenue Act for calculating depreciation, allows relatively little income to be paid out as tax-free return of capital to the corporation and the stockholders (black area).



Declining balance formula greatly increases the amount of income payable as tax-free return of capital. This income is available over a period of 13 years for the 30-year loan (about the same as under the straight-line formula). Note, however, how this declining balance formula reduces income payable as taxable dividends.



Sum-of-year's-digits formula further postpones the time at which the investor must begin to pay taxes on all income - until the 17th year in the case of the 30-year loan.

All graphs are based on a depreciable value for tax purposes of $900,000, a 4.5% mortgage of $800,000 and an income after operating expenses of $82,500 per year.

FIGURE 2: adapted from Miles L. Colean, "The Mortgage Pattern Predicament," *Architectural Forum* 102, no. 5 (May 1955): 129, courtesy of Time, Inc., New York, N.Y.

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five years.[44] Thanks to the incentive of accelerated depreciation, "a man with the risk capital might be willing to as much as double the outlay he would have felt justified in making under the limited provisions of the old tax code. Or, because of the more advantageous provisions now available, he might be able to work out a deal that would not have gone ahead at all under the old arrangements."[45]

It is important to note, however, that the incentive did not apply equally to all buildings. The full 200 percent declining balance or sum-of-the-years'-digits accelerated depreciation could be taken only for *new* construction, not for renovation of existing buildings.[46] It was this rule that made the 1954 Tax Code such a powerful force for suburban growth. Investors seeking the best return on their dollars now looked away from established downtowns, where vacant land was scarce and new construction difficult. Instead, they rushed to put their money into projects at the suburban fringe—especially into shopping centers.

Suddenly, all over the United States, shopping plazas sprouted like well-fertilized weeds. Developers who had been gradually assembling land and mulling over the shopping-center concept abruptly shifted their projects into high gear. The results could be seen beginning in late 1956, following the tax change by just over two years—precisely the time needed to rush a building project from the drawing board to completion.[47] "In the months of September, October and November 1956 a new record will be established for the opening of large regional shopping centers," reported the economist Homer Hoyt. Seventeen new centers set to open boasted a combined square footage greater "than the total store area in those large centers which were in business before September 1956."[48] Among the new centers was Southdale in Minneapolis, the world's first enclosed mall. Altogether, developers completed twenty-five regional plazas before 1956 was over, more than doubling the total previously in existence.[49] The good fortune was not limited to regional

[44] Miles L. Colean, "The Mortgage Pattern Predicament," *Architectural Forum* 102 (May 1955): 128–29, 184–85, 190; also see Stanley W. Penn, "Profits in Losses: Real Estate Investors Turn Depreciation Write-Offs into Gains," *Wall Street Journal* (July 17, 1961): 1.

[45] Colean, "Realities of Today's Real Estate Investment," 194. In the language of economics, the tax break lowered the "hurdle rate" for projects. On hurdle rate, see, for instance, Lawrence Lindsey, *The Growth Experiment: How the New Tax Policy Is Transforming the U.S. Economy* (New York, 1990), 115–17, 185–86. Economists debate the semantics of calling such tax policy a "subsidy" or simply an "incentive." In the case of the shopping center, the debate seems moot. Developers who chose to build shopping centers ended up with more cash in their pockets—due to the federal tax law—than those who did not. On the debate, see Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies*, xiv, 56–57; Chester W. Hartman, *Housing and Social Policy* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975), 145–51; Paul Taubman and Robert Rasche, "Subsidies, Tax Law, and Real Estate Investment," in *Economics of Federal Subsidy Programs: A Compendium of Papers Submitted to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress*, EC7: Sul/4/pt. 3. (Washington, D.C., 1972), 434–69; Anthony Downs, *Federal Housing Subsidies: How Are They Working?* (Lexington, Mass., 1973), 1.

[46] Ture, *Accelerated Depreciation*, 21; Casey, *Real Estate Desk Book* [1964], 189; Urban Land Institute, *The Dollars and Cents of Shopping Centers, 1963* (Washington, D.C., 1963), 82–88.

[47] On the typicality of a development period of two to two-and-a-half years, see, for instance, Clausen, "Northgate Regional Shopping Center," 145; Edmisten, *J. W. Willie York*, 81. By the 1990s, development time would be even shorter. On a shopping center for which land was purchased in April, construction begun in June, and stores set for opening by September of the same year, see "Locust Grove Outlet Center to Break Ground Friday," *Atlanta Journal/Constitution* (June 4, 1994): C2.

[48] Homer Hoyt, "Impact of Suburban Shopping Centers in September, 1956," *Urban Land* 15 (September 1956): 1, 3–7. The phenomenon was also reported in a front-page story in the business section of the *New York Times* (October 21, 1956): III, 1.

[49] Cohen, *Diffusion of an Innovation*, 36–37.

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TABLE 3
Large Regional Shopping Centers in the United States: Construction 1949–1967

year	*number of new regional centers*
1949	1
1950	1
1951	3
1952	3
1953	1
1954	7
1955	5
1956	25
1957	16
1958	16
1959	20
1960	39
1961	39
1962	44
1963	23
1964	36
1965	41
1966	32
1967	45

Centers of over 300,000 square feet each.

SOURCE: Adapted from Yehoshua S. Cohen, *Diffusion of an Innovation in an Urban System* (Chicago, 1972).

projects. The total number of shopping centers constructed annually in America tripled between 1953 and 1956, the most dramatic three-year increase in the postwar era. Measured in square footage, construction shot up even more sharply, from an average of 6 million square feet yearly in the early 1950s, to an average of 30 million each year beginning in 1956. Plazas were getting larger as well as more numerous. The "economic limitations" that Max Wehrly had spoken of so confidently just a few months earlier obviously no longer applied.

Even as developers pushed projects already "in the pipeline" to completion, others scrambled to find vacant developable land. A 1955 *New York Times* story told how one entrepreneur convinced former President Harry S. Truman to part with a portion of his family farm outside Independence, Missouri, to make way for Truman Corners Town and Country Shopping Center.[50] Geographers nationwide observed a shift in shopping plaza siting. Through the mid-1950s, developers had sought locations *within* growing suburban areas. Now shopping centers began appearing in the cornfields *beyond* the edge of existing development. The geographers termed this a change from "consequent" (following in the wake of housing expansion) to "catalytic" (moving ahead of and helping to propel housing expansion).[51] Clearly, longstanding constraints in location economics had been altered.

[50] As was increasingly true in this period, the project was put together by an experienced out-of-town developer, in this case Don M. Casto of Columbus, Ohio. "Truman Sells Plot for Shopping Site," *New York Times* (July 2, 1955): 6. On Casto's pioneering career in shopping-center construction, beginning in 1928, see John A. Dawson, *Shopping Centre Development* (London, 1983), 7–8.

[51] Bart J. Epstein, "The Trading Function," in *Metropolis on the Move: Geographers Look at Urban Sprawl*, Jean Gottman and Robert A. Harper, eds. (New York, 1967), 93–101. The shift from "con-

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TABLE 4
Shopping-Center Construction (all types), 1947–1960

year	*number constructed that year*	*total square feet (×1,000,000) constructed that year*
1947	8	1
1948	11	1
1949	22	3
1950	27	4
1951	44	6
1952	39	8
1953	54	6
1954	96	16
1955	104	16
1956	156	31
1957	188	31
1958	186	28
1959	206	32
1960	140	29

SOURCE: Adapted from Homer Hoyt, "The Status of Shopping Centers in the US, October 1960," *Urban Land* 19 (October 1960): 3–6.

During the boom's early months, observers worried that saturation was fast approaching. "It is obvious . . . ," cautioned Homer Hoyt in 1956, "that there is no need for more regional centers in Long Island, New York; Bergen County, New Jersey; northwest or northeast Detroit; the Chicago area; Milwaukee; and many other metropolitan areas."[52] But plazas kept appearing in ever-larger numbers. Places like Long Island and the Chicago area could absorb many more projects under the new economics, it turned out. So could places like Cortland and Scranton–Wilkes Barre, which had previously not been even considered candidates for such development.

"Profits in Losses: Real Estate Investors Turn Depreciation Tax Write-Offs into Gains," reported the *Wall Street Journal* in an enthusiastic 1961 front-page story on this brave new world. The article profiled a New York City syndicate that managed to show a paper loss for tax purposes of nearly $2 million thanks to depreciation deductions, while distributing over $5 million in profits to its members. "[R]ewards of real estate ventures appear so enticing," said the *Journal*, that "a growing segment of the public is sinking money into hotels, office buildings, apartment houses, motels, shopping centers and undeveloped land."[53]

sequent" to "catalytic" occurred about 1960, according to Muller, *Contemporary Suburban America*, 121–23. Epstein and Muller's observations were tested in a study of Orange County, California: Robert A. Young, "Regional Shopping Centres as Suburban Growth Poles," in Dawson and Lord, *Shopping Centre Development: Policies and Prospects*, 243–64. For a similar observation by a leading historian of city planning, see Lawrence C. Gerckens, "Historical Development of American City Planning," in *The Practice of Local Government Planning*, Frank S. So and Judith Getzels, eds., 2d edn. (Washington, D.C., 1988), 46.

[52] Hoyt predicted that construction would slow at least into the mid-1960s. Hoyt, "Impact of Suburban Shopping Centers," 4. See also "Too Many Shopping Centers?" *Business Week* (November 17, 1956): 136–44.

[53] Penn, "Profits in Losses," *Wall Street Journal* (July 17, 1961): 1. "A large amount of investment

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Quick turnover was the hallmark of the new depreciation game, the *Journal* explained. Investors found it most lucrative to "take the highest possible depreciation rate on an income-producing property and then sell the property after, say, six or seven years when the property nears the point of showing a taxable profit."[54] In other words, reap the early write-off, then unload the building before taxes came due—a perfectly legal procedure under the 1954 Tax Code.[55] The next buyer began the depreciation process all over again, though on a 150 rather than 200 percent curve. The 150 percent depreciation provision did little to spur renovation of these "used" buildings. As with new structures, investors simply bought the property, used tax-free income during the early depreciation period to recoup their investment, then sold out to the next buyer, who started the process all over again. The 150 percent curve might be a little less favorable, but the risk involved in taking over an operating shopping center was also less than for a new project. Successive owners might spin the depreciation cycle several times before the building required actual cash improvements.

In addition to frequent turnover, tax regulations encouraged complicated ownership structure. One important rule held that buildings could be depreciated but that land—which does not physically deteriorate and require replacement—could not. As a result, the shopping-center site and the shopping-center buildings were often owned by different corporations, each with particular tax goals.[56] Another rule involved the tax treatment of lease payments. Money that a storekeeper paid to lease his store was considered a regular business expense and thus directly deductible from income. That inspired Sears, Roebuck and other department-store chains to employ a technique called "sale-leaseback." Sears would develop a shopping center and reap the considerable initial depreciation

money, much of it new to real estate and much of it very professional, is pouring into this market," confirmed a lengthy article in *Fortune* the same year, which noted that the "new participants have been attracted by yields and 'tax shelters' that are favorable in comparison to the stock market." John McDonald, "The $2 Billion Building Boom," *Fortune* (February 1960): 119–22, 232–46.

[54] Penn, "Profits in Losses," *Wall Street Journal* (July 17, 1961): 1.

[55] Colean, "Mortgage Pattern Predicament"; Joseph A. Ruskay and Richard Osserman, *Halfway to Tax Reform* (Bloomington, Ind., 1970), 170–73; Roger H. Gordon, James R. Hines, Jr., and Lawrence H. Summers, "Notes on the Tax Treatment of Structures," in *The Effects of Taxation on Capital Accumulation*, Martin Feldstein, ed. (Chicago, 1987), 223–57; "Law Allowing Fast Income Tax Write-Offs for Rental Housing Assailed by Treasury," *Wall Street Journal* (October 29, 1968): 7. The write-off became even quicker in 1962 when Washington revised depreciation standards to allow a shorter "useful life" for many structures and other components. Hogan, *Depreciation Policies*, 7; Bittker and Stone, *Federal Income Taxation*, 380–83; Urban Land Institute, *Dollars and Cents of Shopping Centers, 1963*, 86; William D. Andrews, *Basic Federal Income Taxation*, 2d edn. (Boston, 1979), 472–73; Howard Winant, *Stalemate: The Political Economic Origins of Supply-Side Policy* (New York, 1988), 60–61.

[56] Mary Alice Hines, *Shopping Center Development and Investment* (New York, 1983), 101–04, 272. With Charlotte's 1958 Charlottetown Mall, for instance, developer James Rouse leased the site from an Episcopal orphanage. Nationally, another twist in ownership came in 1960 when Congress passed legislation facilitating the creation of Real Estate Investment Trusts. REITs allowed many small investors to act together under a skilled investment manager. The REIT passed along at least 90 percent of its proceeds directly to its members, who paid taxes on it as personal income—avoiding corporate income taxes. See Bittker and Stone, *Federal Income Taxation*, 879; Hines, *Shopping Center Development and Investment*, 245–47, 258–66; Penn, "Profits in Losses," *Wall Street Journal* (July 17, 1961): 1; Casey, *Real Estate Desk Book* [1964], 162–67; Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies*, 25–27. For a history of the REIT phenomenon, consult Alan Rabinowitz, *The Real Estate Gamble: Lessons from Fifty Years of Boom and Bust* (New York, 1980), 207–20.

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deductions allowed to an owner. Then it would sell the project to another corporation and lease back its own store space, taking the write-off allowed as a lessee.[57] Yet another set of rules invigorated the market for such second-hand shopping centers. Institutions defined as "eleemosynary" (contributing to the public good), including colleges, foundations, and pension funds, often enjoyed exemptions from local property taxes. In addition, pension funds and insurance companies were largely exempt from paying federal income tax on long-term investments made on behalf of their policyholders. Sale-leaseback to such an institution could thus significantly cut operating expenses. Insurance companies, in particular, became America's major long-term underwriters of shopping-center projects.[58]

The complex interactions of depreciation regulations with capital-gains rules, interest deductions, property taxes, and numerous other laws made real-estate investment an increasingly arcane art. Among the additional factors a shopping-center developer had to keep in mind, for instance, was 1958 federal legislation that allowed an extra 20 percent first-year depreciation deduction for new store fixtures.[59] Another federal law decreed that lease holders could claim accelerated depreciation on their internal improvements, an important shopping-center incentive, since storekeepers frequently leased the raw building shell and took responsibility for all upfitting.[60] Yet another set of rules had the effect of encouraging the chartering of "collapsible corporations" designed to go out of business at a strategic moment in order to minimize tax payment.[61] Not surprisingly, the thicket of regulations sparked something of a boom in publishing. A spate of how-to manuals with titles like *Tax Saving Opportunities in Real Estate Deals* and *The Real Estate Tax Shelter Deskbook* promised to initiate investors in the fine points of constructing buildings for the purpose of tax avoidance.[62]

[57] Casey, *Real Estate Deskbook* [1964], 70–78; Hines, *Shopping Center Development and Investment*, 306–07; Stephen E. Roulac, *Tax Shelter Sale-Leaseback Financing: The Economic Realities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); Sherman J. Maisel, *Financing Real Estate: Principles and Practices* (New York, 1965), 345–46, 362–67.

[58] Maisel, *Financing Real Estate*, 386–87, 410; Hines, *Shopping Center Development and Investment*, 221, 228–45, 270; Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies*, 100–01; William N. Kinnard, Jr., *Industrial Real Estate* (Washington, D.C., 1967), 146, 299–300; R. Bruce Ricks, *Recent Trends in Institutional Real Estate Investment* (Berkeley, Calif., 1964). Whereas in the early 1950s centers had been considered questionable ventures by pension funds, lending officer Martin Cleary of the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association (TIAA) recalled that "the shopping center has now become the Cadillac of the lending industry. There have been fewer defaults and problems with the shopping center than with any other type of mortgage." Martin Cleary, "Shopping Center: A Lender's Perspective," in Sternlieb and Hughes, *Shopping Centers, USA*, 298.

[59] The 1958 provision could not be used for buildings but could be taken on any other capital investment above $10,000. Casey, *Real Estate Deskbook* [1964], 194–96; Bittker and Stone, *Federal Income Taxation*, 389–90; Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies*, 26–27; American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, *Investment Tax Credit: Should It Be Repealed? An Analysis of the Tax Credit Repeal Provision in the Surcharge Tax Proposal* (Washington, D.C., 1969), 5.

[60] Bittker and Stone, *Federal Income Taxation*, 393.

[61] Colean, "Mortgage Pattern Predicament." Daniel M. Friedenberg, "The Coming Bust in the Real Estate Boom," *Harper's* (June 1961): 29–40.

[62] Daniel S. Bernman and Sheldon Schwartz, *Tax Saving Opportunities in Real Estate Deals* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971); William J. Casey, *The Real Estate Tax Shelter Deskbook* (New York, 1975); Robert M. Weiss, *How to Maximize Tax Savings in Buying, Operating and Selling Real Estate*, 2d edn. (Englewood Cliffs, 1972); National Institute of Real Estate Brokers, *How to Use Taxation and Exchange Techniques in Marketing Investment Real Estate* (Chicago, 1969); Paul F. Wendt and Alan R. Cerf, *Real Estate Investment Analysis and Taxation* (New York, 1969); Robert Warren Kent, *How to Get Rich in Real Estate* (Englewood Cliffs, 1961), 173–76, 194–200; Paul E. Anderson, *Tax Factors in*

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TABLE 5
Chronology of Federal Tax Laws Affecting Commercial Construction 1945–1990

year	*new construction*	*existing buildings*	*other provisions*
1946	150% declining balance depreciation on some new construction		
1954	200% declining balance or sum-of-years-digits accelerated depreciation on all new commercial construction	150% accelerated depreciation on "used" buildings	
1960			Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs)
1962			If building sells for more than depreciated value, no depreciation deduction may be taken in the sale year.
1964			"Recapture" provision introduced.
1969	150% on office, retail, industrial; still 200% for apartments	Straight-line on most "used" buildings; renovations of low-income rental housing granted 5-year accelerated depreciation.	"Recapture" provision tightened.
1976		25% investment tax credit for rehab of buildings on National Register of Historic Places.	Many non–real estate tax shelters eliminated: makes real estate more desirable.
1981	ACRS replaces previous depreciation guidelines: sets 15-year, 175% accelerated depreciation.	15% investment tax credit for rehab of buildings over 30 years old; 20% investment tax credit for rehab of buildings over 40 years old.	
1986	MACRS returns most real estate depreciation to 40-year life, straight-line depreciation.	Investment tax credit for rehab cut to 10%, and only on buildings 50+ years old; investment tax credit for rehab of buildings on National Register cut to 20%.	"Passive loss" rule forbids investors from using losses to offset unrelated income.

BY THE MID-1960s, A SMALL NUMBER OF AMERICANS could be heard opposing the lucrative system of tax breaks on shopping centers and other real-estate development.[63] The most concerted opposition arose from within the federal government,

Real Estate Operations (Englewood Cliffs, 1960). On the rise of a "tax industry" in these decades, see Victor E. Ferrall, "Appendix: Role of the Tax Institute of America in the 'Tax Industry,'" in Tax Institute of America, *Tax Incentives*, 291–99.

[63] For instance, New York City developer Daniel Friedenberg called for tax reform before "overbuilding sets off a panic that leads to a new depression." Further, he questioned the morality of a system that allowed "enormous real estate profits to be accumulated through tax tricks while 14 percent of the Negro and 8 percent of the white workers in America have no jobs." Friedenberg,

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at the Department of the Treasury. The burgeoning tax breaks for real estate, in combination with other recently created shelters for such things as oil exploration and cattle ranching, added greatly to the complexity of the Treasury's work of collecting taxes. To make matters worse, Congress kept no account of the amount that each regulation would cost the government in lost revenue. By 1967, the bite had grown so large that Assistant Treasury Secretary Stanley Surrey directed his staff to begin systematic annual calculation of these "tax expenditures." The studies found real-estate tax shelters to be a significant ongoing drain. Write-offs for accelerated depreciation of buildings cost the federal government $750 million in 1967, $800 million in 1968, and $850 million in 1969.[64] In 1970, this single tax expenditure would equal fully one-fourth of the federal annual budget deficit.[65]

Treasury research showed that the law actually functioned, most ironically, as a disincentive to the upkeep of buildings. The depreciation tax break spurred "frequent turnover which tends to discourage long-range 'stewardship' and adequate maintenance."[66] This fact was an open secret to those who read publications aimed at developers. "Very few real estate owners," advised one such manual, "use the depreciation allowance as is set aside for federal income tax accounting to renovate and repair real estate."[67] The results of such habits could be clearly seen in suburbs across America. Less than two decades after the shopping plaza boom had begun, observers were noting that "entire shopping centers are in the process of gradual decline and abandonment," at the same time that construction of new, larger centers continued nearby.[68]

Other studies gathered by the Treasury Department raised serious questions about the basic fairness of the tax break. A series of investigations by economists Paul Taubman and Robert Rasche criticized even straight-line depreciation. By carefully tracking the actual expenses involved in operating apartments and office

"Coming Bust in the Real Estate Boom," 39, 40. Similar concerns were voiced in Philip M. Stern, *The Great Treasury Raid* (New York, 1964); Jerome R. Hellerstain, *Taxes, Loopholes and Morals* (New York, 1963); Ruskay and Osserman, *Halfway to Tax Reform*. Architectural critic Peter Blake added aesthetic objections with his book *God's Own Junkyard*, 28.

[64] "Law Allowing Fast Income Tax Write-Offs for Rental Housing Assailed by Treasury," *Wall Street Journal* (October 29, 1968): 7; Office of the Treasury, Office of Tax Analysis, "Estimated Federal Income Tax Expenditures, Calendar Years 1967–71," in *General Tax Reform: Panel Discussions before the Committee of Ways and Means, House of Representatives, Ninety Third Congress, First Session*, part 1 of 11, Y4.W36: T19/64/ pt. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1973), 29. On the development of the tax expenditure concept, see Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies*, 56–57; Surrey, *Pathways to Tax Reform*; Witte, *Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax*, section 4; Stanley S. Surrey and Paul R. McDaniel, *Tax Expenditures* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).

[65] The deficit in the 1970 annual federal budget totaled $2.8 billion. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1971* (Washington, D.C., 1971), 373. Despite some tightening of tax regulations in 1969, as discussed below, the 1970 tax expenditure for accelerated depreciation in excess of straight-line stood at $755 million. Office of the Treasury, Office of Tax Analysis, "Estimated Federal Income Tax Expenditures, Calendar Years 1967–71," 29.

[66] Treasury Department, *Tax Reform Studies and Proposals: Joint Publication of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Finance of the Senate*, Y4.W36: T19, pt. 3 (Washington, D.C., 1969), 443. "[S]ubsidy comes through the tax system whether management and maintenance is good, bad, or indifferent." Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies*, 4, see also 63–66; Blake, *God's Own Junkyard*, 28.

[67] Hines, *Shopping Center Development and Investment*, 78.

[68] Such swift deterioration did not occur in Sweden. David Popenoe, *The Suburban Environment: Sweden and the United States* (Chicago, 1977), 131. On rapid deterioration of U.S. centers, see Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 271.

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structures, they confirmed the common-sense knowledge that buildings actually deteriorate slowly in their initial years. A straight-line formula, Taubman and Rasche contended, provided early tax deductions well in excess of actual expenses.[69] Other researchers addressed the charge that profits from accelerated depreciation accrued primarily to America's wealthiest citizens. "Tax shelters are rarely, if ever, a profitable investment for taxpayers with marginal brackets below 50%," confirmed a Congressional Budget Office study in the mid-1970s. A minute fraction of America's richest investors fell into that category. Of the nearly 65 million income-tax returns filed in 1973, for example, barely half a million paid taxes at the 50 percent or above bracket. To put the figures another way, less than 1 percent of Americans qualified for benefits from the real-estate tax shelter game.[70]

Accelerated depreciation proved politically tough to fight, however. Members of Congress were loath to tamper with a program that provided construction jobs, generated frequent ribbon-cutting ceremonies, and distributed abundant rewards to wealthy constituents.[71] The very complexity of the tax-shelter system made it hard to attack, as well. The intricate interlocking regulations could barely be understood by professional tax experts; reform discussions tended to cause ordinary listeners' eyes to glaze over.

So, despite the calls from the Treasury Department, which regularly managed to get its concerns inserted into Presidential Budget Messages starting in 1962, Congress moved gingerly to trim the real-estate tax shelter. In 1964, legislators added a "recapture" provision. It required that a portion of the proceeds from a sale above the "depreciated" price be treated as "ordinary income," rather than as "capital gains" with its lower tax rate.[72] Tax shelter abuses continued, however, to such an extent that they emerged as an issue in the hard-fought national elections of 1968. Both Democrats and Republicans made much of a study showing that 155

[69] Taubman and Rasche, "Subsidies, Tax Law, and Real Estate Investment"; Paul Taubman and Robert Rasche, "The Income Tax and Real Estate Investment," in Tax Institute of America, *Tax Incentives*, 113–42.

[70] Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies*, 6, 55. In a sample of 1966 tax returns filed by thirteen large real-estate corporations, Treasury researchers found that nine paid no tax at all, and two paid tax of less than $25. Treasury Department, *Tax Reform Studies and Proposals* (1969), 452–58.

[71] Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies*, 1–2; Ruskay and Osserman, *Halfway to Tax Reform*, 168–78.

[72] Under the 1964 recapture rules, the percentage of profit taxed as "ordinary income" decreased the longer an investor held the building. The recapture law cut down on the tendency of investors to buy and immediately resell property, which had become a popular strategy for "converting" ordinary income to capital gains income. But the law had relatively little effect on the investor who built a new structure and held it for several years—the standard practice for those seeking the depreciation tax shelter. Casey, *Real Estate Deskbook* [1964], 191–93, 259–65; Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies*, 28; Ruskay and Osserman, *Halfway to Tax Reform*, 174–76; Treasury Department, *Tax Reform Studies and Proposals: Joint Publication of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Finance of the Senate*, Y4.W36: T19, pt. 3 (Washington, D.C., 1969), 440–41, 446–51; Gerald Brannon and Emil M. Sunley, Jr., "The 'Recapture' of Excess Tax Depreciation on the Sale of Real Estate," *National Tax Journal* 29 (1976): 413–21. Preceding the recapture provision, Congress had tried a law stating that if a property sold for more than its depreciated value, no tax deduction for depreciation could be claimed in that year. This modest initial attempt to align tax law and reality proved easy to circumvent, however. A seller could simply "wait until just after the close of his taxable year to complete the sale," advised one shopping-center manual, "and thereby avoid application of this rule." Urban Land Institute, *Dollars and Cents of Shopping Centers, 1963*, 86.

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TABLE 6
Estimated Deductions for Accelerated Depreciation on Buildings (in excess of straight-line depreciation)

	1967	*1968*	*1969*	*1970*	*1971*	*1972*
non-residential	$500m	$550m	$550m	$500m	$480m	$500m
residential (rental)	$250m	$250m	$275m	$255m	$500m	$600m
TOTAL	$750m	$800m	$825m	$755m	$980m	$1.1b

SOURCES: 1967–71: Department of the Treasury, Office of Tax Analysis, "Estimated Federal Income Tax Expenditures, Calendar Years 1967–71," 29.
1972: Stanley S. Surrey, *Pathways to Tax Reform* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 8–9.

of America's richest corporations used loopholes to pay no income tax. The resulting Tax Act of 1969 decreased some tax breaks but kept the basic program in place. For shopping centers, offices, and other new commercial construction, the law scaled depreciation back to 150 percent. All used buildings returned to the straight-line formula. The 200 percent declining balance and the sum-of-years'-digits methods remained in force only for apartments.[73]

The 1969 changes made shopping-center construction slightly less lucrative but by no means stemmed tax-driven development. The differential between new retail construction and the renovation of existing buildings remained exactly the same, exactly as unattractive as before. Bankrolling a fresh real-estate project continued to be one of the most profitable strategies available under the U.S. Tax Code for an investor seeking to shelter unrelated income. Whereas the accelerated depreciation of buildings had cost the federal treasury $750 million in lost revenue for 1967, by 1971 the cost was up to nearly $1 billion.[74] The shopping-center construction boom would continue, with only minor changes in pace, through the 1970s and into the 1980s.

Even though the years after 1970 lie beyond the scope of the present article, it may be of interest to outline briefly the subsequent changes to depreciation policy. Following the 1969 Act, Congress would turn its attention away from real-estate tax issues until the 1980s.[75] In 1981, President Ronald Reagan's widely heralded tax cut included as a major component a sweeping change in depreciation rules. Previous

[73] Bittker and Stone, *Federal Income Taxation*; Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies*, 24; Jenard M. Gross, "Real Estate: Office Buildings, Shopping Centers and Apartment Buildings," in *Corporate and Executive Tax Sheltered Investments*, Peter C. Reid, ed. (New York, 1972), 176–83.

[74] Office of the Treasury, Office of Tax Analysis, "Estimated Federal Income Tax Expenditures, Calendar Year 1971," in *General Tax Reform: Panel Discussions before the Committee of Ways and Means, House of Representatives, Ninety-Third Congress, First Session*, part 1 of 11, Y4.W36: T19/64/ pt. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1973), 18–19. The 1970s became known as the era of the "super-regional" mall. It is possible that the 1969 decrease in the shopping-center tax break stimulated investors to create larger projects, in order to reap tax benefits commensurate with the paperwork involved.

[75] In the 1970s, the major tax legislation passed by Congress was the 1976 Tax Act, which did not affect real estate depreciation directly. It did curtail many non–real-estate tax shelters, such as those for oil drilling and cattle ranching, however, which may have served to make real estate more attractive. The 1976 Tax Act also offered a 25 percent investment tax credit for the renovation of buildings deemed eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, providing partial redress to the years of favoritism toward new construction. Congressional Budget Office, *Real Estate Tax Shelter Subsidies*, 28–31. Bruce S. Lane, "The Tax Reform Act of 1976: What It Means for Real Estate Limited Partnerships," *Journal of Real Estate Taxation* 4 (Spring 1977): 195–214. Note that Joel Garreau dates

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formulas were replaced by the Accelerated Cost Recovery System (ACRS), which set the "useful life" of a new building at just fifteen years, down from the previously accepted standard of forty.[76] This meant that a developer could deduct an astounding 31 percent of a building's cost as depreciation during the initial three years.[77] "[T]he 1981 tax cut . . . has been followed by a dramatic spurt in commercial building investment," noted a subsequent report. "Between 1980 and 1985, real investment in commercial structures increased by 56%."[78] Development surged at such a break-neck pace, in fact, that Congress worried that severe overbuilding was taking place. In 1986, legislators replaced the ACRS with the Modified Accelerated Cost Recovery System (MACRS). Despite its modest-sounding name, MACRS constituted a major shift in tax policy. It returned all property to a straight-line depreciation formula and again set "useful lives" near the time-honored forty-year mark.[79] To a large extent, MACRS would bring to an end America's three-decade experiment with accelerated depreciation.

BY 1970, THE UNITED STATES had some 13,000 shopping centers, nearly all of them erected within a period of just fifteen years.[80] "'Downtown' Has Fled to the Suburbs," a 1972 story in *Fortune* stated simply.[81] "Quiet Decay Erodes Downtown Areas of Small Cities," reported a front-page piece the same year in the *New York Times*.[82] The rapid decline of central business districts in towns of every size stirred

the "Edge City" concept to 1978—exactly two years after the 1976 Tax Act made offices and shopping centers America's last great tax shelter. Garreau, *Edge City*, 112.

[76] The ACRS law also allowed investors to take 175 percent declining balance depreciation. Gordon, Hines, and Summers, "Notes on the Tax Treatment of Structures," 229; Hines, *Shopping Center Development and Investment*, 329–31; Lindsey, *Growth Experiment*; Witte, *Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax*, chap. 11; Stephen Messner, Victor Lyon, Robert Ward, and Charles Freedenberg, *Real Estate Investment and Taxation*, 4th edn. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1991), 219–25; Charles H. Wurtzebach and Mike E. Miles, *Modern Real Estate*, 3d edn. (New York, 1987), 55–56. On the political battles leading to passage of ACRS, see Cathie J. Martin, *Shifting the Burden: The Struggle over Growth and Corporate Taxation* (Chicago, 1991), 117–34.

[77] Anthony Downs, *Rental Housing in the 1980s* (Washington, D.C., 1983), 61. By contrast, under the accelerated depreciation of the 1954 Tax Code, it had taken five years to write off 23 percent of a building's cost. Treasury Department, *Tax Reform Studies and Proposals: Joint Publication of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Finance of the Senate*, Y4.W36: T19, pt. 3 (Washington, D.C., 1969), 439.

[78] The increase was calculated in constant dollars. Gordon, Hines, and Summers, "Notes on the Tax Treatment of Structures," 227. Retail insiders also decried overbuilding, at least in retrospect. Much of the "current malaise . . . high vacancy factors for commercial real estate, slow lease-up periods for new shopping centers, stagnant rental rates . . . can be traced directly to the artificial financial stimuli associated with the excessive 1980s that produced commercial buildings at a faster rate than market demand." Malcolm R. Riley, "The Reality behind Retail Overbuilding," *Shopping Center World* 20 (May 1991): 288.

[79] Under MACRS, commercial property could be depreciated in either 31.5 or 40 years, while residential income property could be depreciated in either 27.5 or 40 years. Messner, Lyon, Ward, and Freedenberg, *Real Estate Investment and Taxation*, 220–25. On the 1986 fight over tax policy, see Jeffery H. Birnbaum and Alan S. Murray, *Showdown at Gucci Gulch: Lawmakers, Lobbyists, and the Unlikely Triumph of Tax Reform* (New York, 1987); Martin, *Shifting the Burden*.

[80] *Directory of Shopping Centers in the United States and Canada*, 11th edn. (Burlington, Iowa, 1970), 6.

[81] Gurney Breckenfeld, "'Downtown' Has Fled to the Suburbs," *Fortune* (October 1972): 80–87, 156–67.

[82] "Quiet Decay Erodes Downtown Areas of Small Cities," *New York Times* (February 8, 1972): 1. A statistical study using data from 1972 and 1980 showed shopping-center floorspace expanding by 80

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ripple effects throughout American society. Some observers lamented a loss of "public life" in the nation, as the central downtown easily accessible to everyone gave way to scattered shopping malls reached only by automobile.[83] Other commentators pointed to the departure of service jobs from the center city as one reason why a growing American "under class" found it difficult to rise out of poverty.[84] Mayors pushed Washington to put grants for "downtown revitalization" into the federal budget during the 1960s and 1970s. Ironically, direct federal grants distributed during the first ten years of the much-touted Urban Renewal program totaled only $712 million, less than a single year's "tax expenditure" for accelerated depreciation.[85]

How much shopping-center development would have taken place in America without the tax break? That sort of counter-factual question is impossible to answer, of course. But a comparison of the U.S. experience with that of Canada provides tantalizing indications. Canada's economic fortunes, cultural attitudes, and physical realities, while certainly not identical, closely resembled those of the United States. Both nations enjoyed increasing automobile ownership, both saw growing numbers of residents relocating to the suburbs, and both benefited from prosperous postwar economies. Canada experimented briefly with accelerated depreciation for two years immediately after World War II, offering the break on new rental dwellings in order to encourage developers to meet the needs of returning veterans. Thereafter, no depreciation tax shelter was available for buildings.[86]

Initially, shopping-center development seems to have occurred at virtually the

percent while U.S. population increased by only 8.9 percent, indicating that shopping-center development "reflects as much a substitution process as it does a response to growth in new demand." Dennis A. Lord, "The Malling of the American Landscape," in Dawson and Lord, *Shopping Centre Development: Policies and Prospects*, 209–25.

[83] Sorkin, *Variations on a Theme Park*; Kunstler, *Geography of Nowhere*, particularly chap. 7; Frieden and Sagalyn, *Downtown, Inc.*, 346–47; Garreau, *Edge City*, 52; Kowinski, *The Malling of America*; George Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of Society: An Investigation into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life* (Newbury Park, Calif., 1993).

[84] Sugrue, "Structures of Urban Poverty"; Garreau, *Edge City*; Muller, *Contemporary Suburban America*, 110–11; Hartshorn and Alexander, *Economic Geography*, 304; Wilson, *Truly Disadvantaged*; J. D. Wacquant and William Julius Wilson, "The Cost of Racial and Class Exclusion in the Inner City," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 501 (January 1989): 8–23.

[85] Federal direct grants to cities under the Urban Renewal program totaled just $712 million for the entire period 1953–1962. Martin Anderson, *The Federal Bulldozer: A Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal, 1949–62* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 29. Projected expenditures for Urban Renewal grants in 1967 were $600 million, according to *The Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1967: Appendix* (Washington, D.C., 1966), 551–53. On the push for downtown revitalization, see, for instance, Frieden and Sagalyn, *Downtown, Inc.*

[86] Canadian law did allow more rapid depreciation than permitted under straight-line formulas in the United States. But that depreciation could be taken on renovation of existing buildings, not just new construction. More important, the depreciation write-off could not exceed income from the property: in other words, could not be used to "shelter" other income. S. W. Hamilton and David Baxter, "Industrial Real Estate: A Canadian Overview," in William N. Kinnard, Jr., Stephen D. Messner, and Bryl N. Boyce, *Industrial Real Estate*, 3d edn. (Washington, D.C., 1979), 641–44; Robin W. Broadway and Harry M. Kitchen, *Canadian Tax Policy* (Toronto, 1980), 101–04; O. J. Firestone, *Residential Real Estate in Canada* (Toronto, 1951), 504; J. N. Mongia, *Tax Patterns around the Globe (A Treatise on Comparative Taxation Systems)* (New Delhi, 1984), 62–63, 663; telephone interview by author with Peter Gusen, Employment and Investment Income Section, Canadian Department of Finance, Ottawa, Canada, August 1993.

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same rate in Canada as in the United States. The closest comparison may be made with the province of Ontario, whose population density and car registration numbers most nearly matched U.S. figures. The first year for which statistics are available is 1956, just as the shopping-center boom was getting under way.[87] At that point, the United States stood just barely ahead, with .95 centers per 100,000 residents, compared to .76 per 100,000 residents in Ontario. The closeness of the figures—both countries with just under one center for every hundred thousand people—is significant because it indicates that the two nations took similar paths in shopping-center development through the mid-1950s.

Those paths diverged, however, as the tax-propelled boom gathered momentum in the country to the south. By 1966, the United States had roughly one-and-a-half times as many plazas: nearly five per 100,000 residents in the U.S. compared with less than three per 100,000 in Ontario. By 1971, U.S. growth more than doubled that in Canada: close to seven shopping centers for every 100,000 Americans, compared with barely three for every 100,000 Ontarians. These numbers provide only the roughest sort of indication, to be sure, but the comparison suggests that federal tax incentives in the United States helped spur the construction of perhaps twice as many shopping centers as would otherwise have been built.

The effects of accelerated depreciation on the landscape of the United States extended beyond shopping centers. Every type of new income-producing building benefited from the tax break. Perhaps the clearest confirmation of the impact of the 1954 Tax Code came from the lodging industry, for which the depreciation law sparked development of America's first nation-wide motel chains. Through the early 1950s, "you had these thousands and thousands of little courts run by middle-aged retired couples," recalled an analyst in a 1959 issue of *Fortune* magazine. "Then almost overnight, the big money began to flood in from everywhere—and I mean from everywhere." A chief reason, *Fortune* explained, "was the provision in the 1954 tax code permitting a 'fast write-off' on new construction." The number of motel rooms in the nation jumped 50 percent in just four years, as investors created chains of new, larger "grand motels" under such names as Holiday Inn and Howard Johnson. "The rise of the new type of caravansary," *Fortune* concluded, "has taken place in a riotous atmosphere reminiscent of a gold rush, which to some extent it is."[88]

[87] The 1956 numbers are based on a figure of 1,600 shopping centers in the United States that year, an estimate made by *Chain Store Age*, the first careful observer of the shopping-center phenomenon. "Shopping Center Boom Continues," *Chain Store Age* 32 (May 1956): 27–34. The 1961, 1966, and 1971 U.S. data represent more exact counts prepared by the National Research Bureau, a trade organization. The data on the number of centers in Canada were compiled by Canadian census officials. F. H. Leacy, ed., *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 2d edn. (Ottawa, 1983), series V132–42.

Outside North America, the disparity is even larger. For instance, England possessed just five large "regional" shopping centers as late as 1990; scholars calculated "it would require 340 such regional centers in Britain to provide the same number per head of population as in the USA." Peter J. McGoldrick and Mark G. Thompson, *Regional Shopping Centers: Out of Town versus In Town* (Aldershot, 1992), 16. On shopping-center development outside the United States, see also Dawson, *Shopping Centre Development*; Dawson and Lord, *Shopping Centre Development: Policies and Prospects*; Allen M. Findlay, Ronan Paddison, and John A. Dawson, eds., *Retailing Environments in Developing Countries* (London, 1990).

[88] Seymour Freedgood, "The Motel Free-for-All," *Fortune* 59 (June 1959): 119–23, 163–71; see also Seymour Freedgood, "The Hotels: Time to Stop and Rest," *Fortune* 68 (July 1963): 162–65, 202–13; Royal Shipp and Robert Moore Fisher, *The Postwar Boom in Hotels and Motels*, Federal Reserve Staff

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TABLE 7(a)
Shopping Centers and Population in the United States, 1956–1971

year	*centers/100k population*	*persons/center*
1956	0.95	105,055
1961	2.84	35,177
1966	4.81	20,768
1971	6.90	14,493

SOURCES: shopping-center data: *Directory of Shopping Centers in the United States and Canada*, c. 1961, 1965 and 1967 (extrapolation: no directory published 1966), 1971. Estimate of 1956 census from *Chain Store Age* (May 1956); population data ("resident population"): *Historical Statistics of the United States*, part 1.

TABLE 7(b)
Shopping Centers and Population in Ontario, Canada, 1956–1971

year	*centers/100k population*	*persons/center*
1956	0.76	131,828
1961	2.18	45,854
1966	2.70	37,026
1971	3.09	32,366

SOURCE: shopping-center data and population data: *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 2d edn. (1983). Number of centers in 1971 extrapolated from 1970 and 1972 data.

A similar atmosphere prevailed in other sectors of business real estate. Two bits of data available on apartment trends are particularly suggestive. Starting in 1954, the New York City area witnessed a massive increase in rental-housing construction. "Private apartment building for the uncontrolled rental market began to move in 1954," noted *Fortune*, "and has been at boom levels since 1956," amid a "festive atmosphere" that felt "as if . . . the Emperor Nero had at last returned."[89] Across the country in Los Angeles, long renowned for its preponderance of single-family housing, building permits for apartment construction suddenly surpassed those for single-family homes in 1957.[90] What effect did accelerated depreciation have on this apparent apartment boom and on the rise of the suburban apartment complex elsewhere around the country? What part did tax-shelter considerations play in the development of other building types such as discount stores, industrial and office

Economic Study (Washington, D.C., 1965), 28–37; Howard E. Morgan, *The Motel Industry in the United States: Small Business in Transition* (Tucson, Ariz., 1964); Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile*, 184–91.

[89] McDonald, "The $2 Billion Building Boom." See also "Apartments in the Suburbs," *Urban Land* 18 (September 1959): 2. Single-family housing starts, by contrast, slowed in the late 1950s and 1960s.

[90] Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of an Urban Oasis* (Albuquerque, N. Mex., 1977), 257; Charles E. Silberman and Todd May, "The Coming Changes in Housing," *Fortune* 60 (August 1959): 89–93, 194–96. On accelerated depreciation in the development of rental housing, see Max Neutze, *The Suburban Apartment Boom: Case Study of a Land-Use Problem* (Washington, D.C., 1968), 31–34, 91–93, 157–63; Martin Mayer, *The Builders: Houses, People, Neighborhoods, Governments, Money* (New York, 1978), 334, 337–40; Harvey Rosen, "Housing Subsidies: Effects on Housing Decisions, Efficiency, and Equity," in *Handbook of Public Economics*, vol. 1, Alan J. Auerbach and Martin S. Feldstein, eds. (Amsterdam, N.Y., 1985).

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parks, and fast-food chain restaurants, which were rare in most of suburban and small-town America before the mid-1950s but blossomed along with the shopping center by the end of the 1960s?

ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION FUNDAMENTALLY ALTERED the economics of real-estate development in the United States. Until the mid-1950s, large commercial projects in the suburbs remained rare. Some demand for suburban shopping centers certainly existed, but it was rarely strong enough to overcome the barriers of supply—the high initial investment and long payout time involved in a shopping-plaza project. Demand increased after World War II as more Americans moved to the suburbs, worried about racial issues, and increased their reliance on the automobile. But the more far-reaching change occurred on the supply side of the ledger. Congressional creation of accelerated depreciation in 1954 artificially lowered the supply barriers. Developers discovered they could now quickly earn back their initial investment and create a tax shelter for outside income as well. The tax break was biggest on newly erected business buildings, compared with alternatives such as renovation of existing structures. Therefore, the law functioned as a powerful incentive prompting investors to funnel money into fresh commercial projects at the city's edge. As a result, beginning in the late 1950s and gathering momentum throughout the 1960s, an explosion ocurred in the number and the size of shopping centers in the United States. Not only in fast-growing cities but also in small towns and even declining metropolitan areas, investment in the new plazas became a big business. By 1970, most of America shopped at the mall.

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AHR Forum

All the World's a Mall: Reflections on the Social and Economic Consequences of the American Shopping Center

KENNETH T. JACKSON

THE EGYPTIANS HAVE PYRAMIDS, the Chinese have a great wall, the British have immaculate lawns, the Germans have castles, the Dutch have canals, the Italians have grand churches. And Americans have shopping centers. They are the common denominator of our national life, the best symbols of our abundance. By 1992, there were 38,966 operating shopping centers in the United States, 1,835 of them large, regional malls, and increasingly they were featuring the same products, the same stores, and the same antiseptic environment. They have been called "the perfect fusion of the profit motive and the egalitarian ideal," and one wag has remarked, only partially in jest, that either America is a shopping center or the one shopping center in existence is moving about the country at the speed of light.[1]

To be sure, the shopping center and even the shopping mall are not entirely American innovations. Merchandising outside city walls began in the Middle Ages, when traders often established markets or "fairs" beyond the gates to avoid the taxes and congestion of the urban core. For this privilege, they typically paid a fee to the lord or feudal authority who commanded the walls above the field. Similarly, enclosed shopping spaces have also existed for centuries, from the agora of ancient Greece to the Palais Royal of prerevolutionary Paris. The Jerusalem bazaar has been providing a covered shopping experience for 2,000 years, while Istanbul's Grand Bazaar was doing the same when sultans ruled the Ottoman Empire from the nearby Topkapi Palace. In England, Chester has been famous for centuries for interconnected second-story shops, protected wonderfully from the wind and the rain, which stretch for blocks at the center of town. London's Burlington Arcade, completed in 1819, was one of the world's earliest retail shopping arcades, while the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, which featured a nineteen-acre building that was entirely walled and roofed in panels of dazzling "crystal" glass, had many characteristics of the modern mall. Its designers brought the outdoors inside and

[1] On the number of shopping centers, see Witold Rybczynski, "The New Downtowns," *Atlantic Monthly* 271 (May 1993): 98. See also William Severini Kowinski, *The Malling of America: An Inside Look at the Great Consumer Paradise* (New York, 1985); Howard Gillette, Jr., "The Evolution of the Planned Shopping Center in Suburb and City," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51 (Autumn 1985): 449–60; George Sternlieb and James W. Hughes, eds., *Shopping Centers, USA* (Piscataway, N.J., 1981); William H. Whyte, *The City: Rediscovering the Center* (New York, 1988); and William Glaberson, "The Heart of the City Now Beats in the Mall," *New York Times* (March 27, 1992): A1, B4.

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made the "palace" into a giant garden, complete with an elaborate fountain and several full-grown trees. Within the mammoth structure, crowds from many nations and social classes jostled through long aisles, entertained as much by the passing parade and the spectacle as by the official displays.

The most famous pre-twentieth-century enclosed retail space is the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II in Milan, which was built to commemorate the 1859 victory of the French and Sardinians (led by King Victor Emmanuel) over Austria at the Battle of Magenta. Located near the Duomo and opened to the public in 1867, it is really a prolongation of the public street. It houses scores of separate merchants, with a glass vault on top rather than a single, enclosed building (there are no doors). Cruciform in shape, it has a four-story interior façade that stretches 645 feet in one direction and 345 feet in the other, bordered by shops, cafés, and restaurants at the ground level and mezzanine. Despite its age, the Galleria looks and feels like a modern mall, and it remains at the center of political and commercial life in Milan.[2]

At the end of the twentieth century, the shopping mall has become a global phenomenon. Hong Kong has as many modern malls as any metropolitan region in the United States, and tourists in Kowloon might easily imagine that they are in Orlando or Spokane. In France, the Parly II Center opened outside Paris and near Versailles in 1968. It includes all-weather air-conditioning, fountains, marble floors, sculptured plaster ceilings, and scores of shops on two floors. Singapore, Taipei, Sydney, Melbourne, Hamburg, and a hundred other cities have similarly elaborate edifices; the Kaisergalerie in Berlin and GUM in Moscow are particularly notable. Even England, ever protective of its countryside, is falling victim to regional malls and the acres of parking lots that surround them. For example, seventeen miles east of central London, set among the rolling hills of Essex, is the Lakeside Centre, a 1.35 million square-foot clone of suburban America, complete with two McDonalds, a Sam Goody, and a Gap. Since the mid-1980s, a half-dozen other regional malls, as well as 250 smaller regional clusters, have gone up among the shires and sleepy hamlets of Shakespeare's scepter'd isle. By 1993, these new shopping and exurban centers were claiming more than 17 percent of the British retail market, a three-fold increase in less than fifteen years.[3]

Below-ground shopping malls have also proliferated. Since 1962, for example, Montrealers have been able to survive their harsh winters by working, shopping, and living, often for months at a time, underground—or at least inside glass and concrete. Large parts of the core city are now linked by miles of subterranean walkways, all lined with shops, restaurants, snack bars, and theaters. In posh Westmount Square, tenants in high-rise apartment buildings have only to take an elevator to find a supermarket, a bookstore, a bank, a movie theater, a bar and restaurant, or such expensive specialty shops as Givenchy and Pierre Cardin.[4] Similarly, in Osaka, the buried-mall concept is now almost a third of a century old. There, more than a million people per day file over the lighted signs in the floor or

[2] A good overview of the early development of the arcade idea is Alexander Garvin, *The American City: What Works, What Doesn't* (New York, 1996), 101–20. See also Johann Friedrich Geist, *Arcades: The History of a Building Type* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

[3] *New York Times* (May 9, 1993): E16.

[4] The Montreal complex was designed by Vincent Ponte, a native of Boston, as a way of reducing congestion on downtown streets. *New York Times*, December 17, 1976.

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past the giant wall maps of the connecting Umeda and Hankyu malls to buy food, clothes, toys, and even lizards and seaweed, or to pay for overseas trips. Hawkers banging tambourines urge passers-by to sample their restaurants. Even pornography shops flourish.

But, as was the case with the automobile, which also was invented in Europe, it is in the United States that the shopping center and the shopping mall have found especially fertile ground. In the North American republic, large-scale retailing, once associated almost exclusively with central business districts, began moving away from the urban cores between the world wars. Baltimore's Roland Park Shopping Center (1896) is often cited as the first of the modern genus, but Country Club Plaza in Kansas City, begun in 1923, was more influential and was the first automobile-oriented shopping center. Featuring extensive parking lots behind ornamented, Old California–style brick walls, it was the effort of a single entrepreneur, Jesse Clyde Nichols, who put together a concentration of retail stores and used leasing policy to determine the composition of stores in the concentration. By doing that, Nichols created the idea of the planned regional shopping center. At the same time, he understood, as no one had before him, that customers for the 100 shops would arrive by car. Free parking was not an afterthought; it was part of the original conception. And as Country Club Plaza expanded over the decades to encompass 978,000 square feet of retail space, the number of parking spaces multiplied as well, until by 1990 there were more than 5,000 spaces for the ubiquitous motorcar.[5]

By the mid-1930s, the concept of the planned shopping center, as a collection of businesses under one management and with convenient parking facilities, was well known and was recognized as the best method of serving the growing market of drive-in customers. But the Great Depression and World War II had a chilling effect on private construction, and as late as 1946 there were only eight shopping centers in the United States. They included Upper Darby Center in West Philadelphia (1927), Suburban Square in Ardmore, Pennsylvania (1928), Highland Park Shopping Village outside Dallas (1931), River Oaks in Houston (1937), Hampton Village in St. Louis (1941), Colony in Toledo (1944), Shirlington in Arlington, Virginia (1944), and Belleview Square in Seattle (1946).[6]

The first major planned retail shopping center in the world went up in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1949, the brainchild of Homer Hoyt, a well-known author and demographer best remembered for his sector model of urban growth. Another early prototype was Northgate, which opened on the outskirts of Seattle in 1950. Designed by architect John Graham, Jr., it featured a long, open-air pedestrian way lined with a number of small specialty shops and ending with a department store.

[5] This paragraph summarizes material in Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, 1985), 257–61. See also William S. Worley, *J. C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City* (Columbia, Mo., 1990), 10–28; Rybczynski, "New Downtowns," 98–100; S. R. De Boer, *Shopping Districts* (Washington, D.C., 1937); and Yehoshua S. Cohen, *Diffusion of an Innovation in an Urban System: The Spread of Planned Regional Shopping Centers in the United States, 1949–1968* (Chicago, 1972).

[6] John B. Rae, *The Road and the Car in American Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 230. New York City department stores began to decentralize rather early, beginning in the late 1920s. Regional Plan Association, *Suburban Branch Stores in the New York Metropolitan Region* (New York, 1951).

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The idea was that the "anchor" facility would attract people, who would then shop their way to their destination. Predictably, it went up next to a highway and provided a free 4,000-space parking lot.

The enclosed, climate-controlled indoor mall was introduced by Victor Gruen, an Austrian refugee from the Nazis, at the Southdale Shopping Center in Edina, Minnesota, a suburb of Minneapolis, in 1956. From the beginning, the 679,000 square-foot complex (later expanded to 1.35 million square feet) included two department stores, 139 shops, parking for 5,200 cars, and a two-story, sky-lit pedestrian walkway. Gruen had been inspired by Milan's Galleria and also by the markets of the Austrian and Swiss towns he had visited on bicycle as a young man. In America, ironically, he wanted to stop suburban sprawl, and he thought the shopping mall would do the trick. Because Minneapolis was so often cold, Gruen advertised that "in Southdale Center every day will be a perfect shopping day." The concept proved wildly popular, and it demonstrated that climate-controlled shopping arcades were likely to be more profitable than open-air shopping centers. Indoor malls proliferated, slowly at first but with increasing frequency, and within fifteen years anything that was not enclosed came to be considered second-rate.[7]

A few of the indoor behemoths, such as Midtown Plaza in Rochester and Chapel Square Mall in New Haven, were located downtown, but more typical were Paramus Park and Bergen Mall in New Jersey, Woodfield Mall in Schaumburg outside Chicago, King's Plaza outside Manhattan, Tyson's Corner outside Washington, and Raleigh Mall in Memphis—all of which were located on outlying highways and all of which attracted shoppers from trading areas of a hundred square miles and more. Within a mere quarter-century, they transformed the way Americans lived and worked. Indeed, reports were commonplace by the 1970s that the typical American was spending more time at the mall than at any other place other than home or work. And the shopping mall had become, along with the tract house, the freeway, and the backyard barbecue, the most distinctive product of the American postwar years.[8]

BECAUSE ACADEMIC JOURNALS often publish pieces so esoteric that only a small proportion even of a specialized audience could be interested in them, the *American Historical Review* merits praise for focusing attention on the ubiquitous phenomenon of the modern shopping center. Thomas W. Hanchett's article, "U.S. Tax Policy and the Shopping-Center Boom of the 1950s and 1960s," essentially asks why and how such a profound retailing revolution could occur so quickly. By contrast, Lizabeth Cohen's "From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar America," essentially asks "so what?" Why should anyone care where I buy my socks?

[7] T. R. Reid, "The Magic of Malls," *Washington Post*, September 16, 1985. Late in life, after thirty years in the United States, Gruen argued that the shopping-center idea that he pioneered had been subverted and that the country was mindlessly subsidizing suburban sprawl. He retired in frustration to Vienna, Austria. Among his many writings on the subject, see especially Victor Gruen, *The Heart of Our Cities: Diagnosis and Cure* (New York, 1964).

[8] William Severini Kowinski, "The Malling of America," *New Times* 10 (May 1, 1978): 31–55.

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Focusing on fast-growing Charlotte, North Carolina, slow-growing Cortland, New York, and declining Scranton–Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania—all of which witnessed a transformation of shopping patterns in the quarter-century after World War II, Hanchett finds that neither rapid suburban growth nor racial strife adequately explain the shift. Instead, he points to the Internal Revenue Code, especially to a section of the 1954 law that allowed investors to depreciate real-estate investments on an accelerated basis. In practice, this meant that a particular property that was in fact performing well and even making money could be carried as a *deduction* or a *loss* on an individual's tax return. Good investments became paper losses, thus reducing tax liability and enhancing the desirability of commercial real estate as a tax shelter. Equally important, accelerated depreciation led to frequent turnovers in ownership, because as soon as one person exhausted the best tax benefits of a property, the smart thing to do was to sell it and buy another one. A new investor could utilize the favorable tax provisions all over again. The law encouraged new construction rather than maintenance or renovation because the financial advantage was in short-term depreciation. Finally, Hanchett persuasively argues that accelerated depreciation encouraged *retail* development in advance of *residential* settlement, thus reversing centuries-old patterns of human experience. In essence, the IRS created a pyramid scheme in which most of the players could not and did not lose.

Hanchett's overall point is a strong one, and he performs an important service for scholars by reminding us that government intervention, especially in the form of forgiven taxes, often shapes the world in which we live. Unfortunately, he pushes an excellent point further than the evidence will allow. For example, because tax loopholes were available to almost every income-producing structure, accelerated depreciation did not inevitably lead to investment in shopping centers. Entrepreneurs could have put their funds to dozens of alternative uses, such as drive-in theaters (the number of which instead went down in these years), or speculative office buildings (many of which went up in central cities), or livery stables (the demand for which was obviously decreasing), or hundreds of other businesses.

That investors so often channeled their interests into shopping centers and shopping malls in fact depended on other factors that Hanchett does not emphasize. First, land was often cheap on the peripheries of American cities, especially when measured against central business district (CBD) costs or comparable investment opportunities overseas. Second, American land-use controls and zoning regulations have typically been much weaker than those of other advanced nations. In Britain, for example, the government has long been determined to emphasize traditional retail patterns and to support highly compact, densely settled urban centers surrounded by mostly open green belts, where both commercial and residential development has been cautiously restricted. If, for example, a person were to purchase a farm in England and then announce an intention to develop the property as a shopping mall, local residents would think that the newcomer had lost his or her mind. They do not turn such decisions over to the investor who happens to own a parcel at any given time. It is a community decision in the full sense of the word. Similarly, Germany and France have tightened their planning regulations, never favorable to mall development, to push developers toward town centers.

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Third, the United States has for generations subsidized automobile travel while asking public transit systems to operate without the substantial government handouts that are typical of Europe and Asia. Such policies clearly channel development toward the very shopping malls that offer easy and cheap access to automobiles. Fourth, shopping centers offered a range of conveniences, including light, warmth, longer hours, better security, improved store layouts, wider parking spaces, and increased self-selection, all accented by waterfalls, sculptures, fountains, landscaping, mirrors, and neon signs that downtown areas could rarely match. Accelerated depreciation helped make these innovations financially feasible, but it was only a small part of a complicated story.

Finally, Hanchett's conclusion that shopping-center development does not correlate with automobile ownership merits skepticism. It flies in the face both of conventional wisdom and of observable fact, inasmuch as an expansive parking lot not only defines the shopping center but is typically necessary to it. Perhaps the explanation for this seeming incongruity is that highways and cheap gasoline, not cars, are the crucial variables. For example, soon after a major oil crisis hit the developed world in 1973, construction starts on American shopping centers plummeted, falling 22 percent in 1974 and another 41 percent in 1975. Similarly, without the huge public expenditures on road construction that have given the United States more paved mileage per capita than any other country in the world, shopping centers would never have dominated the nation's retailing. Nor would this merchandising revolution likely have happened if the American taxpayer had not subsidized the motorist. Essentially, the federal government is the only major government in the world that fails to recapture most of the costs associated with the automobile through high taxes on gasoline. In Germany, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, to take only the most obvious examples, the practice is to charge the consumer at the pump for the costs of the infrastructure and public health services on which the motorcar depends. Thus, in order to be convinced by Hanchett's ambitious argument, we need to know more than he has provided about highway mileage and conditions, zoning and building regulations, local shopping patterns, public transportation alternatives, and per-capita income. More systematic comparisons with Canada and Australia would be useful because their gasoline taxes are lower than Europe and Japan and higher than the United States.[9]

These comments do not mean that Hanchett's point about tax incentives is invalid, only that the decline of central business districts and the growth of regional shopping centers have continued to reshape the American landscape even as the IRS has rewritten the tax code and eliminated many earlier depreciation provisions. Indeed, more retail space has been built in the United States since 1970 than in all our national history before that time.

Lizabeth Cohen's "From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar America," is really three separate articles—the first dealing with the impact of suburban retailing on older city centers, the second with the question of free speech and the ability to hand out leaflets or otherwise protest on private property functioning as public space, and the third with

[9] *Forbes*, June 1, 1976. See also "Antitrust Action in the Shopping Malls," *Business Week* (December 8, 1975): 51.

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the feminization of shopping. The focus is on Paramus, New Jersey, a bedroom suburb eight miles from Manhattan with no main street but with virtually every kind of store known to civilization. Along the way, Cohen disagrees with Hanchett's contention that racial discrimination had little to do with changing patterns of retailing, arguing instead that developers defined their commercial palaces in exclusionary racial and economic terms and that even the bus schedules favored white shoppers. In Paramus, it seems, both race and cars were major factors in the shopping-center revolution.

Cause and effect may never be determined, but as the malls mushroomed, older central business districts faltered. Cohen is particularly adept at tracing the changing fortunes of Paterson, a core shopping district on the traditional downtown model, as contrasted with the automobile-centered shopping centers that eventually surrounded it. In 1950, she notes, Paterson was a thriving commercial district while Paramus was, in a retail sense, only a wide place in the road. Two decades later, their positions were reversed. Paterson was losing population and sales, while Paramus was well on its way to becoming one of the most glitzy and important shopping complexes on earth. Paterson's downtown merchants and community leaders of course fought back hard, first with Sunday blue laws, which are still on the books in Bergen County, and later with large-scale urban renewal efforts. Ultimately, nothing worked. Indeed, the failure of the Paterson CBD is instructive precisely because highly qualified planners and extensive subsidies failed to reverse the downward trend. Moreover, the success of Paramus malls was even more impressive because it took place within easy commuting distance of Manhattan, the dominant business center of the United States. It is thus easy to understand how the same phenomenon happened to smaller metropolitan areas, where the central business districts were even more easily overwhelmed by suburban competition.

These scenarios have been replayed with only slight variation across the length and breadth of the nation. Until recently, central cities were almost defined by the locally owned department stores, which dominated local life—Hudson's in Detroit, Rich's in Atlanta, Rike's in Dayton, Goldsmith's in Memphis, and Bamberger's in Newark prominent among them. All are now closed, as are dozens of other stores in similar situations. In 1993, for example, G. Fox and Company, Hartford's last downtown department store and the symbol of Connecticut's capital city, closed its flagship emporium after 145 years of service. For generations, the store had etched its own distinctive profile by its policy of free deliveries, elaborate Christmas displays, and Art Deco interior extravagance. When you thought about Hartford, you thought about G. Fox. Its empty hulk is now an eyesore.[10]

Even the Chicago Loop, the square-mile downtown business core where the rich once shopped, Frank Sinatra sang, New Year's crowds gathered, and screeching elevated trains rocked along overhead, has fallen victim to fear, changing social patterns, and the shopping-mall revolution. By the 1960s and 1970s, State Street decay was evident. Affluent shoppers soon took their business elsewhere, some-

[10] On the impact of malls on department stores in urban cores, see Zenia Kotval, John R. Mullin, and Edward Murray, "The Mall Comes to Town," *Economic Development* 15 (Summer 1991): 15–21. See also Kirk Johnson, "G. Fox to Close, Ending Retail Era," *New York Times*, September 12, 1992.

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times to the so-called Magnificent Mile just north of the Chicago River, but more often to the burgeoning suburbs on the metropolitan fringe. Downtown's formerly first-run movie palaces turned to second-run horror films and low-budget, triple X-rated features. Electronic gadget shops proliferated, as did fast-food outlets. Sears closed its famed State Street store. The last burlesque house shut down in 1977. Even sin was moving elsewhere.

Only a generation ago, Petula Clark could sing that the lights were brighter "Downtown." No longer. Yet these changes in the physical location of retail consumption are only part of the story. Equally important has been ruthless cost-cutting competition and the accompanying consumer desire, which has grown in recent decades, to choose low prices and chain stores over locally owned, independent businesses. Every city, every town, and every neighborhood in the nation has witnessed this shift from "Mom and Pop" operations to "big box" retailers.

Many contemporary observers are not unhappy with this turn of events. They regard the modern shopping mall—clean, safe, convenient, and cheerful—as superior to any downtown alternative, as in fact the re-creation of the city within a suburban setting. The mall has become the place where senior citizens walk in comfort and security, where parents lead their young to Santa Claus, where singles court, where teenagers socialize, and where everybody consumes. Indeed, a new term, "mall rats," has been coined to describe the legions of young people who spend their free time cruising indoor corridors. It is something to do when there is nothing else to do. And there is nothing else to do, according to many young people. This proliferation of uses and of customers has led to the frequent observation that regional malls are the new downtowns, the centers of informal social interaction, the successors to the traditional marketplace. Of course, this would give a new definition to the word "center," because shopping malls are often beyond town boundaries and thus outside government control or taxation. Typically, they are at the geographical centers only of parking lots.

Are shopping malls the new downtowns? Cohen rightly notes that there is something contradictory in the notion of a shopping center trying to legitimize itself as a focus of community activity even while defining that community in exclusionary socioeconomic and racial terms. An essential difference between a traditional central business district and a shopping mall is that the former is by definition open to all people at all hours. The latter is private property, owned and operated by a single corporation, and thus subject to coercive, centralized authority. The theme of their design is enclosure, protection, and control. Litter, panhandlers, vagrants, suspicious characters, protestors, and even cold winds are not tolerated. What happens, then, when citizens seek to exercise their constitutional right to petition the general public, to speak out about this or that outrage? A downtown street presents no constitutional problem, but urban sidewalks feature so few pedestrians that effective protest there is impossible. Shopping malls, by contrast, offer crowds but not access, because management typically prohibits activities that might be controversial or offensive. And private police forces stand ready to enforce such rules, and public-relations personnel are at the ready to justify them. Cohen focuses on this conflict between free speech and private property, concluding that, in New Jersey at least, the right to expression is guaranteed in malls. Unfortunately, New

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Jersey is not typical, as many state courts have thus far defended the right of mall owners to exclude political activity.[11]

Cohen's third point, the feminization of public space through the transformation of the mall culture, is compelling, albeit Gunther Barth has put this shift about a century earlier, when "the department store made the new phenomenon of a feminine public possible," and when New York's consumer palaces so catered to female customers that Manhattan's primary retail district came to be known as the "Ladies Mile." Before Alexander T. Stewart, John Wanamaker, R. H. Macy, and other early retailers adopted "departmental" organization and advertising as standard procedure, Barth alleges that women rarely ventured into commercial and business neighborhoods. Thereafter, women came literally to dominate them.[12] Cohen's contribution is to move the discussion to late twentieth-century consumption and to relate the experience and power of women to the proliferation of credit cards and of part-time employment. With imagination and insight, she demonstrates how consumer credit expanded the financial clout of married women, giving them control not only of present but of future family earnings. Part-time employment, however, was a Trojan Horse. Earlier in this century, Cohen notes, retail clerking was a respectable, middle-class occupation that paid a decent, livable wage. Shopping centers, however, experienced unusual peaks and valleys of busy and quiet periods, and they sought to use part-time female labor to cut wage costs. Unions fought desperately, and unsuccessfully, against this threat to their members' economic well-being. The bottom line is that shopping centers now rarely offer career or employment opportunities that reach a middle-class standard.

Germany provides a contrary example. There, until recently, almost all stores closed by 6:30 p.m. during the week and 2 p.m. on Saturdays. In 1966, Chancellor Helmut Kohl agreed to extend store hours until 8 p.m. during the week and 4 p.m. on Saturdays. On Sunday, everything is closed. Bakeries cannot even bake bread on Sunday. Quite simply, the German government has regulated shopping hours according to the desires of small shopkeepers and organized labor. Small stores fear that liberalized trading hours would ruin "Mom and Pop" stores and lead to American-style, big-box retailing. And organized labor believes that expanding legal shopping hours would open the door to part-time employment and thus undermine the generous benefits and income that German clerks now enjoy. Both the German and the American systems involve political choices. Thus far, Germans have chosen higher prices and higher wages; Americans have opted for cheap prices, cheap transportation, and Mammon-driven super stores.[13]

A HALF-CENTURY AGO, almost everyone in America, whether they lived in a great metropolitan region, a medium-sized city, a small town, or a rural area, made their

[11] The best treatment of the phenomenon of individual rights in urban and mall type situations is Robert C. Ellickson, "Controlling Chronic Misconduct in City Spaces: Of Panhandlers, Skid Rows, and Public-Space Zoning," *Yale Law Journal* 105 (March 1996): 1165–1248.

[12] Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1980), 181.

[13] On Germany's regulated shopping hours, see "Economy Poor, Germans Yield on Store Hours," *New York Times*, June 12, 1996.

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major consumer purchases in some sort of a centralized shopping environment. In communities of even modest pretensions, that place was at the confluence of the trolley tracks, where pedestrian traffic was the heaviest and land values the highest. Even in smaller communities, the town had a visual and clear center, if only a rural post office and a general store.

Over the past five decades, this has changed. Small towns across the nation, whether on the open plains of Nebraska or the winding rivers of West Virginia, have seen their downtown shopping districts wither and die. Old businesses and buildings are boarded up and abandoned; other structures, poorly maintained, struggle along with marginal firms as tenants. Meanwhile, several miles away, often adjacent to an interstate highway, a Wal-Mart, a K-Mart, or some other discount retailer rests in the midst of a large parking lot. Such is the physical shape of America's modern consumer culture.

There is some evidence to suggest that, in recent years, Americans have finally become bored with malls or perhaps just tired of the effort it takes to navigate them. The industry peaked in 1978, when sales per square foot of retail space averaged $197 a year. Malls have become so homogenized and predictable that they have lost much of their entertainment value. Revealingly, the number of centers under construction nationwide has been declining since 1988. Older shopping centers, in particular, have often closed or been razed. Some, like the 2.2 million square-foot Roosevelt Field complex on Long Island, with parking for 9,000 cars, have had a complete makeover in order to keep up with current trends. Smaller indoor malls, lacking the advertising budgets of larger operations, have encountered cycles of decline once associated with inner cities. The interiors of those structures have become ghost towns, with white butcher paper over the windows and specialty retail space perennially unleased. Meanwhile, new, so-called category killers like Home Depot, Price Club, Toys 'R' Us, Staples, and T. J. Maxx are taking customers from the malls. Occasionally, several category killers come together to form what is called a "power mall." It is discount with a vengeance, a place of take-no-prisoners, no-frills shopping, where the mantra is value, and where the upscale shops and elaborate fixtures of the traditional mall are dismissed as frivolous affectations of a bygone era.[14]

Nevertheless, in 1992, the largest enclosed shopping and entertainment facility in the United States opened in Bloomington, Minnesota, a suburb of Minneapolis. Known as the Mall of America, larger in square footage than Red Square, containing twice as much steel as the Eiffel Tower, and featuring 400 separate stores as well as an indoor amusement park, it is the biggest monument yet built in the United States to consumption. It takes up the equivalent of 88 football fields and features a formulaic 4.5 parking spaces for every 1,000 square feet of leasable space, which translates to 13,000 automobile spots within 300 feet of a door to the mall. The structure has already become a "destination" facility, meaning that almost 50 percent of all out-of-town visitors to the Twin Cities say that the Mall of America is their main reason for being there. Boosters like to say that it is now the

[14] Dean Schwanke, *Remaking the Shopping Center* (Washington, D.C., 1994). Also see John T. McQuiston, "The Reinvention of a Shopping Mall," *New York Times*, April 23, 1993; Kirk Johnson, "Discount with a Vengeance," *New York Times*, December 7, 1993.

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third largest tourist attraction in the United States, trailing only Disney World and the country-music capital of Branson, Missouri. Meanwhile, Minneapolis and St. Paul, both perennially listed among the most "livable" American cities, lack the crowded sidewalks and colorful shopfronts that are a sign of urban health.[15]

In my view, the shopping mall and the automobile culture that makes it possible waste time, energy, and land that the United States can ill afford. Clearly, I am in the minority. The modern shopping center and shopping mall are at the core of a worldwide transformation of distribution and consumption. They represent, along with music, computers, suburbs, and skyscrapers, one of America's major contributions to twentieth-century culture and life. When historians of the twenty-first century try to sort out the nature and meaning of the retailing revolution in post–World War II America, they will have to start with the work of Thomas Hanchett and Lizabeth Cohen.

[15] Among the dozens of newspaper and magazine articles on the Mall of America, particularly good are Neal Karlen, "The Mall That Ate Minnesota," *New York Times* (August 30, 1992): sect. V, p. 5; and Eric Hubler, "Four Million Square Feet of Mall," *New York Times* (October 25, 1992): sect. XX, p. 33.

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Review Essay

Race, Ideology, and the Perils of Comparative History

FREDERICK COOPER

George M. Fredrickson, **Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). 390 pp.

James T. Campbell, **Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). 418 pp.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT in the United States and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa have long histories in which periods of despair were interspersed with periods when participants could confidently believe that justice would one day triumph. These histories point to the impossibility of finding a "true" path toward liberation even as they reveal the efforts of many to find such a path. Whether it be the principle of nonracial democracy, or the quest for an authentic voice for a set of people, or the vision of a distinct group raising itself by its own efforts to some apparently universal standard, or the subsumption of all such quests to class struggle, or the desire to reverse the personal devastation of enslavement or colonization via a cleansing violence—people have insisted that they had the map to find the road to liberation. It is the virtue of both books under review that in placing such claims under historical scrutiny, they reveal not only that one or another of these efforts came into focus at particular historical moments but that at any one time different visions were in contention and different strategies contributed simultaneously to people's sense of themselves as political actors.

George M. Fredrickson's *Black Liberation* and James T. Campbell's *Songs of Zion* take up these issues in quite different ways. The first book is a comparative study of liberation ideologies in South Africa and the United States across a long historical trajectory. The second is a case study, a detailed examination of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa, and it is not primarily a comparative analysis but a study of transcontinental linkages. These are two related but distinct approaches, which yield specific kinds of insights and lead authors and readers into particular sorts of difficulties.

Slavery and race are subjects into which comparative historians have sunk their teeth. As early as 1910, the Dutch scholar H. J. Nieboer classified forms of labor

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around the world, arguing that coerced labor was most likely to emerge in conditions of "closed" resources, where restricted access to land proved insufficient for the owners of such resources to command control over labor. This macro-sociological historical comparison was taken up in the 1960s and debated as late as 1982.[1]

Meanwhile, Frank Tannenbaum took the comparative study of slavery in a different direction: his 1946 book *Slave and Citizen* was a work of moral discourse. He insisted that the "idea of the moral value of the individual" predated slavery and was responsible for its demise; this idea was "the chief heritage of the Western, the European world, and the very survival of European culture—perhaps of the European man—depends upon the survival of this doctrine." Written in the aftermath of Nazism and at a moment of escalating attention to race issues in American politics, his notion of what such moral values signified in Western history was a decidedly relative one. Here lay the question for social scientists. He argued that in Latin America, drawing on an Iberian heritage, the slave—even when exploited—retained an element of humanity, as subject of the crown and the church, whereas in English-speaking colonies, the slave's status as chattel was not crosscut by other imperatives. After abolition, the integration of the ex-slave into society and polity posed no fundamental problem in Latin America but a very basic one in the United States.[2] Tannenbaum's comparative history was intended to make citizens focus on this challenge.

One of the central features of Tannenbaum's influential argument was echoed subsequently: a willingness to draw direct inferences from the era of slavery to the present, leapfrogging over a messy history that lay in between. One sees this pattern in Stanley Elkins's noted book of 1959, *Slavery*, which also compared slavery in North America unfavorably with its South American versions, and one sees it later still in the debate during the late 1960s over the Moynihan Report, with its argument that allegedly pathological features of black families can be explained by the impact of enslavement on African-American males.[3] The particular resonance of the "legacy of slavery" argument and the polemical uses of comparison may be a result of the tensions of the Cold War era: in the shadow of Senator Joseph McCarthy, one could put forth a critique of American society—questioning many people's image of the United States as a democratic vanguard—while still locating its flaws in the past. Some of the most important critiques of this type of argument came from specialists on the other end of the comparison, who insisted on the importance of analyzing the specific forms of exploitation that developed in Cuba

[1] H. J. Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System: Ethnological Researches* (The Hague, 1910); Wilemina Kloosterboer, *Involuntary Labour since the Abolition of Slavery* (Leiden, 1960); Evsey D. Domar, "The Causes of Slavery or Serfdom: A Hypothesis," *Journal of Economic History* 30 (1970): 18–32; Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

[2] Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York, 1946), viii.

[3] U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research, *The Negro Family, The Case for National Action*, by Daniel P. Moynihan (Washington, D.C., 1965). The attack on Moynihan had two elements: that he exaggerated the effects of slavery on family life and that he mistakenly absolved post-slavery American society from its role in shaping the constraints on family formation. Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York, 1976); Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago, 1959). For a useful reader on comparative slavery, see Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., *Slavery in the New World* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969).

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or Brazil and who feared that using them as a foil for North America's half-examined race problem would give rise to a "myth of racial democracy" that would be politically detrimental in South America itself.[4]

It is significant that a powerful work that located its critique squarely in the era of "freedom," W. E. B. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction*, did not resonate in the era of Tannenbaum and Elkins, and that C. Vann Woodward's *The Origins of the New South*, with its devastating portrayal of the modernizing pretensions of the South's ruling class, did not for some time spawn the rich historiography on the Reconstruction era that other works did on slavery. Woodward himself went on to write about the "burden" and the "irony" of southern history, a much less pointed way of looking at his subject than his earlier work.[5]

What made slavery a particularly attractive subject for comparative analysis was not simply the political uses to which such histories could be put but the seeming possibility of analyzing slave systems as discrete entities. But could one? Eric Williams's *Capitalism and Slavery*—published two years before Tannenbaum's book—attempted to put the debate on a fundamentally different ground, which would only decades later become a locus for serious debate. For Williams, the point about slavery's history was not that it represented the peculiar institutions of various ruling classes but that the enormous expansion of enslavement and the exploitation of slave labor from the sixteenth century onward was part of the history of capitalism. Here was the alternative to comparative history: Williams wrote a singular history of an enormously complicated process. Indeed, Williams analyzed the end of slavery within the same framework as its rise, because, for him, free labor was not merely the absence of coercion but a system of exploitation in its own right.[6] Williams shared with Du Bois—and C. L. R. James as well—a vision that was global and political: colonization and enslavement, the Haitian revolution and southern Reconstruction, were part of the making of a new world and struggles over what that world would be; people in the current phases of that struggle could draw on its earlier manifestations, for they were part of the same history.[7]

This global perspective on the struggles over slavery was shunted aside and

[4] For a discussion of the political implications of the myth of racial democracy—and, equally important, of the politics of criticisms of that myth—see Emilia Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago, 1985).

[5] W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in America, 1860–1880* (Philadelphia, 1935); C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1951); C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1960). As an outsider looking some years ago at studies of slavery and emancipation in the southern United States, I was struck by the way scholars looked at slavery in that region as a particular system of production and social relations but played down that perspective in regard to the era of emancipation. See my introduction to *From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890–1925* (New Haven, Conn., 1980). This is no longer true, and one of the most original efforts to change the way slavery and emancipation were talked about is Barbara J. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 1985).

[6] Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1944). For critiques, themselves some time in the making, see Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760–1810* (London, 1975); and Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Pittsburgh, 1977).

[7] C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (London, 1938). I am indebted to Thomas C. Holt, "Slavery and Freedom in the Atlantic World: Re-thinking the Black Diaspora in an Analytic Framework," paper presented to the conference "Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora," Michigan State University, April 13–15, 1995.

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largely ignored in the comparative approach of Tannenbaum and Elkins. It reappeared in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Eugene D. Genovese both criticized Williams's economistic arguments and took up his theme of the relationship of slavery to capitalism. For him, slavery did expand in relation to capitalism, but the consequences of that expansion were quite specific, the formation of distinct ruling classes, with distinct structures of exploitation and distinct ways of representing to themselves and the rest of the world the kind of society they were shaping. A global history was linked to a comparative history.[8] Genovese's formulations have themselves been criticized, notably by scholars who questioned whether the linkages of slave plantations to global mercantile systems could be as intense as they were without making the idea of a plantation social order self-contradictory.[9] Meanwhile, David Brion Davis persuasively argued that the relationship of capitalism and slavery was above all ideological, and herein could be understood the timing of the growth of antislavery at a time of high profitability from slave production.[10]

It is possible to see the variability and limitations of European states and capitalist enterprises from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries at the same time as one recognizes their power; the biggest difficulty comes in examining the range of oppositions to them.[11] Much of the "resistance" literature these days tries to find in the "local," the "hidden," the culturally "authentic," or the "social" movement the locus of opposition to forces that are seen as imperialist, capitalist, global.[12] Yet writers from James to Davis have brought out the equally global level at which the

[8] Eugene D. Genovese, *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (New York, 1969).

[9] A similar argument could be made about politics, and it is particularly compelling when made over time: as slaveholders became caught up in the politics of independence and republicanism in eighteenth-century North America, it became increasingly necessary for them to define slaves as intrinsically different, as opposed, notably, to their being considered as part of a generalized hierarchy of subordination, in which white indentured workers would play a part. In the nineteenth century, the South's deep involvement in national politics made a plantation-centered, hierarchical conception of society contradictory, and racial slavery became increasingly racial precisely because the South (or Brazil, or Jamaica) could not constitute a discrete slave society, neatly comparable with others, set apart from integration into wider political and economic processes. See Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975); and James Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom: An Interpretation of the Old South* (New York, 1990).

[10] David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975). For a debate over Davis's arguments and alternative conceptions of the relationship of ideology, capitalism, and antislavery, see Thomas Bender, ed., *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992). Such debate is particularly welcome because of the danger of "expansion of capitalism" arguments becoming reductionist, as they did in world-systems theory. On this point, see the essays of Frederick Cooper and Steve Stern in Cooper, *et al.*, *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America* (Madison, Wis., 1993).

[11] Genovese's treatment of this theme is much less convincing than his earlier discussion of slavery; he assumes too neat a fit between global changes and rebellion in particular places. Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge, La., 1979). For a more convincing general study, see Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery 1776–1848* (London, 1988); and for a detailed analysis that puts antislavery ideology and politics in Great Britian and the political activities of black slaves and white planters in the same analytical framework, linking all this to struggles on plantations themselves, see Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore, Md., 1992).

[12] See the much-cited but badly flawed study of James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990).

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transoceanic system of slavery was fought, in the name of ideologies of universal progress as much as of defense of community, by slaves in Saint Domingue as well as establishment ideologues in London. If parts of the struggle were subterranean, others were open, with leaders of the struggle against slavery engaging with, recasting, and eventually fundamentally changing the ideological constructs emerging from Europe; Du Bois and James—interpreting this history for later generations—saw themselves as still engaged in this process. Much the same could be said about the anti-apartheid movement—in which engagement with widely espoused ideals of liberal democracy, social justice, and pan-African solidarity coexisted for over a century with closely knit collective action in communities.

The scholar needs to understand the dynamics and interactions of movements against slavery, colonialism, or apartheid, and how they drew on whatever political and cultural resources were available to them. Both books under review make progress in such a task, Campbell's explicitly, Fredrickson's to a significant extent in spite of himself. The former study is about interaction, about a religious movement that confronted slavery and racism in two continents.[13] The latter remains in the tradition of comparative history that emerged from the study of slavery, and, while it moves somewhat beyond the limitations of the genre, it remains constrained by it. This essay explores the complementarity and the tensions between interactive and comparative approaches in two exemplary texts.

CAMPBELL BEGINS AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, with freed blacks in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Rev. Richard Allen and other religious leaders took from the dominant society not only a coherent set of religious beliefs but a striving for "respectability" in terms of the codes of decorum and morality as laid down by the middle and upper classes of their cities. Blacks, they argued, would melt the hearts even of slaveholders by the evidence of their uplift; by exhibiting discipline, dignity, and temperance, they would prove themselves worthy of a fuller citizenship. The founding of what became the African Methodist Episcopal church (AME) resulted from these leaders' belief that African Americans could become better Christians within an organization they controlled. Their action stemmed from despair at the conditions of racial inequality within the Methodist and other established churches as much as in the cities in which they lived, but what it meant to be a good Christian was not crucial to the schism. To be sure, the propriety of various forms of worship specific to people of African-American descent was eventually debated within the church, but overall the AME church was within the context of its time organizationally militant and culturally conservative. For all its limitations, the AME church forged a set of linkages among blacks in different

[13] Other studies of interaction include J. Mutero Chirenje, *Ethiopianism and Afro-Americans in Southern Africa, 1883–1916* (Baton Rouge, La., 1987); Robert R. Edgar, ed., *An African-American in South Africa: The Travel Notes of Ralph J. Bunche, 28 September 1937–1 January 1938* (Athens, Ohio, 1992); and Rob Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond* (New York, 1994). Robert Hills's work with the Marcus Garvey papers is putting both the United States and South Africa in a disaspora-wide context.

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places—eventually including the South—thus providing the institutional and cultural basis for a "genuinely national African American community."[14]

Campbell tells of the ups and downs—during the era of abolitionism, reaction, the hopes of the Civil War and Reconstruction, and the tragedy of Reconstruction's failure—of AME sentiments toward "elevating" the race, especially the debate between those who sought to do so within American society and those who wanted to move the effort to Africa. The affinity that church leaders found on the African continent was rooted in the concept of race, as mediated through a history of enslavement, oppression, and discrimination. Africa's "pervasiveness in black intellectual and imaginative life" was part of the need for a focus against an "America" whose meanings were all too devastating.[15] African culture, as early African-American visitors portrayed it, was "benighted" and "barbarous"—but most often it was not talked about at all.[16] When AME members began to think seriously about Africans as people (at first in reference to Liberia), it would be to bring them enlightenment, Christianity, and civilization, a missionary effort directed at an African tabula rasa.

The originality of Campbell's research lies not so much in his explanation, revealing as it is, of how African Americans represented Africa to themselves but in his showing that the image of the African American meant as much to South Africans. In this direction, the reference was indeed a cultural one. African Americans stood for "advancement," proof that blacks could achieve something in their own right, as a possible force that could lead an assault on racism and oppression.

The splitting off of "Ethiopian" churches from missions in late nineteenth-century South Africa occurred independently of any American connection but reflected similar issues of power and autonomy.[17] The context, however, was different: it was only in the late nineteenth century that the autonomy of most African societies was fatally compromised and the power of white farmers and the mining industry strongly but unevenly imposed, while the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population was black gave a distinct set of possibilities to the future. The extent of interaction among people of color in cities like Cape Town or Port Elizabeth is a much-ignored part of the history of the Atlantic world.[18] The presence of West Indians and African Americans made linkages possible; they were cemented by an 1890s tour that an African-American singing group undertook and

[14] Campbell, *Songs of Zion*, 54.

[15] Campbell, *Songs of Zion*, 54.

[16] Campbell, *Songs of Zion*, 83.

[17] Campbell quotes one white missionary on the subject of Africans within the mission: "They are at their best as assistants" (*Songs of Zion*, 114). The biblical reference for the term "Ethiopian" is to Psalm 68: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God" (119). There is a large literature on mission churches and independent church movements in South Africa. The pioneer study of the latter is Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London, 1948); while current scholarship on religion and colonization is best exemplified by Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991–).

[18] For a study of an organization of African Americans and Africans in Port Elizabeth that followed a self-help ideology, engaged in trade, and owned property from at least 1893 to 1930, see Joyce F. Kirk, "Black Americans, Pan Africanism and Economic Uplift in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century," in Robert W. Harms, Joseph Miller, David Newbury, and Michele Wagner, *Paths to the Past: African Historical Essays in Honor of Jan Vansina* (Atlanta, Ga., 1994), 325–44. Keletso Atkins is currently working on a book on efforts of some African Americans to found settlements in Natal.

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that found receptive attitudes among Christian Africans already forming a distinct musical tradition. These links led to visits to the United States by South African Christians, who were as taken with the idea of African Americans being "advanced" as AME leaders were with Africa as a place where they could lead a vast movement for racial uplift.[19]

The leaders of fledgling African churches in South Africa thus made contact with AME leaders in the United States, and they formalized their connection to the AME church in 1896. Soon, the AME church had sent a bishop to South Africa; missionaries went out regularly; local parishes collected funds; and South African students came to the AME-connected Wilberforce University. The connection caught the imagination of both African Americans and South Africans.

Campbell's analysis is illuminating, important, and in some ways courageous. His analysis of the belittling attitudes of AME leaders and missionaries toward the African societies they wished to transform forces readers to confront the dilemmas of persuading other people that their religious and cultural values have to be remade. Although such attitudes had their origins in the dominant ideologies of their era, Campbell's discussion of them within the AME does not allow the issue to be consigned to a distant past or to specifically racist thinking. Campbell discusses thoughtfully the implications of the AME version of the "civilizing mission" and shows that it was both a constraining and liberating approach. It was constraining because it widened rifts between Christian, Western-educated South Africans and the majority, whose religious beliefs, notions of status, and systems of knowledge pointed in different directions, as well as between the church leadership and the growing "proletarian" culture in cities and mine towns,[20] liberating because the institution itself gave its members a sense that they could act collectively and that their cause was shared within a transoceanic community of "Africans." South Africans training to be teachers and missionaries at the AME-connected Wilberforce University, or at Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee, returned not only with valuable educational qualifications but with particular attitudes. Evolutionist, even Social Darwinist, ideas resonated within the Christian milieu of South Africa in the early twentieth century as much as in the cities of the United States in the late nineteenth.

It is no coincidence, Campbell argues, that many of the major leaders of the South African Native National Congress and later the African National Congress (ANC) during its formative years came out of an AME milieu.[21] The early nationalist A. B. Xuma was "thoroughly African-Americanized."[22] Campbell

[19] Campbell, *Songs of Zion*, 128–31.

[20] The connections between the growth of an urban working class and cultural analysis, especially the connections of rural and urban culture, is beginning to get the attention it deserves. A collection of essays edited by Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone, *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness, 1870–1930* (London, 1982), helped to focus attention on this issue; it was the subject of the History Workshop Conference held in Johannesburg in 1993. Particularly useful studies focusing on the recent era are David Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre* (London, 1985); and Philip Mayer, ed., *Black Villagers in an Industrial Society: Anthropological Perspectives on Labour Migration in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1980).

[21] For a survey and analysis of literature related to these points, see Terence Ranger, "Religious Movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa," *African Studies Review* 29 (1986): 1–69.

[22] Campbell, *Songs of Zion*, 275.

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shows—and Fredrickson develops this theme further—that the AME vision of racial elevation became part of a complex political culture characterized by overlapping beliefs punctuated with sharp debates: ideas of nonracial democracy, the mythic sense of Africanness that also came with the Garvey movement in the 1920s or the (less influential in South Africa) intellectual, vanguardist pan-Africanism of Du Bois, populist ideologies in their different guises, and the urban proletarian radicalism that was springing up in the Johannesburg area in the 1920s.

The AME church, like Clements Kadalie's Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), recruited its members from a diverse population that defies simple sociological categorization, but both organizations did best in rural and urban situations of considerable flux, where people moved back and forth between quasi-autonomous, quasi-subordinate forms of production on white-owned farms (for instance, sharecropping) and wage labor in cities.[23] In a situation during the 1910s and 1920s of deteriorating access to land, increasing conflict on white-owned farms, and uncertainties about what wage labor and urban life would actually mean, the AME, ICU, ANC, and other organizations offered a repertoire of possible forms of affiliation, of protest strategies, of ways of articulating solidarity and asserting political voice. The very range of political possibilities kept before the imagination of rural and urban communities is a clue to the persistence of protest movements across considerable change and formidable adversity from the 1920s to the 1990s; the durability and eventual triumph of the ANC had as much to do with its flexibility and adaptability, its ability to tap the quest for dignity and respectability embodied within the AME, as the proletarian radicalism of Johannesburg and other cities. Fredrickson emphasizes this point as well.[24]

Campbell's innovative treatment of transatlantic connections stands out as a historically grounded approach to the study of what Paul Gilroy called the "Black Atlantic." Gilroy looked at the connections of thought across worlds brought together by a history of the slave trade, racial oppression, and colonization, arguing that within this Atlantic milieu people of African descent had a unique perspective from their experience of the underside of "modernity." He argued against separatist conceptions of Atlantic cultures, and instead for the intensity of engagement across continental and racial lines and the formative role of blacks' perspectives in shaping modernity. His book had two major gaps: a neglect of Africa itself in favor of a focus on interactions among people of African descent in the United States, West Indies, and Europe and a neglect of actual mechanisms of connection—who interacted with whom in what context—in favor of the reading of exemplary texts.[25] Yet Gilroy's overall perspective suggests numerous ways of filling his gaps, and this is precisely the sort of project Campbell undertakes. He is helping to turn the study of the Black Atlantic into a historical question. In so doing, he locates much of the force that was crucial to the emergence of ideologies of liberation in the linkages across the ocean and in the awareness—however mythic the view of African

[23] The leading study of this union is Helen Bradford, *A Taste of Freedom: The ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924–1930* (New Haven, Conn., 1987).

[24] Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 313.

[25] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

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ancestors and African-American saviors—of participation in a common system of oppression and a shared quest for a better future.

Some of Campbell's choices in presentation may make the book appear less profound than it in fact is: he lets his analysis emerge bit by bit from the narrative, and the first part of the book—on the AME church in the United States and the long debate on African emigration versus domestic reform—is less original than what comes next. But even for readers who know this side of the story, Campbell's perspective is clear and persuasive and the analysis of connections that is to come is well worth the wait.

SOME OF THE MOST USEFUL PARTS OF FREDRICKSON'S STUDY also discuss connections: of religious movements, the Garveyite movement, the pan-Africanism of Du Bois. But Fredrickson specifically insists that his goal is comparative, and interaction is secondary to him. Taken along with his earlier book, *White Supremacy* (1981), the current volume is part of the mainstream of comparative history writing that grew out of the slavery literature.[26]

The two volumes need to be seen together. They are an uneasy pair. *White Supremacy* and *Black Liberation* reproduce in their separate covers the segregation that forms much of their subject. Fredrickson's view of white supremacy is indeed very white.[27] To analyze an ideology of racial superiority without taking seriously the agency of black people—who often confounded certain notions of hierarchy by their actions as slaves or simple views of the virtues of free labor ideology by their insistence on integrating labor and family in their own ways—gives only a partial view.[28]

The second book is better in this regard, drawing on the first volume and analyzing mobilization and collective action among blacks in relation to a changing

[26] Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 10; George M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York, 1981).

[27] Fredrickson is right that "from the bottom up" studies should claim no special privilege, and he considers his second volume a "history from the top of the bottom up *and* down"—that is, a focus on black leaders' relations with the state, with dominant social groups, and with the people they were trying to speak for and mobilize (*Black Liberation*, 7). Fredrickson also is clear that his goal is to write a history of ideology, not a social history, but he argues that ideology must be seen in its social context (8). The question is whether he has accomplished this goal, and whether his separate volumes allow him to come to grips with the obvious fact that top and bottom exist only in relation to each other.

[28] Fredrickson's first book did an admirable job of avoiding primordialist conceptions of race, insisting that racial ideologies in both the United States and South Africa were constructed not out of initial perceptions of black people but out of the process of constructing slavery itself. But his treatment of the more recent past is less dynamic: he ends up close to the legacy of slavery argument. In South Africa, most notably, slavery was confined to one region (and most slaves were of Asian origin, most slaveowners Afrikaners), whereas the striking break in the organization of racially defined oppression occurred from the 1880s to 1910 in a different region, among English-speaking as much as Afrikaans-speaking capitalists, and under a British state, and the kinds of controls that eventually became apartheid were directed at peasants rather than ex-slaves. Fredrickson's first book appeared at a time when a compelling literature on the later period was just emerging, and he did not do it justice, taking a few pot shots at crude Marxist interpretations that reduce race to class but not taking cognizance of the more subtle arguments about South African capitalism that were then appearing. For detailed critiques of the earlier book, see Frederick Cooper, "White Supremacy in South Africa and the United States," *Radical History Review* 28–30 (1984): 393–405; and Shula Marks, "White Supremacy: A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29 (1987): 385–97.

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structure of power in South Africa and the United States. But *Black Liberation* goes lame just when the story should be the most dramatic, especially for a book being read two years after South Africa was actually "liberated." Fredrickson's "whites" have fallen far enough into the background that the reader is left wondering why they were so unable in the end to counter the movements they faced. What collapsed in South Africa in 1994 was indeed white supremacy. Fredrickson's effort would have been more convincing had he, at a minimum, circled back to explore the vulnerabilities of the ideology whose strength he had earlier portrayed or, better still, woven together the themes of his two volumes.

As a comparative study, Fredrickson's two books fall between two stools: not systematic enough to isolate variables and prove causal relationships (something he does not claim to do) but insufficiently rich as a narrative to suggest how, over time, the causal factors impinging on South Africa and the United States worked themselves out. Models of historical processes are hard to construct, for there is no such thing as a truly independent variable, given that most basic social factors interact and change over time. Nieboer's "open resources" or Tannenbaum's different versions of Christianity did not stay put but themselves changed fundamentally during the years that slavery developed in different regions. Fredrickson recognizes and avoids this sort of pitfall, and it is probably just as well that he does not attempt to come up with a final answer to why white supremacy emerged or collapsed or with a crucial factor that separates the trajectories of the United States and South Africa. The trouble is rather the weakness of his alternative notion of comparison, how much is missing from his intertwined narratives.

Much of the problem is, once again, the binary construction of his texts: two books on half a topic each do not make a whole. The other difficulty is a tendency to treat ideologies as well as the practices of political movements as abstracted from experience. Such an abstracting process is partly a necessary price of comparison, but here it is a high price for what one gets.[29] Take his discussion of boycotts—a tactic of liberation movements found in both South Africa and the United States. Fredrickson notes this shared tactic, and this in itself is useful. But in neither Montgomery nor the Johannesburg suburbs does he tell us what boycotts meant to those involved.[30] The South African bus boycotts of the 1950s—massive movements protesting arbitrary increases in bus fares but, beneath that, protests over the very nature of work and residence—conveyed apartheid's powerful effects on gender and family relations. A bus carried a particular meaning because Africans lived in designated areas miles from where they worked; women who, as thousands did, worked as house servants in white homes could not have their children with them, so they were linked via the bus to their very existence as mothers; the bifurcated spaces in which men worked and lived forced them onto buses for hours, without giving them sufficient wages to afford alternatives. The people who rode the buses were sometimes legally resident in the townships they lived in, sometimes illegally

[29] Larry Griffin has argued for a historical sociology based on narrative, in which one tries at each stage of analysis to show just what one is abstracting, to make clear what is left out as one takes a story and tries to distill what it is in the specific story that can be related to other stories. See Griffin, "Narrative, Event Structure Analysis, and Causal Interpretation in Historical Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1993): 1094–1133.

[30] Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 254, 270.

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located there, vulnerable to police harassment and subject to deportation (a different bus) to hopelessly impoverished rural areas.[31] One can thus talk about "the boycott" as a tactic of liberation movements in both Montgomery and Johannesburg, but what one loses in a discussion so truncated is most of the human drama of these events.

Similarly, it is perfectly reasonable—and in certain respects quite illuminating—to compare the roles of the Communist Party in the two countries. But when a discussion of the sharecroppers' union in Alabama is subsumed under such a comparison—at the expense of framing the issue around the historical situation of sharecroppers, the range of possibilities they faced, and the place of the party within the constellation—much is lost.[32] So, too, Fredrickson's comparison constricts rather than enhances the history of the growing geographic mobility of South African workers in the 1940s, the wave of organizing and strikes after the war, and the significant—but hardly dominant—role of the party in postwar organizing and politics.

The framing problem is intrinsic to the very structure of *Black Liberation*, chapters that turn a lock-step comparison into a wooden periodization that undermines Fredrickson's most useful contribution, his documentation of debates and interactions among different ideological tendencies. The period 1928–1948 is framed by a discussion of communism, 1940–1965 by nonviolence, issues well worth examining comparatively but not effective as a framework for periodization. One might contrast this with the approach of William Beinart and Colin Bundy, who point to the confluence of a wide range of forms of contestation within a single district of Cape Province (Herschel) in a particular time period: church organizations with ideologies of Christian brotherhood, ANC-type arguments for liberal democracy, Garveyism, other forms of populism, arguments for the reinvigoration of indigenous chieftaincies, and women's boycott movements—all in the context of land alienation and labor migration.[33]

Then the organization of Fredrickson's book breaks down: the 1980s and 1990s in South Africa are discussed in a chapter on Black Consciousness and Black Power, whose importance in these periods is at best secondary. Fredrickson admits he is not giving a "full analysis" of the "tumultuous 1980s" but claims to be providing a "brief summary of the general pattern of black resistance and ideological development" so as to "convey a sense of the fate of Black Consciousness." The decision to slight the 1980s and 1990s means the book cannot possibly do justice to its title,

[31] Boycotts are addressed in the context of a general discussion of politics in Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945* (London, 1983). See also Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido, eds., *The Politics of Race, Class, and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London, 1987). For several perspectives on the most famous of American boycotts, see David J. Garrow, ed., *Walking City: The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955–1956* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1989).

[32] Fredrickson draws on Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990), but Kelley, without Fredrickson's self-imposed constraints, integrates a discussion of communism more fully into the political and social history of Alabama.

[33] William Beinart and Colin Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa: Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape, 1890–1930* (London, 1987), particularly their chapter on Herschel. The intersection of conflicting currents in the course of a lifetime emerges from Charles Van Onselen, *The Seed Is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, a South African Sharecropper, 1894–1985* (New York, 1996), a book that could profitably be read alongside Theodore Rosengarten, *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw* (New York, 1975).

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and the "brief summary" is distorted by trying to fit it into the wrong mold, as indeed much in the 1970s did not fit the Black Consciousness straitjacket. The Durban strikes of 1973 that brought African workers to the center of South African politics get half of one sentence; the endemic labor strife of the 1970s that led to attempts by the government to legitimize and control unions in 1979—and that in turn created an opening for overt activism eagerly and effectively seized by South African trade unions, setting off a dynamic process ending in the unbanning of the ANC—is not mentioned at all.[34]

Nor is the more sinister side of the 1980s discussed. Inkatha—the Zulu organization now known to have been linked to the security forces and an instigator of violence in Natal and the Johannesburg suburbs, as well as a key actor in the politics of the 1990s—is not mentioned, and its leader, Gatsha Buthelezi, gets one dazzlingly misleading label, as one of a group of "reformist ethnic politicians." Youth violence in the 1980s—crucial to the regime's declaration of a state of emergency and its loss of confidence in its ability to exercise control—is not mentioned (questions of violence and nonviolence having been relegated to a previous chapter and to the 1950s and early 1960s), and the awkward question of how to relate the principled views of the ANC leadership to the thuggish violence of the ANC-connected "comrades" does not come up.[35]

Fredrickson's comparative approach, for all its misframings and omissions, nonetheless has rewards to offer. The most important is typological. Although the categories in which Fredrickson places liberation ideologies become confining as he deploys them comparatively and chronologically, the categories themselves are useful: Black Christianity, the vanguardist approach of black elites, Pan-Africanism, Black Populism, Communism and Black Freedom struggles, Nonviolence, Black Power, and Black Consciousness. Throughout the text, Fredrickson is able to show that activists were choosing from a repertoire of approaches, depending on their different readings of what constituted oppression, different ways of engaging with and redeploying aspects of dominant ideologies, and different uses of notions of solidarity and self-help. It is not simply showing the range of possibilities that is important but, even more so, Fredrickson's evidence that different approaches were debated, that choices were being made.[36]

[34] For an impressive comparative study that focuses on such issues, see Gay W. Seidman, *Manufacturing Militance: Workers' Movements in Brazil and South Africa, 1970–1985* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994). Although the events cited here were much discussed in the press, publications like *South African Labour Bulletin*, and political science literature—and were the subject of almost endless discussion among activists and concerned scholars at the time—the reader can now turn to a growing literature on politics in the 1980s, particularly on the events leading up to the 1994 elections. See Tom Lodge, *et al.*, *All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s* (New York, 1991); Andrew Reynolds, ed., *Election '94 South Africa: The Campaigns, Results and Future Prospects* (New York, 1994); Allister Sparks, *Tomorrow Is Another Country: The Inside Story of South Africa's Road to Change* (1994; New York, 1995); Steven Friedman and Doreen Atkinson, eds., *The Small Miracle: South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*, published as *South African Review* no. 7 (Randburg, 1994); R. W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer, eds., *Launching Democracy in South Africa: The First Open Election, April 1994* (New Haven, Conn., 1995). A general history that includes a good discussion of the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s is William Beinart, *Twentieth-Century South Africa* (Oxford, 1994).

[35] Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 300. One attempt to come to grips with the issue of violence is a special issue of *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18, no. 3 (1992), particularly the introduction by William Beinart, "Political and Collective Violence in Southern African Historiography," 473–86.

[36] Fredrickson makes good use of Aldon D. Morris's concept of "local movement center," by which

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The comparative endeavor is useful in another, simpler way: the sections of *Black Liberation* on South Africa are likely to be particularly suggestive to Americanists, the sections on the United States to Africanists, above all of hypotheses worth pursuing in their respective areas. Thus if the conclusion to each chapter—with its list of similarities and differences—makes for a somewhat repetitive and mechanical organization, point by point his continual efforts at comparison still provide food for further thought and research. The same is true of many individual discussions: for example, Fredrickson's analysis of the relationship of liberal theory to the question of voting rights—arguing that blacks' struggles for the right to vote radically expanded liberal theory, turning the franchise from a much-debated question over exactly who could and who could not vote into an accepted right for all within American political culture. All this is a reminder of how interesting and important the study of political ideology is.

In the end, it is not clear that Fredrickson's two intertwined tales are told better because they are told together. Fredrickson has not tied political ideology and political mobilization to fundamental questions about African daily life—about labor, family, and community. Occasionally, he shows appreciation of the vitality of urban social and political processes (for example, in the 1920s), but he misses the centrality of such themes to the 1940s, 1970s, and 1980s and, by subsuming his discussion of urban politics in the United States to topics like Black Power, fails to get at the overall milieu in which that politics evolved and the range of political possibilities and constraints to which urban situations, in North or South, gave rise. The rural United States receives some attention, but rural South Africa virtually none: Fredrickson's focus on elite ideology would have profited from at least considering the possibility of there being "organic intellectuals" within African communities, and when he writes in both cases of the mediation between "modernist beliefs" and "traditional or folk culture," the Africanist reader can only wonder what he is writing about.[37] The problem is not just that African social structure was fundamentally different from anything found in the New World but that state policy had ossified and "retraditionalized" such structures into a rigid notion of ethnicity underscored by the powerful Department of Native Affairs and eventually "homeland" governments, while political entrepreneurs, like Gatsha Buthelezi, crafted political movements and political ideologies out of such historical openings.[38] Failing to come to grips with these phenomena not only narrows the

Morris focuses on the institutional strength within communities (which he calls the "indigenous base") and political and ideological connections across the region. Morris is trying to explain how the movement could be both locally rooted and widespread. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York, 1984).

[37] The concept of "organic intellectual" is used in relation to rural societies in another part of Africa by Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, Wis., 1990). There is no lack of material to draw on, for example, Beinart; Bundy, *Hidden Struggles*; and Bradford, *Taste of Freedom*.

[38] On the grid of race and tribe in the apparatus of domination in South Africa, see Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid 1948–1961: Conflict and Compromise* (Oxford, 1991); Philip Bonner, Peter Delius, and Deborah Posel, eds., *Apartheid's Genesis, 1935–1962* (Johannesburg, 1993); Saul Dubow, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919–36* (Houndmills, Eng., 1989); Adam Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (Oxford, 1990); Ivan Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa* (Berkeley, forthcoming).

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range of political ideology discussed but leaves what discussion there is removed from the give-and-take of actual politics.

Fredrickson has made his task more difficult for himself by setting out to write Comparative History, rather than a history that compares. He forces himself into a chronological framework that does not work, that misses or misframes key elements within each side of his comparison. He underplays discussions of transatlantic interaction or political theory, where he seems on the verge of transcending his book's limitations. He has made errors of execution, but the more basic mistake is in choosing to compare entire histories—which do not stay still long enough for him to make precise comparisons. As with writing on slavery in the Americas, the history of white supremacy and black liberation in South Africa and the United States is intrinsically interesting not because it consists of two discrete "cases" but because it is part of an immensely complicated tale of global transformation and struggle.

However, there are risks of overemphasizing connectedness, of sweeping the particular under the global, of losing track of the importance of human agency and geographic specificity, of mistaking ideal types for historical realities. Holding apparently similar instances up against each other—seeing how different contexts, different actions by individuals and groups, different ways in which conflicts played out—can give a deeper appreciation of both the rootedness of history in place and time and the connections of places and times across the world. Fredrickson's most useful insights come not from the book as a whole but along the way, where particular moments or particular events are illuminated by juxtaposition. Comparison suggests the multiple possibilities, pathways, and dead ends that exist within a broader history. A global, interactive approach to history needs comparison, and comparison needs interactive and global analysis.

Like James, Williams, and Du Bois—and Tannenbaum as well—Fredrickson turns a tale of oppression and liberation into a dialogue with his readers on moral issues. But where Tannenbaum in 1946 used history and comparison to open up a moral perspective on race that even a liberal academic community was reluctant to face, fifty years later Fredrickson writes in the tone of established verities. *White Supremacy* and *Black Liberation* both end with neo-abolitionist sermons. In the former book, he preached to whites, telling them that "one of the more general lessons of history" is that the groups can "transcend the past"; we—we whites—can overcome, he was saying, but what we need to overcome is indeed the past.[39] In the second book, whites are told, "The lesson for the United States might be that a larger number of Euro-Americans need to earn the respect of their African-American fellow citizens by showing through their actions that they are prepared to make major sacrifices for racial justice." Then he lectures "the black freedom movement" that it should "regain or reemphasize a broadly inclusive and humane vision of a society that is multi-cultural but nonetheless unified in its basic commitment of democracy and human rights."[40] One can hardly disagree with calls for sacrifice, justice, inclusiveness, and mutual acceptance, but by placing himself in the pulpit Fredrickson loses sight of who is in and who is not in the congregations—not least that he assumes them to be segregated. And what is hardest to see from

[39] Fredrickson, *White Supremacy*, 281.
[40] Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 318, 323.

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the pulpit is the preacher himself, to see the insights and the blind spots around the sermonizing, neo-abolitionist rhetoric.

THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT since the 1960s has indeed had many of the trappings of the antislavery movement of the early nineteenth century, including the widespread desire of neo-abolitionists to define evil as outside the system in which the critics lived—in a past that one can by an effort of will repudiate or on the other side of a spatial divide, in the South or the West Indies. Such tendencies in both instances were countered by other voices willing to take the critique closer to home. But reexamining both movements over long periods of time brings up a more positive parallel: both convinced a large number of people—themselves privileged within the dominant racial referents of their times—that something most members of their communities had once thought to be normal was in fact wrong. The convincing occurred across space as well as over time; it was a question of a shift in a discourse, which, while hardly universal, was at least not located within a single "community." This was not a matter of generalized benevolence—precise phenomena were defined as evil and others implicitly or explicitly exonerated of any such taint—and these boundaries were hardly independent of changing patterns of class power or economic interest. In the long struggles against slavery, colonial rule, and apartheid, minds were changed—and changed across lines of citizenship, religion, and economic interest—but the imaginative possibilities and constraints that lay beyond those condemned forms of power did not emerge so clearly.

A thoughtful literature discusses antislavery movements in such terms—moving well beyond the limits of the comparative slavery literature—and, one day, similar constructive debates will occur about anticolonial and anti-apartheid movements.[41] Campbell's contribution to this effort is significant because he talks in transoceanic terms about a movement of thought not among a white elite but among leaders of fledgling black communities, whose reference points were just as global as those of the Wilberforces or Garrisons.

His book is a step toward understanding the global, national, regional, and local interconnections that made apartheid an issue in Berkeley as well as Soweto, that disrupted the smugness of privileged whites in Johannesburg and made liberal whites in the United States uncomfortable with their investments in multinationals doing business in South Africa, that gave African and other ex-colonial leaders a basis for exposing at the United Nations or in meetings of heads of state in the British Commonwealth the limits of democracy, self-determination, and nonracialism within Western ideologies. The international networks that grew up around the issues of slavery or apartheid, the debates over "universal" human rights that

[41] The limits of anti-apartheid movements are noted in a revealing way by James Ferguson, who points out that poverty in South Africa before 1994 posed a political problem of global salience, but poverty in Lesotho, because it was a sovereign country, was merely a problem for experts in famine relief. By focusing on a defining characteristic of evil, such as violence and the deprivation of personal liberty in the case of slavery, or denial of sovereignty to black South Africans, the more ambiguous inequalities of wealth and power are elided even as an evil is denounced. Ferguson, "Paradoxes of Sovereignty and Independence: 'Real' and 'Pseudo-' Nation-States and the De-politicization of Poverty," in *Siting Culture*, Kirstin Hastrup and Karen Fog Olwig, eds. (Oslo, forthcoming).

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followed World War II, and the relationship of all such discussions to the exercise of global power present interesting and difficult topics for historians to explore.[42] A group of black preachers, as Campbell demonstrates, played a part in creating transnational connections, and their own discussions over what "Africa" or "civilization" meant to their congregations helped to define the subjects of long-distance debate.

One can circle back to the question that started Fredrickson's original project and look at the demise of white supremacy in relation to black liberation. The vulnerability of South Africa's white elite lay in the very global terms in which they articulated their dominance. South African whites in the latter half of the twentieth century—and those of Alabama as well—did not simply want to profit from the exploitation of black labor, they wanted to live a life that made sense to them. Much has been written about the particular cultural norms around the peculiar institutions of southern planters and Afrikaner farmers. Perhaps too much. South African whites—English as much as Afrikaans-speaking—long saw themselves as representatives of Christianity and civilization, linked by culture and values as much as skin color to the "Western world." Such perceptions were crucial to political and moral discourse among them, and also to daily life, living as they did in an interconnected world and in the twentieth century, a world whose media were increasingly saturated with images of bourgeois life, with a sense of normality shared with similarly situated people across much of the planet. Yet it was the opposition movements in South Africa that eventually made the more convincing case in international media that their espousal of democracy and nonracialism truly represented what Europe and America stood for (however tendentious a reading of history this was). International boycotts, years of political demonstrations in South Africa, endless commentaries (however smug they might have seemed one by one) about the evils of racism, and even the ugliest forms of violence of the 1980s made it clear that South African whites could not simply go on with their "civilization" and their "bourgeois" lives. The white elites of Baton Rouge and Montgomery had learned a similar lesson: their cultural, political, and moral reference points were not self-contained. The figures discussed in Fredrickson's book, from Du Bois to Marcus Garvey to Martin Luther King—as much as A. J. Luthuli and Nelson Mandela—did much to change the discourse of white elites in international circles, by the force of their words and their courageous examples, by the skill with which they mobilized populations, by the way they pointed to possible futures without mass violence and the daily drama of oppression and struggle.

That boundaries of the normal and the morally acceptable can change does not mean that the most basic issues get resolved in ideological debate, let alone political practice. Fredrickson reminds his readers that the economic and social concomitants of black liberation remain elusive in the United States three decades after the civil rights movement won its most impressive triumphs.[43] In recent times, it has seemed even less clear than before what forms of social and cultural change are desirable.

[42] For another perspective, see Kathryn Sikkink, "Human Rights, Principled Issue-Networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America," *International Organization* 47 (1993): 411–41.

[43] Fredrickson, *Black Liberation*, 319–21.

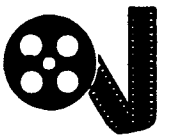
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Campbell's preachers were very much involved in debates over the last type of issue, and what they said among themselves does not simply fall into condemnation of an easily externalized evil whose end we can all now applaud. Campbell describes the evolutionist vision of Africa that the AME shared with the very mission organizations it sought to separate from with a touch of irony but without being either condemnatory or apologetic. He thus leaves his readers not with a sermon but with a question, about the constraints of imagination in specific historical and political contexts. Must a self-conscious program of "improvement"—whether seen in terms of "civilization" in the 1890s or "development" in the 1990s—entail belittling and condescending ideas toward those in need of help? Or must respect for the histories and values of different groups (however ambiguously defined) render impossible the radical transformations sought by the Du Boises or the Mandelas, as much as the Richard Allens? Indeed, starkly to reverse the prejudices of the AME leaders—to assume that there is a Tswana or a Zulu or a Xhosa way of doing things that should continue within its own terms—is not only to leave questions of poverty and ill-health beyond the reach of principled debate but also to reproduce the apartheid system of treating cultural distinctiveness as absolute and immutable. If neither extreme represents a defensible position, where and how to balance conflicting values becomes even more difficult to think through. A crucial question remains after reading two books that bring out the range of political ideas emerging in long struggles for racial justice and the vigor of discussions of strategies and principles: who will be included in such debates?

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Film Reviews



THOMAS PRASCH
Contributing Editor

In Jocelyn Saab's film *Once upon a Time in Beirut* (*Kanya Ya Ma Kan, Beyrouth*, 1994), two young women wander the demolished city looking for the secrets of its past. They find those secrets in a blasted movie theater, where an old man—think of him as an archivist—guards the tinned reels of film that capture images of Beirut's past. The three of them watch the films, chattering commentary; for the most part, what we, the watchers of this film, see are excerpts of these earlier films, a hodgepodge of diverse images—domestically produced films marketing Beirut to the Arab world; European and American movies that played on Beirut's image as the "Paris of the Middle East," filled with high life and high rollers, scandal and spies; newsreel footage of the Israeli bombardment and the Palestinians' journey into exile—a collection of fragments reassembled in a search for a vanished city and an explanation for its destruction.

The film's message is clear: with the city itself destroyed, it is only through fragments like those captured on celluloid over the decades that its one-time vitality can be appreciated and, through appreciation, renewed. At the same time, the assemblage of representations is meant to convey a rough teleology, to provide some causal account for what happened to the city, how such vitality could be destroyed. For the protagonists of Saab's story, the films constitute history; for them, in the ruined city, only the films constitute history.

There is an eerie resonance between this scene of three survivors looking for their city's history in a devastated moviehouse in Beirut and the central conceit of Theo Angelopoulos's *Ulysses' Gaze* (*To Vlemma tou Odyssea*, 1995; reviewed here by Catherine Portuges). The odyssey of "A," the film's protagonist, is set in motion by his search for the missing films of the pioneer filmmakers of the Balkan region, Miltiades Manakias and Yannakis Manakias. The search ends in another devastated city—Sarajevo, this time—where another old man guards the celluloid archives in another bombed-out building.

For Angelopoulos, as for Saab, the missing reels of film's past carry a historical message for the present. They constitute a somewhat different sort of record, however: less an account of how things came to be than a vision of a past unity among peoples in the Balkans that works primarily as contrast to the partisan ethnicities that divide the region today. Something lost between the filmmaking of the Manakias brothers and that of Angelopoulos himself accounts for the destruction visited upon cities like Sarajevo, Mostar, and Vukovar. (The same sense of an almost prelapsarian unity of peoples informs Boro Drašković's *Vukovar Poste Restante* [1994], reviewed here by Langdon Healy, and indeed figures in many accounts of the current Balkan crisis.) The films "A" seeks do not explain or even portray that loss, unlike those watched by Saab's protagonists; they can only point to it.

War-destroyed cities present an extreme limit case, where film is made to stand in for history because other grounds for historical knowledge—above all else, the indexicality of cities themselves, the way they carry the marks in their building and unbuilding of the history of their making—has been lost. But it is not only at those limits that historical films self-reflexively employ other films to signal history. Such practice is, indeed, routine in documentary filmmaking, where archival footage regularly supplements the contemporary account presented.

Some recent films have gone further, however, to assert that films themselves have shaped

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particular histories. Such, for example, is the implicit argument of Robert Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman's documentary about images of homosexuality in Hollywood movies, *The Celluloid Closet* (1995). More directly, Helena Solberg's *Carmen Miranda: Bananas Is My Business* (1994; reviewed here by Darién Davis) takes as its premise that the institutional dynamics of Hollywood picturemaking not only shaped the biography of the film's immediate subject but more broadly reflects (perhaps even inflects) relations between the United States and South America. Thus in Miranda's own conflicted persona—embodying the Hollywood stereotype of the Latina as well as her own forms of resistance to that stereotype—we can see an expression of the broader realm of contested relations along the North-South axis.

That Hollywood has a central part in, or at the very least serves as a convenient emblem for, the cultural imperialism of North America in the twentieth century, but that Hollywood products nevertheless have their own deep attractions, for better or worse, to foreign audiences, has been a consistent theme in both literature and film at least since Manuel Puig penned his novel *Betrayed by Rita Hayworth* (*La traicion de Rita Hayworth*, 1968). It provides a consistent subtext in films that have as their thematic center the interpenetration of Western ideas and influence into unfamiliar contexts. There are hints of it in films ranging from the Argentine movie *Tango Ferez* (1993; reviewed here by David Sheinin) to the Senegalese film *Rocking Popenguine* (1993; reviewed here by Christopher Gray).

If film figures directly as history in works like these, however, at other times the film history that informs a history film is more hidden, residing in the visual citations that refer viewers back to earlier works. Sometimes, this can be quite obvious: that Kenneth Branagh's *Henry V* (1989) would quote from Laurence Olivier's film version of the same Shakespeare play (1944) is to be expected. Other times, even when obvious, the significance of such referencing is less clear. Such is the case with Oliver Stone's framing of *Nixon* (reviewed here by Joan Hoff) on the narrative and filmic structures of Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* (1940). By choosing to tell Nixon's story with a narrative structure derived from another film (and that already a distorted historical portrait of William Randolph Hearst), Stone imposes a form on Nixon's career that has nothing to do with the man's actual life. Little wonder, then, that, as Hoff points out in her review, the film's protagonist bears scarce resemblance to the historical figure.

If we take as one limit case the example of film as history in a ruined city, where nothing else offers insight into the past, then Oliver Stone, who ignores available historical sources to shape his own myths, can be taken as the other limit. And Stone's practice raises another set of questions: if film constitutes history, just what sort of history does it amount to? What role do historians play in the shaping of film-as-history? Stone's own answers to the questions have been both contentious and self-contradictory. In response to critics of *JFK*, he asserted: "What is history? Some people say it's a bunch of gossip made up by soldiers who passed it around a campfire . . . They create, they make it bigger, they make it better . . . The nature of human beings is that they exaggerate" (quoted in Robert Samuel Anson, "The Shooting of JFK," *Esquire*, November 1991, reprinted in Oliver Stone and Zachary Sklar, *JFK: The Book of the Film: The Documented Screenplay* [New York, 1992], 208). At the same time, in his response to Anson's article, Stone argued: "In making *JFK* my point was . . . to understand history" ("Stone Shoots Back," *Esquire*, December 1991; in Stone and Sklar, 230). Similarly, in the case of *Nixon*, Stone responded to Henry Kissinger's (admittedly self-serving) trashing of the film ("Stone Leaves the Truth on Cutting-Room Floor," *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 1996) with a curious combination of dismissal of the relevance of historical accuracy to filmmaking and historically grounded attacks on Kissinger's claims. He thus asserts at the outset that "Henry Kissinger is right. 'Nixon' is not history." He goes on in detail to denounce "Kissinger's continuing efforts to revise and reinterpret his own role in the period," and he concludes: "There is a greater truth here [about whether the United States could win in Vietnam] that Kissinger wishes to cover up" (Letter to the editor, *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 1996). Stone thus seeks to have it both ways: historical accuracy is not his concern; historical truths are what he seeks. Historians, it seems, just get in the way of "understanding history."

That Stone, so widely criticized by historians, should find so little use for them is perhaps not surprising. From his perspective, they may well be, after all, part of the broader conspiracy that

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has hidden the truth of the past. It is more disturbing that a filmmaker for whom historians probably have more respect, John Sayles, should be equally dismissive of them. In a conversation with Eric Foner, Sayles notes: "I would say that I probably use historians the way most directors use them: I tend to use people who are well versed in historical details, very specifically in details, but not in the big picture" ("A Conversation between Eric Foner and John Sayles," in Mark C. Carnes, ed., *Past Imperfect: History According to the Movies* [New York, 1995], 18). Sayles provides examples of the sorts of questions he asks historians: "Do you have any pictures of what a sleeper car looked like in 1920?"; "Were there phone booths in 1920? Did people dial first?" (Carnes, 19). That historians primarily concern themselves with what Sayles calls "the big picture," far more than sleeper cars or phone booths, does not seem to occur to him. Or to most filmmakers: Dana Polan has shown that, in the field of popular representations, "the history teacher is little but a skilled lecturer, repeating truths that were established before he or she retold them" ("The Professors of History," in Vivian Sobchack, ed., *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event* [New York, 1996], 245). The complexities of history are absent; the fact that histories perpetually change, that no history is final, is neglected; the actual work of the professional historian, the process of research, is unrepresented. The end result, Polan suggests, is *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventure* (dir. by Stephen Herek, 1989): history as no more than historical figures retrieved from the past (and, ideally, not allowed to run around loose in the mall).

To counter such a pervasive misconception of the work of history requires of historians a continuous engagement with the makers of historical films. Such engagement must first be a process of critique: historians have a responsibility to point out the errors of historical films. But such engagement must also accept the lessons of our first limit case: that film can constitute history, that it can contribute to historical debates, that it can make historical arguments, and that in doing so it has, as a visual medium, qualities and characteristics unlike those of the written word.

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AFRICA

These Hands. Produced by Dieter Schelling and Flora M'mbugu-Schelling; written and directed by Flora M'mbugu-Schelling. 1992; color; 45 minutes. Kiswahili and Kimakonde with English subtitles.

Monday's Girls. Produced by Lloyd Gardner; written and directed by Ngozi Onwurah. 1993; color; 50 minutes. Waikiriki and English, with English subtitles.

Femmes aux yeux ouverts [Women with Open Eyes]. Produced, written, and directed by Anne-Laure Folly. 1994; color; 52 minutes. French with English subtitles. All three films are distributed by California Newsreel, 149 Ninth St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103 (415) 621–6196.

These three films present many different views of the experiences of African women in varying locations—geographically, socially, economically, and culturally—by three African women directors. Flora M'mbugu-Schelling is a Tanzanian, Ngozi Onwurah an Anglo-Nigerian, and Anne-Laure Folly a Togolese. In keeping with their diversity, each has a radically different take on the subject matter.

These Hands focuses exclusively on a group of Mozambican refugee women in Tanzania, working in a quarry breaking rocks by hand into gravel for use in making cement. The camera never departs from this location but looks at every aspect of their activities there in great detail. Their hands are as rugged with scars and cuts as the quarry that surrounds them. There is no narration, nor are there many subtitles; only the women's occasional songs are translated from Kimakonde for the benefit of the viewer. These songs limn the outlines of lives both barren and full: homesickness, the death of a co-worker in a cave-in that occurs on-camera, the cherishing of children (who are present at the quarry in significant numbers). The women are of all ages and self-employed, as the sole explanatory text at the end of the film tells us. Their blood drips on the stones from perpetual injuries. Men operate machines at the quarry for an unnamed company. The viewer is left to extrapolate meaning to a large extent; an informed knowledge of the workings of the international capitalist economy in a peripheral "socialist" manifestation is helpful to interpretation, as is some political history to explain why these women are there in the first place. Visually, the film is presentable but not spectacular. It is neither irretrievably grim, due to the women's hardiness and spirit, nor is it falsely optimistic with visions of "empowerment." The choice of subject determines all. It is also not historically informative, although it could be made so by a presenter's explication.

Monday's Girls is a more conventional work that explores the experience of *iriabos*, teenage initiates, in an island town of southeastern Nigeria. It is in Waikiriki with English subtitles and English, with an occasional interpellation by a British woman narrator. Much of the film is in the voices of the participants, including that of Monday Moses, the senior woman in charge of the initiates. Contrary to the usual rap in this country about puberty rites for African women, this area is typical of Africa in that female genital mutilation is not practiced. Unfortunately, this will make the film less compelling to the increasing number of American viewers whose interests in African women are confined to that subject. In effect, in this film, "traditions" are problematized by disagreement among potential initiates over their importance. A key aspect is the story of one prospective initiate—older than the rest and an urban migrant—who was persuaded by her

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father, a local dignitary, to return in order to participate. She refuses to do so fully and goes back to the city, thus breaching her relationship with her father and bringing public disgrace on her family.

Her voice contrasts sharply with that of a willing initiate who meets all of the requisite criteria and graduates with a certificate to show for her performance. Although she receives the knowledge imparted by Monday and other older women, this woman also plans to continue her formal education in order to secure a good job to support her future children. The voices of the participants are the most illuminating; the narrator unfortunately overlays a "traditional-modern" dichotomy on the situation, with the token sop at the end that "some traditions still have a place in a changing society." The content, however, belies that dichotomy at many points. For historians, the syncretic character of what is occurring is most useful, as hip-hop blares from a radio in the girls' "seclusion" room and the male elders deliberate about the recusant in English, with constant references to their reinvention of "tradition." Although the film is not intended to be historical, it could be used that way if the paradigm is critiqued by the presenter. Of the three films reviewed here, the visual quality of *Monday's Girls* is least pleasing; it is somewhat unfocused both in clarity and composition, with some color distortions. The quality was no doubt influenced by its origin as a BBC-TV production.

Femmes aux yeux ouverts is visually quite stunning and makes economical use of its fifty-two minutes to cover many aspects of the roles of African women. Although it begins with a poem by a Burkinaabe woman and in Burkina Faso, by the end of the film the viewer has also seen footage from Mali, Senegal, and Benin. It is organized thematically by titles flashed on the screen. Most of the women speak in French, with English subtitles provided. The subjects covered include female genital mutilation (Burkina Faso), forced marriage and lack of property rights (Burkina Faso), AIDS, the struggle against poverty (Senegal, Mali, Benin), and political participation for women (Benin, Burkina Faso). The narration is multivocal, often from activists involved in amelioration of various aspects of women's situations. Although most of these activists come from the elite, a non-condescending view of the situation of poor women is presented in many contexts; men are heard from occasionally; and the point is made firmly by a marketwoman that by discriminating against women "man is destroying himself." The tone varies from anger to dispassionate observation, depending on the speaker. Many of the women are eminently quotable, and there is significant footage from the 1991 revolution in Burkina Faso, along with an interview with a participant whose daughter was killed in the women's demonstration that was a key event. Also included is an extended interview with Mali's first female governor (of Bamako), who does some of the narration. The film therefore has historical ramifications in several aspects, but, like the others, it is an unintentional historical document, not a historical documentary.

Altogether, these films are excellent contemporary examples of the variety of cinematic talent coming out of Africa devoted to the representation of African women. M'mbugu-Schelling, Onwurah, and Folly are experts in the genre of the informal documentary, with a range of perception from the minute to the wide screen. They have given new meaning to "out of Africa" in their observations of the outsider/"other" status of women paradoxically embedded in locations as varied as quarries, islands, patrilineages, markets, farms, and in occupations old and new, and they have not acquiesced to easy stereotypes in any case. They explore not only conventional but also new frontiers as women move into formerly male-dominated occupations and men into female-dominated ones, and perpetually new cultural combinations are created. Their nuanced approaches belie the easy sensationalism of such fictionalized matter as Alice Walker's *Warrior Marks* (1993), giving a much more balanced view of a changing situation by giving voice to African women.

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Keïta: The Heritage of the Griot. Produced by Claude Gilaizeau and S. Pierre Yaméogu; written and directed by Dani Kouyaté. 1995; color; 94 minutes. Burkina Faso. Jula and French with English subtitles. Distributor: California Newsreel.

Rocking Popenguine [*Ça twiste à Popenguine*]. Produced, written, and directed by Moussa Sene Absa. 1993; color; 90 minutes. Senegal. French with English subtitles. Distributor: California Newsreel.

The Blue Eyes of Yonta [*Udju azul di Yonta*]. Produced by Angela Cerveira and Ana Costa; directed by Flora Gomes; screenplay by Flora Gomes, Ina Cesaire, David Lang, and Manuel Rambout Barcelos. 1992; color; 90 minutes. Guinea Bissau. Crioulo with English subtitles. Distributor: California Newsreel.

Historians of contemporary Africa have long sought a more sophisticated understanding of the experience and legacy of European colonialism than that implied by such rigid dichotomies as traditional/modern, colonizer/colonized, or self/other. Frederick Cooper's excellent overview of recent scholarship informed by developments in anthropology and literary studies correctly asserts that the African experience of Western power and cultural paradigms is best understood in terms of a *bricolage* (*AHR* 99 [December 1994]: 1516–45). The three films under review, all from West African countries, nicely demonstrate various aspects of this complex process.

Keïta: The Heritage of the Griot is the latest work to emerge from the distinguished cinematic tradition of Burkina Faso. (The capital city, Ouagadougou, hosts the biennial Pan-African Film Festival, and Burkina filmmakers such as Gaston Kaboré and Idrissa Ouedraogo have established international reputations.) Director Dani Kouyaté offers, at one level, a straightforward tale of the incompatibility between tradition and modernity. Mabo is a young boy growing up with his professional parents and going to school in urban Ouagadougou. The family is visited by Djéliba Kouyaté, a *griot* from a far-off village who has ventured into the city to accomplish a mystically inspired mission: to initiate the young Mabo into the meaning of his family name, Keïta. In the social hierarchy of the Mande-speaking peoples, the Kouyaté family of *griots* has served the noble Keïta lineage as advisers and praise-singers since at least the thirteenth century, when Sundiata Keïta founded the empire of Mali. It is the epic of Sundiata that Djéliba seeks to relate to Mabo.

Djéliba's presence soon divides the household into opposing factions: Mabo's mother becomes concerned that the *griot*'s stories are distracting her son from schoolwork, while his father insists on the importance of passing on the Keïta heritage. There are several scenes illustrating the gulf between "traditional African" and "modern European," but the most telling portray Djéliba's bewilderment at the changing roles for women. Along with Mabo's mother, the schoolteacher (Mr. Fofana) is placed firmly in the "modern" camp. The rigid structure of the French-inherited classroom is contrasted with the intimate relationship Djéliba develops with Mabo. As the boy loses interest in school, Fofana comes into direct conflict with the *griot*. In a confrontation clearly implying that tradition and modernity are fated to misunderstand each other, Djéliba objects to Fofana teaching Mabo that his ancestors were apes when they were in fact the founders of the noble Keïta line. Fofana claims that tradition is fine if only the *griot* could wait until school vacation to impart it. But Djéliba marches to a different sense of time and teaches a different kind of knowledge, one found "in the breath of the ancestors." His influence on Mabo creates a domestic crisis, and Djéliba decides to return to his village without completing his mission. The young Mabo is now ambiguously trapped between two worlds.

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As a comment on contemporary dilemmas, *Keïta* does not go beyond the simplistic either/or dichotomies. It is in the historical treatment of the Sundiata epic, dramatized as Djéliba tells the story to Mabo, that the film's insights are found. When portraying the mystical origins of Sundiata's mother, his predestined fate, his childhood as a cripple, and then his family's exile from Mali (for written versions, see D. T. Niane, *Sundiata: An Epic of Old Mali*, 1965, or John W. Johnson, *The Epic of Son-Jara: A West African Tradition*, 1986), Kouyaté shows that "traditional" history was never static but was always absorbing outside influences. The tale juxtaposes the powers of the hunter-king, the blacksmith king, and the Islamic king, each representing a historical shift in notions of authority. Thirteenth-century Mali was in a state of flux and absorbing the new influence of Islam. Kouyaté's opening episodes of the epic indicate the importance of the hunter and the smith; Sundiata's later triumph over the smith-king Soumaoro symbolizes the growing prominence of Islam. But this shift does not eclipse what came before; traces of the hunter and smith traditions remain in this thirteenth-century *bricolage*.

The process of *bricolage* is also celebrated in Moussa Sene Absa's *Rocking Popenguine*. Popenguine is a village forty miles south of Dakar along Senegal's Petite Côte, a region whose first contact with Europeans dates back to the Portuguese explorations of the fifteenth century. Senegal's minority Catholic community has an important presence here; Islam is also present, and the two faiths cohabit in the film, more or less in mutual respect. Proximity to Dakar and the rise of a tourist industry have exposed Popenguine to an eclectic mix of outside influences.

For the youth of the village in the 1960s, American rhythm and blues artists like Ray Charles and James Brown ruled. In *Rocking Popenguine*, two rival gangs, the Kings and the Inseparables, compete for girls and prestige. A nostalgic look back at the innocence of youth that owes much to *American Graffiti*, the film's story is told through the adult reminiscences of Bacc, a precocious young boy and "child of the village." The teenage gang members take names like "Otis" (for Otis Redding), and the main couple are "Johnny and Sylvie," for the French rocker Johnny Halliday and his then-girlfriend, Sylvie Vartan. Halliday, a French interpreter of American rock and roll wildly popular in French-speaking Africa, is one of the more interesting figures of cultural *bricolage*.

When the Inseparables decide to put on a shadow puppet show—called "pitchoss" from the English "pictures"—to raise funds for the purchase of a record player, they choose to mount not a production of a traditional tale like Sundiata but Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. When the matronly Mme. Castiloor tells stories to children at night around the fire, she tells them not in Wolof but in French. At school, the moody Breton French teacher, M. Benoit, has his students memorize the fables of Jean de la Fontaine and forbids them to speak Wolof in the classroom. The parents and elders of Popenguine complain about the behavior and dress of their children, but the village seems flexible enough to absorb these influences until the antics of the two gangs result in near tragedy.

A dramatic confrontation occurs when the Inseparables are brought in front of the village elders to be publicly whipped. One of the parents, a wealthy Muslim merchant, decries the influence of the French "infidels" and wishes for a more strict adherence to Islam (yet he is also the first in the village to own a television). Others are equally distressed by their youths' obsession with the ways of the "whites." Benoit happens by the scene and chastises the village elders for beating and humiliating their children (conveniently forgetting that he employs the same methods in the classroom). Popenguine's children are its future, he argues, and should not be punished simply for looking to other horizons. Benoit then echoes Senegal's first president, Léopold Senghor, in proclaiming: "Civilizations die that reject the Other. Universal civilization is the fruit of give and take." Senghor's persona is itself a masterpiece of cultural *bricolage*; Sene Absa's film, though not a masterpiece, does reveal the creativity of young people caught up in the "give and take" of civilizations.

Flora Gomes's *The Blue Eyes of Yonta* adds the fading ideals of the liberation fighter to the process of *bricolage*. The film is set in Bissau, the capital of Guinea-Bissau, a tiny country south of Senegal whose people successfully mounted a war of liberation against their Portuguese colonial rulers. The leadership and political thought of Amilcar Cabral—assassinated in 1973, a year before complete independence—was a crucial source of inspiration. The population of Guinea-Bissau embraced their liberation with more than the usual mundane expectations of

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an improvement in living standards, as hopes for true revolutionary change had been fired by Cabral's ideals. That things did not turn out so well is tersely recounted by a teacher in a scene from the film: "1973—Year of Independence. 1974—Year of Final Liberation. 1980—Year of the Coup. 1991—Year of Political Liberalization. 2000—What Future for Guinea-Bissau?"

Vicente is a former freedom fighter struggling to maintain his revolutionary ideals by running a frozen fish cooperative that gives priority to the interests of the fishermen suppliers and marketwomen distributors over making a profit. It is a Sisyphean task to make it all work, given Bissau's unreliable infrastructure (electricity outages and broken freezers spoil a stock of fish). Vicente is becoming frayed at the edges—so much so that he barely notices Yonta, the beautiful daughter of former comrades who has a crush on him. Yonta is from the generation that has come of age since independence. Her generation has also been seduced by a siren emanating from the West, but the voice intones something very different from the notes that lured a young Vicente into the forest to fight for his country's independence. This siren sings not of socialism but of romance, discos, beautiful clothes, all the shallow joys of a consumer culture.

The final blow to Vicente's fragile state is delivered when his old comrade Nando comes to visit from the countryside. Nando, his face scarred by napalm dropped by the Portuguese during the war, gave up his revolutionary ideals a long time ago. He ruefully remarks that nothing has changed for the peasants in the south of the country. Vicente tries to convince him that, although independence did not bring change to all, "progress" can be had in Bissau, and Nando should enjoy his share. The old warrior is not interested and leaves Vicente alone with his compromised ideals. The film climaxes with a broken Vicente verbally attacking Yonta for her frivolous and childish ways; she in turn replies that perhaps it is he and his naïve ideals that are truly childish. In Bissau, Western-inspired ideals of revolutionary change, rather than the heritage of the *griot*, have become the "tradition" undermined by "modernity." Vicente, believing that he has been transformed into a vulture, vainly attempts to rouse the dormant spirits of the Geba River and bring back an era when Bissau depended on its own resources and not the international aid coming through its ocean port.

The real star of *The Blue Eyes of Yonta* is the city of Bissau itself. Gomes provides a rich and subtle portrait of its rhythms, its streets, its central areas, and the day-to-day experiences of its citizens. From the opening sequence, shot from a truck entering the city along a main thoroughfare, to Vicente's beat-up Volvo plowing through foot-deep puddles, to the constant walking that all the characters must do to get anywhere, the viewer is provided a portrait of a provincial African capital unparalleled in its intimacy and genuine feeling.

The Western sirens of revolution and consumption have each left Bissau precipitously smashed on the rocks, unsure of its future. Gomes dedicates his film to the youth of his country and is clearly worried by the limited opportunities available to them. Yonta's little brother, the wily Amilcar, symbolizes youth's pluck and resourcefulness. The final scene—a surreal, somber sequence set around a pool the morning after a wedding party—has Yonta, Amilcar, and a group of children spontaneously breaking into joyful song and dance, an appropriately ambiguous ending.

Christopher Gray *Florida International University*

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Cry, the Beloved Country. Produced by Anant Singh; directed by Darrell James Roodt; screenplay by Ronald Harwood. 1995; color; 109 minutes. English. Distributor: Buena Vista Pictures.

In a Time of Violence. Produced by Jeremy Nathan; written and directed by Brian Tilley. 1994; color; 150 minutes. English, Zulu, and Afrikaans with English subtitles. Distributor: California Newsreel.

Midway through *Cry, the Beloved Country*, the second film adaptation of Alan Paton's novel (the first film appeared in 1951), actor James Earl Jones narrates one of the book's most sententious passages: "Cry, the beloved country, for the unborn child that is the inheritor of our fear. Let him not laugh too gladly when the water runs through his fingers, nor stand too silent when the setting sun makes red the veld with fire. Let him not be too moved when the birds of his land are singing, nor give too much of his heart to a mountain or a valley. For fear will rob him of all if he gives too much" (Alan Paton, *Cry, the Beloved Country: A Story of Comfort in Desolation* [1948; rpt. edn., Harmondsworth, 1983], 72). This narration captures the essence of the South African dilemma as Paton understood it in 1948: that fear and hatred, fueled by racial injustice, were robbing all South Africans of their birthright to flourish in their "beloved" country. The film explores the many dimensions of this dilemma and is at its best when it follows the poetic narrative of the book. Unfortunately, Ronald Harwood's screenplay fails to capture the richness of Paton's masterpiece. Under Darrell James Roodt's direction, however, the film recreates the novel's central themes of fear, hatred, despair, understanding, forgiveness, and, above all, reconciliation.

The film is set in 1946, two years prior to the infamous apartheid election that placed the National Party, with its radical social-engineering schemes, in power for the next four decades. Between 1910 and 1948, successive white-dominated South African governments established the infrastructure of a segregated society through a variety of laws that discriminated against blacks. For example, the Natives Land Act of 1913 prohibited Africans from purchasing or leasing land outside their designated reserves (a fraction of the area of South Africa) and prohibited sharecropping in the Orange Free State. This legislation constituted a significant blow to the African peasants, transforming the reserves into impoverished reservoirs of cheap, unskilled labor and intensifying the process of African proletarianization. As more and more blacks (as well as whites) moved to cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban in the interwar years, the government sought to stem the flow of African migrants through the Urban Areas Act of 1923 (which set aside black "locations") and a complex array of pass laws. Economic expansion during World War II further accelerated the flow of Africans into urban locations, and, since neither government nor industry provided adequate housing for the influx of African workers, squatter camps proliferated. In the 1940s, for example, nearly 100,000 African squatters settled around the outskirts of Johannesburg, mainly in the vicinity of what later became known as Soweto. Such camps and locations were centers of proletarian culture as well as crime and violence. Murder, theft, drunkenness, rape, and prostitution became commonplace. (See Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* [New Haven, Conn., 1990], 178–79.)

In *Cry, the Beloved Country*, Stephen Kumalo (James Earl Jones), an aging Anglican priest from a rural village in Natal, sets off for the purgatory of Johannesburg to find lost family members. The humble clergyman discovers that his sister Gertrude (Dambisa Kente) is a prostitute, that his brother John (Charles S. Dutton) has abandoned religion for political activism, and, most tragic, that his son Absalom (Eric Miyeni) has murdered a white man in a robbery attempt. Ironically, the murder victim is not only a champion of black rights but also the son of Kumalo's neighbor James Jarvis (Richard Harris), a conservative landowner. The ensuing trial and execution of Absalom force Kumalo and Jarvis to meet and talk for the first time in their

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lives. Their encounters promote understanding and forgiveness, resulting in the reconciliation of a black man and a white man in postwar South Africa.

Despite the film's triumphal denouement, the words of Msimangu (Vusi Kunene), one of Kumalo's fellow Anglican priests, are cause for sober reflection: "I have one great fear in my heart," Msimangu tells Kumalo, "that when the white man turns to loving he will find that we have turned to hating." Unfortunately, the period after 1948 served only to magnify Msimangu's fear. Following the National Party's election victory in 1948, South Africans endured institutionalized racial discrimination and the intrusion of a security state on an unprecedented scale. As a result, the seeds of hate and fear that Paton identified took root and mutated into a greater variety of social pathologies. *In a Time of Violence*, a three-part dramatic series that first aired in South Africa in July 1994, explores these pathologies and, like *Cry, the Beloved Country*, offers a redemptive, though qualified, resolution.

The series focuses on Bongani (Vusi Kunene), a young activist from the African National Congress (ANC) who witnesses a train massacre by the Inkatha militant Duma (Jerry Mofokeng). The story takes place during South Africa's interregnum, the period between Nelson Mandela's release from prison (February 1990) and the point at which South Africans participated in their first democratic elections (April 1994). The interregnum was a period of anticipation and violence, highlighted by the factional struggle between ANC supporters and the followers of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party. Inkatha was founded in 1975 by Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, a Zulu nationalist who extols the virtues of the Zulu warrior tradition and sanctifies the Zulu sense of national exclusiveness. Buthelezi's politics of ethnic nationalism have contributed significantly to the low-level civil war plaguing KwaZulu-Natal since the mid-1980s, a conflict abetted clandestinely by the previous South African government. Although the conflict has been labeled "black on black" violence by the National Party, the Goldstone Commission documented Inkatha's partnership with South African security forces during its struggle against the ANC. *In a Time of Violence* depicts Inkatha's collaboration with the South African police. Lieutenant Visser (Ian Roberts) supplies Duma with guns and ammunition and kidnaps Bongani to coerce testimony against fellow ANC activists. However, legal pressure in the "new" South Africa leads to Bongani's release. As for Duma, the Inkatha activist's potentially embarrassing testimony implicating the police in the train massacre results in his own assassination.

Despite its laudatory appraisal of the ANC, whose supporters are far from innocent in the ongoing factional struggle with Inkatha, the series succeeds in depicting the potential fruits of nonracial democracy. The program also focuses on the residents of a run-down apartment complex in Johannesburg, a multicultural community that organizes a successful rent boycott directed against a black real-estate speculator. In this sense, *In a Time of Violence* features a culture of reconciliation, a theme Alan Paton explored so poignantly many years ago.

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ASIA

The Bandit Queen. Produced by Sundeep S. Bedi; directed by Shekhar Kapur; screenplay by Mala Sen. 1995; color; 119 minutes. Hindi with English subtitles. Distributor: Film Four International and Kaleidoscope.

"This is a true story": printed on the screen, these words begin director Shekhar Kapur's foray into the dehumanizing mentalities of patriarchy and hierarchy that persist in Indian society. The subject is Phoolan Devi, a low-caste Mallah woman who turned to a life of banditry in the 1970s and became famous after a killing spree that included an alleged revenge massacre of twenty-two high-caste (Thakur) men in the village of Behmai. The objective of the film is to expose, for Indian as well as Western audiences, the everyday acts of violence that sustain gender and caste relations in much of north Indian society today.

Notwithstanding the powerful lesson it conveys and the noble intentions that undergird it, there is a problem with this picture: it is not wholly true. The unambiguous message of the film is that Phoolan Devi was driven to commit ever more violent crimes solely as a result of a series of increasingly horrific rapes, first by her husband when she was but a child, then by the police while in prison, then by the chief bandit (*dakoit*) who kidnapped her, and finally by locally powerful, high-caste Thakurs. In fact, as was widely reported in the Indian press during the controversial showing of the film in New Delhi and as is made clear in the detailed biography on which *The Bandit Queen* is ostensibly based (Mala Sen, *India's Bandit Queen: The True Story of Phoolan Devi* [London, 1991]; the author also wrote the screenplay), rape was, by Phoolan Devi's own account, only an incidental factor in her transformation into an outlaw. Phoolan Devi first found herself on the wrong side of the law and the target of bandit attacks when she tried to prevent a conniving, influential cousin from stealing her father's land—a complicating episode that is entirely absent from the film but crucial to understanding the trajectory of her life. Ironically, the only cousin depicted in the film is a comic, well-intentioned oaf who comes to Phoolan's aid at key moments of crisis in her crisis-ridden life. No doubt these and other errors will be pointed out in detail in Phoolan Devi's forthcoming autobiography (*I, Phoolan Devi: The Autobiography of India's Bandit Queen* [London, 1996]).

The decision to make rape, inflected by caste, the driving force in the film precipitates a host of additional minor and major falsifications too numerous to detail (but see the review by Madhu Kishwar, *Manushi* 84 [September–October 1994]: 34–37). The result is a further mythologization of a persona that had already experienced extensive deification in local legend and the popular press by the mid-1980s. Sadly, this artistic choice prevents Kapur from seriously exploring the transformation of Phoolan into Phoolan Devi (the honorific "Devi" literally means "goddess") into Bandit Queen, which would have endowed the characters with greater depth and the narrative with some badly needed nuance and complexity. Instead, we are presented with a one-dimensional protagonist, a sexually wronged woman hell-bent on revenge—a kind of rampaging Kali cleverly styled to suit both Western and Indian action-drama appetites. Phoolan Devi thus becomes a goddess who acts out a well-worn myth of redemption through violence and vengeance. And, as with other myths, when the film approaches closure, the unreality of the plot overwhelms it: a desperate Phoolan Devi, fleeing a take-no-prisoners police dragnet and on the brink of physical collapse in a bleak, ravine-pitted landscape, is able to conjure up a politically star-studded surrender before a cheering crowd of thousands and to dictate terms regarding land and jobs for her family members, police protection, and special prison conditions for herself and her fellow bandits. The surrender spectacle, complete with pre-conditions, really occurred; the depiction of her desperate flight, however, is pure fiction. In fact, she kept the police forces of two state governments guessing where she was until the end.

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The film works better as historical fiction, particularly when Kapur looks beyond the travails of Phoolan Devi to evoke the culture of banditry in the north Indian hinterlands. In depicting outlaw worship of Hindu deities and propitiation at local shrines, Kapur begins to examine one way bandits have coped with difficult circumstances and bound themselves to settled village society despite their unsettled, peripatetic existence. In the colonial era, the imperfect perception of this kind of religious symbolization of crime rooted in local belief and practice gave rise to fantastic imaginings among the nineteenth-century British public about secret Indian *thuggee* cults devoted to sacrificial murder to appease an insatiable, libidinous goddess. The Western fascination with *thuggee* produced a varied post-Victorian literature as well, including James Sleeman's *Thug; or, A Million Murders* (London, 1933), John Masters's *The Deceivers* (New York, 1952), and George Bruce's *The Stranglers: The Cult of Thuggee and Its Overthrow in British India* (London, 1968). Kapur seems equipped to comment on the religious and cultural dimensions of banditry and to dismantle and reassemble the *thuggee* genre in the process. But, although he makes a respectable beginning here, he fails to rise sufficiently above the fray. His energies are dissipated elsewhere, namely, in replacing one angry goddess (Kali) with another (Phoolan Devi).

The fact that *The Bandit Queen* does not stand up as history and is only equivocally successful as historical fiction does not mean, however, that it is not historically significant. With all its flaws, the very fact that this film, replete with blunt depictions of sex, violent or otherwise, and a heavy use of several all-too-common vernacular profanities (usually alluding to sex with one's mother or sister), has been shown in India is altogether remarkable, given the ridiculously antiquated censorship restrictions there. Its collection of images and sounds will reverberate in collective Indian memory for years to come—and none more so than that of a bloodied, raped, and beaten Phoolan, stripped naked by a bandit boss and forced to fetch water from the village well, with the entire village looking on in deafening silence. Finally, this may well be the first serious Indian, and Indian-made, drama devoid of the usual "Bollywood" (Bombay + Hollywood) song-and-dance routines and boilerplate *masala* plot to achieve both critical success in the West and box-office (and video) success in India.

For better or worse, Indian film has entered a new era. One could say this of Indian politics, too, inasmuch as the real Phoolan Devi was this year elected to parliament from a constituency not far removed from her home in the ravines of north-central India. As with Mahatma Gandhi, to whose image she insisted on symbolically surrendering in 1983 (along with that of the goddess Durga, the benevolent manifestation of Kali), whose own life has been mythologized in film by director Richard Attenborough (*Gandhi*, 1982) only to be examined in closer detail by Shyam Benegal (*The Making of the Mahatma*, 1996), we probably have not seen the last of the Bandit Queen on the silver screen.

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The Gate of Heavenly Peace. Produced by Peter Kovler, Orville Schell, and Lise Yasui; directed by Richard Gordon and Carma Hinton; screenplay by John Crowley and Geremie Barmé. 1995; color; 180 minutes. Copyright Long Bow Group, Inc.

This documentary is a powerful and engaging visual history of the Chinese pro-democracy student movement that occupied Tiananmen Square in the spring of 1989, which figured large in China's century-long quest for modernity and has rightfully received extensive, multidisciplinary attention from historians, political scientists, sociologists, and others. When one is watching the individual faces and the collective behavior unfolding in front of the camera, however, the questions raised far exceed any adequately answered by existing theory. Why did

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those pro-democracy, presumably anticommunist, protesters sing the "International" as well as rock songs from Taiwan to express themselves? Why did they use traditional Chinese language, highly concise and full of hints, as well as English, once regarded as a Western bourgeois language, on their banners? What did they really want, and for what were they willing to sacrifice so much? They are the same people who sat in my classes when I was teaching modern Chinese history at a university in Shanghai in the early half of the 1980s. Yet I dare not claim that I understand them. What cultural, social, and political elements went into the making of such a fascinating generation in post-Mao China?

The power of the images is undeniable. From the May 4th Movement of 1919 to the present day, the historical footage packed into this three-hour film gives the audience an extraordinary sense of continuity, unified by the persistent theme that student demonstration has long been a vanguard force, the signal for dramatic change in Chinese politics. Yet the footage itself also illuminates a fundamental difference between the demonstrations of May 4, 1919, and June 4, 1989: the former was inspired by concerns of foreign incursion, the latter by domestic problems. If it only took a sense of ethnic identity for a student in 1919 to participate in the movement, it demanded political sophistication and ideological clarity for a protester in 1989 to articulate what he or she wanted and how to go about getting it. The protesters' dilemma was especially acute because their target was a regime torn between a reformist agenda and a conservative one, and the reformist faction in the government at some points seemed to be gaining ground. Although the filmmakers intend to give the audience a list of the motives of the demonstrators, ranging from economic frustration to disgust over official corruption, the complexity and ambiguity of the students' motivations are made evident by the images themselves: in the interviewees' body language, reinforced by their words after the events. Real-life images transcend any interpretive framework necessary to organize the materials. That is the beauty of *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, which tapped an unusually rich resource of 250 hours of archival footage, interviews with participants, and television video materials.

Due to the gathering of the world's media in Beijing for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit on May 15, the student movement became one of the best filmed historical dramas of all time. *The Gate of Heavenly Peace* provides a day-by-day chronicle that is comprehensive, thorough, and well paced. The film places proper emphasis on the major twists and turns of the events, such as the imposition of martial law and the students on hunger strike. Focusing on the period from April 15, the day the reform-minded and deposed Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang died and the students first gathered in Tiananmen Square, to June 4, the day the hardliners in the regime ordered the military crackdown and the hot blood of many students, workers, and bystanders washed over Beijing, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace* is a wonderful visual addition to the existing literature on the subject for students of modern China as well as any concerned viewers.

The filmmakers, however, are not dispassionate compilers of a chronology, nor are they headline-news reporters. They interpret the movement with passion and intellectual vigor as much as they record the unfolding events. The film demonstrates how history differs from chronology, a quality documentary from a flashy news report. *The Gate of Heavenly Peace* convincingly shows that the leadership of the movement was divided, and that the popular and dominant leaders were, unfortunately, irrational radicals, especially Chai Ling, who refused to make a strategic retreat from Tiananmen Square while the reformist faction in the government was still in power. In an interview on the eve of the massacre, Chai Ling claimed that what she really hoped for was the bloodshed of the students in a government crackdown so that a nationwide uprising would topple the regime. By using this interview extensively, the film suggests that, had the student leadership been moderate and rational, the massacre could have been avoided, and China's democracy movement might have had a more promising future. This theme has made the film extremely controversial, and, especially since its showing on PBS's *Frontline*, angry voices from the Chinese exile community have denounced the film and its directors as loudly as the Beijing government.

The filmmakers, however, are not the first or the only ones to hold the argument that the polarizing approach of both sides made the tragedy inevitable. Many scholars, observing the divisions within the student leadership as well as in the government, have formed opinions similar

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to that of the filmmakers. For instance, Tang Tsou uses theories of collective behavior, rational choice, the strategy of conflict, and game theory to explain the 1989 events (*Twentieth-Century Chinese Politics: From the Perspective of Macro-History and Micro-Mechanism Analysis* [Hong Kong, 1994]). One of Tsou's findings is that the kind of two-sided confrontation in the spring of 1989 is nothing new; it is deeply rooted in the traditions of Chinese political culture. Tsou's arguments are convincing in light of Chai Ling's behavior. Her "binary" approach and intolerant attitude of "if you are not with me, you are against me" is well documented in the film; she claims on record that the rival faction of students were government "agents." And it becomes clearer in the debate over the film, when she attacked the filmmakers as co-conspirators of the Beijing regime (Jerry White, "Squaring Off over Tiananmen: Critics Clamor at the Gate of Heavenly Peace," *The Independent*, January–February 1996). It is more dismaying to hear Chai Ling denouncing her fellow students and sympathizers in such vicious terms than to hear her calls for martyrdom in 1989. The latter may be attributed to a "siege mentality"; this was not necessarily her normal state of mind, nor did it really capture the feelings of the majority of the students who stayed to the last minute. Their refusal to retreat might also have stemmed from underestimating how brutal the government could be. It may also be argued that they faced a fatal dilemma, caught between carrying out a strategy of compromise and maintaining popular support among those gathered in the square, the immediate power base of the student leaders. In this sense, the radicalism of the student leaders might well be an inescapable casualty of the hot-headedness of the mass participants, whose resentment of the system continued to mount and whose euphoria was encouraged by the division and hesitation of the government.

In retrospect, it can be seen that student-protest movements in China never produced political leaders directly, in the way, for example, the Polish Solidarity movement did. If a student movement signified a crisis, the political leaders who emerged thereafter tended to be the ones who acted behind the scenes, attending to the building of the movement's institutional strength and enduring social contingency (by promising land to the landless peasants, for instance), not through self-sacrifice. They also tended to be shrewd politicians who not only had the "tiger spirit" (*hugi*) but also the "monkey spirit" (*hougi*), to borrow Mao Zedong's analogy. They were not martyrs. In this sense, the arguments about what the student leaders could have done sound not only like an untestable hypothesis but also like wishful thinking. The students and their leaders have left their marks on history, but the leaders of a democratic China are yet to be found, and perhaps are not yet born.

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EUROPE

Land and Freedom. Produced by Rebecca O'Brien; directed by Ken Loach; screenplay by Jim Allen. 1996; color; 110 minutes. English and Spanish. Distributor: Gramercy Pictures.

An elderly man, a victim of a heart attack, collapses in a drab council flat in Liverpool, the building's stairwell a canvas for the banal graffiti of ideological contention. So begins director Ken Loach's new film. This is familiar terrain for Loach. Since *Cathy Come Home* (1966) and *Up the Junction* (1967), his early work for BBC television, as well as feature films such as *Poor Cow* (1967) and *Kes* (1969), his subject has been British working-class life, his style summed up by the well-intentioned, occasionally dismissive critical cliché "gritty realism." *Land and Freedom*

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is something of a departure, however, shifting the arena of action to Civil War Spain, the memory of which still stirs passions sixty years after the war's outbreak, and nowhere more fiercely than among the Left, as the howls of protest that have greeted this film testify.

The film tells the story of David Carne (Ian Hart), a young working-class Communist volunteer in the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista) militia. (Readers will note the similarity between David's experience and that of George Orwell as related in *Homage to Catalonia*, the film's literary precursor.) After David's death, his teenage granddaughter discovers a battered suitcase filled with a lifetime's accumulation of Left literature as well as the letters he wrote home from Spain to his fiancée. These letters provide the film's voiceover narration, a clunky device at best. Reading the letters, however, becomes as much an education for the granddaughter as the war had been for David, which is important to Loach's purpose.

David begins the film a naïf, and one who in addition bears his share of the prejudices of his class. Pitched into the conflict after the most elementary military training, he assumes that the women in his unit at the Aragon front are whores rather than comrades in arms. Quickly disabused of this idea by Blanca (Rosana Pastor), an anarchist militant, he receives his first lesson in Spanish realities: for many, especially in Catalonia, the stronghold of the powerful CNT-FAI (Confederacíon Nacional del Trabajo, the anarchist labor federation, and the Federacíon Anarquista Ibérica, the ideological arm of the anarchist movement), the struggle is more than simply a war against the nationalist forces of Franco and his fascist allies; the struggle is also the social revolution to overturn the organization of production, social hierarchy, patriarchal attitudes, the centralization of power, the ascendancy of the church, and much else. David lives to rue his remark in a letter home that he is "not in a communist brigade, but it doesn't matter 'cos we're all fighting the same enemy."

If Loach smooths over the divisions between the POUM and the CNT-FAI—and never explains how a Communist Party member ends up with anarchists in a POUM militia unit in the first place—his film vividly dramatizes what divided them from the Soviet-backed forces on the Republican side. Therein lies the source of the scorn with which this film has been greeted by many veterans of the International Brigades. The price of Soviet support for the Republicans, dangerously isolated by the arms embargo and neutrality policy of Western powers, was the dismantling of the anarchist collectives, the centralization of political authority, and the dissolution of the militias in favor of a Popular Army.

The open conflict over these issues is foreshadowed in a fifteen-minute scene of extraordinarily compelling filmmaking. After David's unit liberates a village, a meeting convenes in the house of the local landowner. Although all agree on the confiscation and collectivization of Don Julian's land, disagreements arise over how far the process should extend: Pepe, a tenant farmer, rejects the idea that land he has improved through his own labor should be collectivized; tenant farmers and tradesmen are anti-fascist, a villager points out, but collectivization will pit them against the peasants; it is more important to win the war than toe an ideological line, argues another. What makes this scene such a triumph—and central to the conflict the film explores—is how Loach embeds the idealism of an essentially local struggle in the broader geopolitical framework of the mid-1930s without any loss of dramatic tension. (Notably, many of the villagers cast in this scene were locals, not professional actors.) Think beyond the village, Gene Lawrence (Tom Gilroy), an American militia volunteer, argues; the Spanish people are fighting not just Franco but Germany and Italy, too; their slogans must be moderated to avoid alienating the capitalist powers. Who are you trying to appease? challenges another—ideas are the basis of this revolution. All the debate means nothing unless Franco is defeated, Gene counters; everything must be subordinated to that.

Sent to Barcelona to convalesce after a rifle backfires and injures him (the filmmakers do not belabor the metaphor), David resolves to join the Popular Army, whose corrosive effect on the revolutionary will of the population Blanca fears. To her, his decision is a betrayal of the cause and evidence of his Stalinism. David is caught up in the May events of 1937 in Barcelona and participates in the assault on the anarchist-controlled telephone exchange, a signal event in the breakdown of relations between the anti-Stalinist Left and Soviet-backed forces on the Republican side. For David, the experience is an epiphany, confirming his growing doubts about

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the direction party policy is taking and the motives underpinning it. When he returns to his unit at the front, the evidence of the new order is inescapable: Blanca, like the other women, is no longer allowed in combat but is confined to cooking, nursing, and driving—in her words, to "know my place as a woman."

The inevitable final confrontation descends, alas, into melodrama. After reinforcements fail to arrive during a skirmish with Nationalist forces, the militia is confronted by a company of Popular Army troops, whose commander—his demeanor and groomed professionalism recalling an officer of Franco's forces captured by the militia in an earlier scene—informs them that the POUM has been accused of conspiring with the fascists and declared illegal, that their unit is disbanded, and that some of them face arrest. Insofar as this is Blanca's story as much as David's, her murder by the Popular Army during the ensuing melee represents the defeat of idealism and the triumph of discipline and hierarchy—a triumph symbolically sealed by Gene, an erstwhile comrade and now an army officer, who commands outraged militia members, "Obey orders."

Most remarkable about *Land and Freedom* is its serious treatment of a part of the Spanish Civil War that has been largely elided from popular memory. Unabashedly partisan in his sympathies, Loach has captured the spirit of a popular movement amid the confusion of war and has rehabilitated elements on the Left, who, with all their faults, have been long neglected. A fine film, then: two clenched fists raised, if not two thumbs up.

Stephen Cole *University of California, Berkeley*

Anne Frank Remembered. Produced, written, and directed by Jon Balir. 1995; color; 122 minutes. United Kingdom. English, Dutch, and German, with English subtitles. Distributor: Dylan Leiner, Sony Pictures Classics, 550 Madison Avenue, 8th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10022.

Under the Domim Tree [*Ets ha-domim tafus*]. Produced by Gila Almagor and Eltan Evan; directed by Eli Cohen; screenplay by Eyal Sher, based on a story by Gila Almagor. 1994; color; 102 minutes. Hebrew with English subtitles. Distributor: Strand Releasing, 225 Santa Monica Blvd., Suite 810, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401.

In one respect, the two films discussed here are closely related, for both are devoted to the fate of children in and after the Holocaust, that is, to the most innocent and troubling victims and survivors of genocide. One is about a Jewish girl who did not survive the Holocaust but left a record of her life under Nazi rule; the other is about children who survived without any record of their pre-Holocaust existence. In another respect, however, these two films are worlds apart, not only in the geographical sense but also in their structure, tone, and message.

Anne Frank Remembered is a documentary on the widely known case of an upper middle-class German Jewish family who moved to Amsterdam after Hitler's "seizure of power," hid for two years in an ingeniously constructed attic in the heart of the city following the German occupation of the Netherlands, and in the end was denounced and deported to Auschwitz. Told more or less from the point of view of Anne, whose diary was subsequently published by her father, the sole survivor of the family, the film includes some original footage, readings from Anne's diary, and, most interesting, interviews with people who had known the family at various stages of its ordeal. The cinematic reconstruction of this heart-rending tale, however, is marred by several faults.

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First, despite its documentary character, the film contains numerous historical inaccuracies. To cite just a few, it is claimed that Hitler was elected as chancellor (he was nominated by President Hindenburg), that Germany conquered Romania and Bulgaria in 1940, and that Mauthausen was a death camp. More serious, perhaps, the film fails to provide a meaningful discussion of Dutch behavior during the occupation and its impact on the fate of the Jews. As we know, Dutch Jewry was well integrated in the Netherlands, yet the vast majority of Jews living there (both citizens and refugees) were deported to the death camps. The Dutch were among the first to protest against the occupation and the persecution of the Jews, and many of them helped their Jewish neighbors. Yet there was also a great deal of collaboration with the Nazis, as some Dutch historians have conclusively shown (de Jong, Blom, de Keiser, de Haan, and van Vree). Since all this is lacking from the film, the story of the Franks seems to be happening in a vacuum.

Indeed, *Anne Frank Remembered* cannot quite make up its mind what it is actually about. Since the diary is well known, it is used sparingly; and, because the general outlines of the "Final Solution" are by now well documented, the historical context within which the Franks lived and perished is rapidly (and inaccurately) dispensed with. Consequently, the viewer has to be content with snapshots (metaphorical and real) of a bright and spoiled little girl growing up in a typical bourgeois family, harrowing and disjointed interviews with survivors of the camps that are only loosely integrated into the narrative, and chats with schoolmates, neighbors, and colleagues that are occasionally fascinating but nevertheless not employed by the filmmaker to give us any insight into what motivated some to risk their lives to save Jews and others to denounce them.

What I find most disturbing about the film is its triumphal ending. Precisely because its goals are unclear, the film concludes with an optimistic, uplifting tone. Anne was, of course, murdered, but her diary became the greatest bestseller of the Holocaust, and, at least in retrospect, she is loved by the whole world. The film does not even try to ask why the diary was such a success. After all, the last harrowing sections of the film, which deal with the family's fate in the camps, are not part of the diary. One might argue that Anne's writings became so popular just because they spared the readers all the horrifying details of the Holocaust. One could read about a little girl's dreams and aspirations, quarrels and loves, fears and hopes, without being subjected to accounts of her physical and mental torture by the Nazis along with so many hundreds of thousands of other Jewish children. Had the film attempted to inquire into the relationship between Anne Frank's life and death and the popularity of her diary, that is, the horrifying historical event and the desire of the reading public to be given only the most convenient and comforting version of it, *Anne Frank Remembered* might have put the interesting material it has amassed to much better use. Instead, it offers us a triumphant tale of initial suffering and eventual redemption.

Under the Domim Tree is almost the precise opposite of the Anne Frank story. It is concerned with an episode few people outside Israel know, indeed, one that even in Israel itself has been repressed for many years by almost all participants, only to resurface recently with all the pain and sorrow of a long-unarticulated trauma. It could also have been a tale of triumph, since it is about those who survived; in fact, this is the way the story has been told in Israel for many decades. But it is in many ways a tale of failure, misunderstanding, and thwarted intentions. For this reason, this semi-biographical film has something more authentic about it than the documentary on Anne Frank.

The film is a sequel to Gila Almagor and Eli Cohen's *The Summer of Aviya*, reviewed in these pages in October 1994. It tells the story of a group of teenagers in an Israeli kibbutz in the early 1950s. All the boys and girls, with the exception of Aviya, are Holocaust survivors of Polish extraction who had lost their families in the camps. Some 300,000 such children were raised in educational institutions in kibbutzim to become (at least quasi) Sabras: Jews born in Israel or the pre-state *Yishuv* in Palestine. The education of these children was geared to erasing their pre-immigration identity and transforming them into "new Jews" in accordance with the Zionist ideal. While the Israeli teachers believed this to be the best way to help these orphans rebuild their lives, their educational program was also strongly informed by a Zionist agenda that totally rejected the Diaspora and strove to burn the bridges connecting these children (and older immigrants as well) to the world they had left behind, a world that had in any case been largely destroyed by the Nazis. But, for these teenagers, even as they tried mightily to erase all traces of

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Diaspora characteristics (*galutiyut*) from their thoughts and manners, this lost universe was also the world of their childhood and, most important, of their parents. The film sensitively sketches this conflict by way of several discrete episodes, and it is largely successful in giving us a glimpse into the souls of these teenagers, caught between the world they had lost, the world they have still not wholly become part of, and the more mundane crises of entering maturity.

The central focus of the film, both physical and metaphorical, is the domim tree, a lone tree on a stony hilltop to which these teenagers retire when in a state of psychological turmoil. The name of the tree is derived from a play of words on the Polish term for orphanage (*dom* for house), and the Hebrew words "still" (*dom*), "silence" (*dumiya* or *demamah*), and "similar" (*domeh*). The Hebrew title for the film, "The Domim Tree Is Taken Up" (*Ets ha-domim tafus*), refers to the group's unspoken agreement that whoever is overcome by thoughts about "there" (*sham*), which for them means Poland, family, the Holocaust, may go up to the tree and should not be disturbed (a rare privilege in a crowded communal setting). At the end of the film, the Dutch gardener of the kibbutz (and a former resistance fighter) accomplishes an impossible mission when he succeeds in planting a field of tulips around the tree. The beauty of the foreign flower in the barren soil implies not only that the Zionist dream of "making the desert bloom" has come to fruition but that the desert is blooming with a foreign flower reminiscent of the lost world of Europe. The domim tree is "taken up" by the ephemeral (and fictitious) beauty of life before the Holocaust and is inhabited by the blossoming hopes of young, shattered lives in a young, rough, and still uncomprehending land.

Anne Frank Remembered, despite its good intentions, is largely an example of how not to represent the Holocaust, containing all the kitsch and clichés of a certain genre of documentaries on the period while telling us little that is unknown or important. Conversely, *Under the Domim Tree*, precisely because it is not about the Holocaust itself but rather on the manner in which it shattered the lives of its survivors and injected itself even into the one Jewish community that had believed itself to be immune to its traumas, is an excellent example of how one can indeed represent what some would like to describe as an ineffable phenomenon. It is not a perfect film; the acting is at times wooden, the filming somewhat primitive, the text occasionally jarring. But it should be watched by anyone wishing to understand not only the horrific damage the Holocaust inflicted on a whole generation but also how this became part and parcel of Israeli mentality, phobias, and repressions.

Omer Bartov *Rutgers University*

After the Velvet Revolution. Produced, written, and directed by Tom Weidlinger. 1993; color; 58 minutes. Distributor: The Video Project.

The Death of Aleš Martinů. Produced by Gary Keith Griffin, Randall Blair, and Josef Lustig; directed by Gary Keith Griffin. 1993; color; 28 minutes. Distributor: The Video Project.

These two documentary films examine Czechoslovakia after its Velvet Revolution of November 1989. The relatively short length of the films, however, restricts the selection of images and issues and thereby limits their interpretations of events. Both films rely on images and personal impressions rather than analysis to convey the nuances and complexities of Czechoslovakia in the early 1990s.

After the Velvet Revolution interviews seven Czechoslovak citizens in 1990 and 1991 and again a year or two later to see how they fared after the end of Communism. The film effectively uses

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the individual stories to give some background on 1968, the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, and the economic consequences of the transition. Because the film was made so soon after the transition, it emphasizes uncertainty. A sense of bewilderment or even betrayal is conveyed by the fact that most of the individuals in the film experienced the idealism and hope of the Velvet Revolution only to find the gritty reality of transition more difficult than they had expected. To quote from one of Václav Havel's speeches in the film, people felt "ambushed by freedom."

The characters include Saša Florian and her husband Svatoslav, who had published an opposition newsletter before 1989. They are shown in 1990 with a new baby, whom both parents see as a sign of their hope for a freer and more secure future. A few years later, however, they have lost the small private business they had established and decided to move back to Svatoslav's hometown. Michael Kocáb was a rock and roll star and political activist, a member of the Federal Parliament, and an entertainment promoter who became one of Czechoslovakia's first millionaires. Despite his success, he expresses a sense of nostalgia for the old days. Martin Mejstřík was a student leader who has difficulty finding his place in the new society. He is interviewed with his girlfriend, first living in a squatters' apartment in Prague, then moving into a more permanent dwelling, and finally finding work as a teacher. The Mošna family are farmers who chose to reclaim their land from the cooperative farm. The daughter, Květa, is co-founder of an association of private farmers, a role that emphasizes the importance of associational activity in developing a "civil society" in Czechoslovakia. The images of farm life are presented romantically, most notably when Květa lovingly handles grain from the family's first private harvest.

Even though a few Communists are interviewed, they are presented on the periphery. Miroslav Štěpán, a Politburo member, is first seen being shouted down by workers at the ČKD factory in Prague. His short interview shows him as a clumsy self-promoter, imprisoned after 1989 but nevertheless likely to make it under the new system. A second Communist figure is the father of university student Nataša Dudinská. Nataša carries a burden of personal guilt over the fact that her father's political pull helped her to gain admission to the university. One is left with the impression that the sins of the fathers are being visited upon their children.

Perhaps the most striking omission in the film occurs in its portrayal of Czech-Slovak relations and the Slovak movement for independence. Only one of the seven individuals whose lives are examined is a Slovak. Jana Šípišová is a supporter of democratic Czechoslovakia, and she and others complain bitterly about the lack of a referendum on the separation of the state. What is not noted is that the Czech and Slovak parliamentary elections held in 1992 were in fact a referendum on both economic reform and the question of Slovak independence. In a consistently negative portrayal of Slovak nationalism, viewers learn that "some Slovak politicians saw a way to manipulate people's fears to fuel their own political ambition," that Slovak independence "could mean the return of communism to Slovakia," that "emotional appeals to national pride were irresistible," and that "within a few months [of independence] ... people would be disillusioned with their new leaders." Although each of these statements may have some validity, no supporter of Slovak independence is interviewed to provide another perspective.

The Death of Aleš Martinů tells the story of a confrontation between a group of Czech skinheads and sculptor Pavel Opočenský, who had lived in New York City for thirteen years before returning to Czechoslovakia after 1989. In the conflict, Opočenský killed seventeen-year-old Aleš Martinů with a knife. The film interviews Aleš's friends, his father, and Opočenský. Each tells his version of what happened, but those stories are less important than the impressions created of the great gulf that separates the world and ideas of the skinheads from those of Opočenský.

Skinheads are shown attacking punks and drinking in their favorite pub. They attempt to explain their ideas, claiming that they are protecting society against criminal elements such as Gypsies. Aleš's father, Miroslav Martinů, indicates that he is proud that his son stood up against the lies of society. Although the film is able to express the frustration and alienation of the young people interviewed, it mentions only briefly some of the reasons why they feel such hostility toward other races and "outsiders." Among these are unemployment (not a serious problem in Prague, where the video was made), crime, political instability, fear, and the relaxation of social constraints associated with a free society. Also presented visually but not analyzed directly is the

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social gulf between the (apparently) working-class skinheads and the (apparently) well-to-do sculptor. The case of Martinů's death has not yet been resolved, since Opočenský appealed a conviction of manslaughter in hopes of a verdict of not guilty.

Together, these two films provide an interesting view of changes in Czechoslovakia in the early 1990s. They also offer surprisingly gendered interpretations. No women are interviewed in *The Death of Aleš Martinů*, although Aleš's mother and sister are shown viewing the body and attending a memorial service. This omission fits with the masculine image of the skinheads. *After the Velvet Revolution* is somewhat ambiguous in its portrayal of women. Although the female characters speak their own minds, they are shown in relationship with their husbands, fathers, or brothers. Only Slovak Jana Šípišová is portrayed independently of male family members. And, in the end, she is the one character who has lost all her hopes for Czechoslovak democracy.

The fragile hope and search for meaning of *After the Velvet Revolution* and the crude racist comments of the skinheads in *The Death of Aleš Martinů* are effective largely because they are set against an idealistic image of the Velvet Revolution. The challenge for future filmmakers and historians is to examine exactly how and to what extent that image is valid.

Catherine Albrecht *University of Baltimore*

Ulysses' Gaze [*To Vlemma tou Odyssea*]. Produced and directed by Theo Angelopoulos; screenplay by Theo Angelopoulos, with Tonino Guerra and Petros Markaris. 1995; color; 177 minutes. Greece/France/Italy. English and Greek. Distributor: Roissy Films, Paris.

This film (which won the Grand Prize at the Cannes Film Festival in 1995), the most autobiographical and contemporary of the renowned Athens-born director Theo Angelopoulos's ten remarkable examinations of the human condition, celebrates the centennial of cinema in a Balkan setting. "A" (Harvey Keitel), a Greek-born filmmaker working in the United States, returns after many years to Florina, his birthplace in northern Greece, for a screening of one of his controversial films. The opening sequence uses dialogue from Angelopoulos's own previous feature, *The Suspended Step of the Stork* (1991), spoken by Marcello Mastroianni and heard over the loudspeakers in the street, where the film is being projected over angry protests from demonstrators: "We've crossed the border, but here we still are. How many borders must we cross before we reach home?" The dark streets are quickly overtaken by groups of chanting, umbrella-carrying protesters, as violent confrontation with armed riot police threatens.

This portentous scene sets the stage for the journey at the heart of this three-hour epic, in which the protagonist sets forth on a quest for some missing reels of the first film shot by brothers Miltiades and Yannakis Manakias, Greek-born filmmakers who traveled throughout the Balkans in the early days of cinema. For sixty years, they recorded weddings and funerals, state visits and village life, in works that included *The Hanging of Macedonian Insurgents against the Ottoman Empire* (1907) and *Weavers in Avdella, A Greek Village* (1905), ostensibly the first film ever made in the Balkans. Bearing witness to the diversity of life in the region without regard to ethnic, religious, or national boundaries, their films—as A sees it—emphasize cultural similarities rather than differences among the Balkan peoples, attested by clips that resonate with the sense of wonder characteristic of early cinematic experiments, now so markedly at odds with images of interethnic violence from the recent Bosnian conflict.

Crosscuts between past and present enable the director to integrate the narrative threads that structure *Ulysses' Gaze*. When A reaches the original home of the Manakias brothers in Monastiri (Greek Macedonia), his rapt gaze becomes part of a 1956 documentary about the

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filmmakers made in Yugoslavia. In that documentary, Miltiades Manakias states: "See this street? All the armies of Europe have trudged through it. And with each war they changed its name. Now it's called Marshall Tito Street. But we called it Forty Pianos Street."

A engages a Greek taxi driver (played by the Greek comic actor Thanassis Vengo) to take him to the Sarajevo film archive where the mythic reels are thought to have been deposited. As they reach Albania, the driver laments, "We are a dying people . . . we've completed our appointed cycle. Three thousand years among broken stones and statues, and now we are dying." Together, they traverse the Balkans from Albania to Skopje (ex-Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia), from Bucharest to the Black Sea port of Constantsa (Romania), toward Belgrade, and, finally, through Bosnia to Sarajevo. The film registers an iconography of dislocation: desolate landscapes and displaced refugees carrying baggage, waiting endlessly to cross yet another border. This latter-day odyssey suggests an homage to both Homer and Plato, evoking as it does contemplative reverie and contested geographical borders, chapters of Balkan history and individual memory.

When the Skopje film archive cannot supply the missing reels, past and present again merge, as A learns that the Manakias brothers were condemned to death by Bulgarian officials in 1915, accused of treason and terrorism. Meanwhile, at each turning point in his odyssey, he encounters a woman from his past (all played by the Romanian actress Maia Morgenstern). Each embodies a lost or potential love and a mythological character from *The Odyssey*: Penelope, Kali (Calypso), Circe, and Nausikaa. As Kali, this woman accompanies him to Constantsa for a family reunion celebrating New Year's Eve 1950. This brilliant sequence encompasses five years in a single, continuous shot, a tour de force of cinematic strategy that links the generations of A's family as they receive permission to leave for Greece. A has now totally identified with the legendary Manakias brothers. Awakening in a modern hotel, he observes a monumental statue of Lenin being lowered onto a Romanian barge to be sold in Germany and transported up the Danube (itself a border between Bulgaria and Romania, Romania and Serbia), a magnificent traveling shot symbolizing the end of an era.

At last in Sarajevo (the final sequence was shot in Mostar, Vukovar, and Krajina), A sees a silent, destroyed city where the old Jewish archivist Ivo Levy (Erland Josephson) is attempting to restore the lost reels in a bombed-out film archive. An orchestra of young Serbs, Croats, and Muslims plays festive music to accompany a theatrical production of *Romeo and Juliet* in progress. For a joyous moment, parents and children dance along the riverbank, until sniper fire crackles in the fog. A utters a long cry of grief for the victims.

Shot in English over a two-year period under severe wartime conditions, and enhanced by an evocative Balkan musical score composed by Elleni Karaindrou, *Ulysses' Gaze* is also the first film Angelopoulos has made outside Greece. In this challenging work of masterful visual composition, Angelopoulos again demonstrates the courage of an uncompromising artist who fuses history and mythology in a style far removed from that of the Hollywood narrative. In Europe, Angelopoulos is compared to such directors as Robert Bresson, Jean-Luc Godard, Michelangelo Antonioni, and Andrei Tarkovsky; Italian critics voted his *Traveling Players* (1975) the most important film of world cinema for the 1970s; and he has been hailed as a master by fellow directors Martin Scorsese, Akira Kurosawa, and Dusan Makavejev. His films are little known in the United States, however, where to date no distributor has yet bought the rights to *Ulysses' Gaze*. "Our century begins and ends in Sarajevo," says Angelopoulos; by looking back—to Greek tragedy, to Balkan history—his film invites us to remember the power of cinema on the anniversary of its first century.

Catherine Portuges *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

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Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation. Produced and directed by Paul Mitchell and Angus Macqueen. 1995; color; 370 minutes (in five parts). A BBC/Discovery Channel Co-production. Distributor: Discovery Channel.

Bosna! Produced by France 2 Cinema and Radio-TV of Bosnia-Hercegovnia; directed by Bernard-Henri Levi and Alain Ferrai; written by Bernard-Henri Levi and Gilles Hertzog. 1994; color; 117 minutes. French with English subtitles. Distributor: Zeitgeist, 247 Centre St., 2nd Floor, New York, N.Y. 10013.

Vukovar Poste Restante. Produced by Dank Muzdeka Mandzuka and Steven North; directed by Boro Drašković; screenplay by Boro Drašković and Maja Drašković. 1994; color; 96 minutes. Cyprus/Italy. Serbian/Croatian with English subtitles. Distributor: Tara Releasing, 124 Belvedere, No. 5, San Rafael, Calif. 94901.

"Our generation didn't bother to distinguish between Serbs and Croats, Orthodox and Catholics," says Anna, the heroine of Boro Drašković's *Vukovar*, on the eve of the outbreak of war in the former Yugoslavia. With despair, she adds, "Today, we're no longer blond or brunette, fat or thin, witty or romantic. We're either Croats or Serbs." Had the film been set in a Bosnian city such as Sarajevo instead of the eastern Slavonian city of Vukovar, one can imagine the character adding—or subtracting—the label "Muslim" to the identity pot.

How was it that so many inhabitants of the former Yugoslavia, a state supposedly devoid of conflicting ethnic or national identities, came so quickly to imagine themselves as members of communities of fate, bound together in suffering and perhaps destined to annihilate "other" communities? Historians will ask this question for years to come. The films reviewed here provide some of the narrative building blocks to explain this disastrous development. While none of the films provide sufficient explication, all provide graphic testimony of the horrors of the wars.

The six-hour, five-part (a sixth part covering the peace process is now in production) documentary *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* provides remarkable coverage of pivotal moments in the process leading to war and the war itself. (An accompanying book, Laura Silber and Allan Little's *Death of Yugoslavia*, 1996, reinforces the film's argument.) The film's tight focus on Yugoslavia's leaders, though unsatisfactory to those seeking the social roots of the war, is the documentary's strength. The filmmakers present a clear thesis: blame for the origins and the atrocities of the war must be placed squarely on the shoulders of these politicians. Although they argue that there is plenty of blame to be spread between the various leaders, the filmmakers indict the Serbian leadership under Slobodan Milošević most forcefully as the primary creators of the war's evils.

Death of a Nation begins by charting Milošević's rise to power. It provides stunning coverage of his 1987 trip to Kosovo, the province in southern Serbia that borders Albania. While approximately 90 percent of Kosovo's inhabitants are ethnic Albanians, the province is integral to Serbian nationalist ideology. In Milošević's words, "Kosovo isn't just any part of Serbia. It's the very heart of Serbia. All our history is in Kosovo." In Kosovo, Milošević first opportunistically embraced Serbian nationalism in order to propel his career. Speaking before an angry mob of Kosovo Serb nationalists who had recently engaged in violent clashes with Kosovo's Albanian police, Milošević tells them, "No one should dare to beat you." This slogan, captured by television cameras and broadcast on all state channels, became a rallying cry for Serbian nationalism.

Having established the political character and recounted the rise to power of the film's chief

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villain, *Death of a Nation* moves on to present the rise of the film's secondary villain, Croatia's Franjo Tudjman, only briefly detouring to examine the essentially democratic nature of contemporary developments in the northern republic of Slovenia. As the camera pans a mass rally in Zagreb, Croatia, on Palm Sunday 1990, the narrator tells us that while Milošević had been the first Yugoslav leader to inflame his people, the Serb threat "provoked the people of neighboring Croatia to respond." The crowd waves palms and carries placards emblazoned with Tudjman's visage and the slogan, "Only we decide the fate of our own Croatia." Introducing Tudjman, a speaker heralds: "On this day Christ triumphant came to Jerusalem. He was greeted as a Messiah. Today our capital is the new Jerusalem. Franjo Tudjman has come to his people." With Milošević the opportunist and Tudjman the true believer in charge of Serbia and Croatia, the descent to war, the film implies, was almost inevitable.

As the bullets and shells began to fly in Slovenia, then Croatia, and finally in Bosnia, *Death of a Nation* leaves little doubt where the principal blame for the war's atrocities must rest: Milošević and his lieutenants, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadžić, and Serbian General Ratko Mladić. Tudjman and his cohorts, especially Gojko Šušak, his minister of defense, are also cited for provoking conflict and engendering a virulent mass nationalism that emboldened Croats, albeit on a smaller scale, to conduct atrocities in Croatia and Bosnia as gruesome as those committed by the Serbs. The role of the international community and its failure to intervene on behalf of the innocent victims of the wars of the Yugoslav succession are also critically evaluated in the film. *Death of a Nation* takes the story of the Yugoslav tragedy through the Serbian mass executions of the refugees of Srebrenica in July 1995 and the Croatian assault on the Serbian-inhabited territory of the "Krajina" in Croatia and the subsequent mass exodus of Serbs from the region in August 1995. Unfortunately, the film covers these last two tragedies hastily, obviously limited by production deadlines.

Boro Drašković's *Vukovar* complements *Death of a Nation*'s top-down approach to the Yugoslav nightmare. This fictional story views the conflict from the eyes of ordinary citizens. Set in eastern Croatia, *Vukovar* is the love story of Anna, of "Croatian" descent, and Toma, of "Serbian" descent. The film thus evokes *Romeo and Juliet*, but it diverges from Shakespeare in important respects. Anna's and Toma's families and friends fully support their romance and marriage. It is the wider and, in the filmmakers' perspective, nonsensical "Croatian" and "Serbian" communities that conspire against them. Most important, the war in Yugoslavia seemingly destroys their love.

Vukovar's essential anti-war and anti-nationalist message has not prevented it from generating controversy. The Croatian government alleges that the film carries a pro-Serbian bias and for this reason prevented it from being screened at the United Nations. While even an outside observer can understand the basis for this interpretation because of the film's emphasis on the descent to ethnic violence within a Croatian community, as opposed to Serbian attacks from outside, *Vukovar* does not limit its criticism of nationalism to the Croats.

While *Vukovar* examines the impact of nationalism and the war on the everyday lives of the citizens of this mixed city, it also evaluates the protagonists' lack of ethnic or national identities and how the multinational environment of the pre-war era enabled them to transcend narrow national identification. For Anna and Toma, a restricted Croatian and Serbian national identity was unimaginable. Croatian and Serbian nationalism was an unjust interference to their giddy and romantic love, their desire to live "normal" lives together, and their dreams. In this sense, *Vukovar* is part of a larger genre of anti-war films, where protagonists characteristically ask themselves and each other, why this conflict, this war? The "enemies" are not the enemies of the protagonists but fictional constructs created by others. *Vukovar* highlights the powerlessness of the protagonists to disclaim these senseless categorizations. As the war increasingly impinges on Anna's and Toma's lives, they (especially Anna) become more and more confused about which side, if any, is "just," confused about their own identities, and confused about each other.

There is no trace of such confusion in the French philosopher Bernard-Henri Levi's propagandistic *Bosna!* For Levi, the war in Bosnia is a straightforward morality play pitting absolute good against absolute evil. *Bosna!*—a film produced in part by the state television network of Bosnia-Hercegovina—lacks any nuance. The war is a struggle between the evil forces

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of fascism, led by Milošević, Serbs allied with him, and to a lesser extent Tudjman's Croats, versus the multinational and hence anti-fascist forces of the Bosnian government, led by Alija Izetbegović.

Bosna! is a sincere, heart-wrenching plea for Western intervention on behalf of the Bosnian forces. It is supported with extremely graphic images of Serbian and Croatian atrocities. While the film's strident posture is problematic, it is thought provoking. The film suggests that attempts to portray the war in detached, even if critical, terms, as in *Death of a Nation*, provide unwitting support for war criminals and fascists. Indeed, *Bosna!* attacks the "do-nothing" policies of the West (filming was completed prior to Western intervention in 1995 leading to the Dayton peace agreement) nearly as severely as the policies of the Serbian and Croatian aggressors.

The principled and desperate cry for support and Western intervention on behalf of Bosnia's "anti-fascist" "Resistance fighters" unfortunately yields a film with multiple internal contradictions. Most important, Levi argues that Bosnia, and Sarajevo in particular, was an environment in which various ethnic identities coexisted so harmoniously that a unified identity transcended ethnicity. He stresses that Western observers usually mislabeled the forces fighting on behalf of the Bosnian government as "Muslim," when in fact they came from all three of Bosnia's ethnic groups. Having made this point, however, the film fails to reconcile this multinational solidarity with the barbarous behavior of Bosnia's own citizens. Graphic pictures presented in *Bosna!* testify that Muslim men died in Bosnia at the hands of other "Bosnians" after being forced to show that they were circumcised. Clearly, the multinational "harmony" that Levi sees in Bosnia, the "Balkan Switzerland," to the extent that it existed, was fragile. Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat "fascists" were just as much a part of the Bosnian landscape as the ethnically transcendent "Bosnians" celebrated in Levi's film.

All three films, therefore, leave the viewer wondering about the social origins of the war and the bestial atrocities ordinary Yugoslavs committed. While we need to illuminate the existence and maintenance of multinational, transnational, and anti-national identities in the former Yugoslavia, as *Vukovar* and *Bosna!* do, and while we cannot forget the pivotal role that national leaders have played in arousing nationalism, as *Death of a Nation* reminds us, films and books on the former Yugoslavia need to begin to explain the dark forces of the conflict in towns and villages, not just in the halls of power.

Langdon T. Healy *Indiana University, Bloomington*

LATIN AMERICA

Carmen Miranda: Bananas Is My Business. Produced by David Meyer with Helena Solberg; written and directed by Helena Solberg. 1994; black & white and color; 90 minutes. Distributor: Noon Pictures, 611 Broadway, No. 742, New York, N.Y. 10012 (212) 254–4118.

In 1939, Carmen Miranda stepped onto American soil, albeit in platform shoes, to showcase Brazilian music in Lee Shubert's Broadway revue *On the Streets of Paris*. She left Brazil as a cultural ambassador with the blessing of Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas, but, for many Americans, she became the "Brazilian bombshell" with the tutti-frutti hat and the funny accent, trademarks that would catapult her to a movie career in Hollywood, highlighted by blockbuster

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films such as *Down Argentine Way* (1940), *That Night in Rio* (1941), and *The Gang's All Here* (1943). Her dual role gave rise to a complex sense of identity as Miranda tried to please her American audience and simultaneously represent Brazil.

In *Carmen Miranda: Bananas Is My Business*, an unusual but compelling docudrama, Brazilian filmmaker Helena Solberg digs through the fruits and costumes to search for the "real" Carmen and to claim her for Brazil. Solberg has not created a typical historical documentary, nor does she make any claims of neutrality. Instead, she has opted for a personal approach, deconstructing Miranda the myth and paying critical attention to issues such as female and colonial identities and national pride. Although the film often emphasizes that Miranda was not a tragic figure, it is tragedy that brings her home in 1955. The opening scene of the film recreates the moment when she suffered a heart attack in her Beverly Hills home on August 5, 1955. As she falls to the ground, the mirror clenched in her hand shatters, indicating that her Hollywood existence has finally come to an end. Solberg then cuts to actual footage of Miranda's funeral in Rio de Janeiro, showing masses of Brazilians mourning her death, thereby establishing the principal themes of return and reconciliation with Brazil.

This well-edited film relies on careful placement of reenacted historical sequences, actual images and footage from the era, and interviews from the 1990s. Several of the reenactments are the director's personal dream sequences, as she attempts to pose and answer questions that have no definite answers: Who was Carmen Miranda? Why did she make such a lasting impression? What would happen to her in the hands of a foreign power? Solberg often answers these questions by making full use of sounds and images in a rather subversive manner. She relies on the performance of Brazilian Miranda impersonator Erik Barreto, for example, and frequently uses the music of Bizet's opera *Carmen* (1875) to create various moods.

Many scholars have rightly criticized Hollywood for its exploitation and stereotyping of Latin American women (see George Black, *The Good Neighbor: How the U.S. Wrote the History of Central America and the Caribbean* [New York, 1988]; Allen L. Woll, *The Latin Image in American Film* [Los Angeles, 1980]; Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* [London, 1994]), and Solberg drives this point home with several sequences that indicate limitations placed on Miranda's roles, including a song in which she sings, "I make my money from bananas" and Barreto performs dressed as a human banana. An interview with actress Rita Moreno provides a personal testimony on the same subject of stereotyping. At the same time, Solberg indicates that Miranda, a white woman born in Portugal but raised in Brazil, developed her own persona, drawing from a host of Afro-Brazilian popular forms and exaggerating them for the stage, long before coming to the United States. In essence, the film restores Miranda's complexity, arguing that she was a strong-willed individual who was willing to play the "bombshell" but who also parodied herself, as films such as *Nancy Goes to Hollywood* (1950) attest. (Playing Nancy, she was supposed to refuse to "act like Carmen.")

Miranda's popularity soared in part as a result of the "Good Neighbor Policy" in American foreign relations with Latin America (1933–1947). She became an important American icon, along with Disney's parrot Joe Carioca, both of whom represented a "South American Way," albeit constructed by Hollywood and influenced by the special Motion Picture Section of the State Department's Office of Coordination of Inter-American Affairs. John Hay Whitney, director of the Motion Picture section, often consulted Latin American experts such as Jorginho Guinlo, whom Solberg interviews in the film, to avoid creating offensive images. Whitney's success was limited at best, since many Latin American countries protested and in some cases even censored Miranda's movies. (See, for example, Martha Gil-Montero, *Brazilian Bombshell: The Biography of Carmen Miranda* [New York, 1989]).

In reclaiming Carmen Miranda for Brazil, Solberg emphasizes that Miranda was most happy when she was in Brazil or around Brazilians. It comes as no surprise that the film's major strength lies in its ability to take the viewer back to Brazil with Miranda in order to understand her history. Before moving to the United States, she already enjoyed megastar status as a performer on radio, records, and in film. She relished the Brazilian public's attention even while in Hollywood, being most hurt when critics accused her of becoming "Americanized."

These strengths notwithstanding, Solberg's film avoids several details of Miranda's life widely

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reported in the U.S. press of the time, including Miranda's miscarriage and her plastic surgery to remodel her nose, and it treats her addiction to prescription drugs only briefly. Yet the film manages to chronicle Miranda's transformation by amassing and using a myriad of sources, particularly in the period prior to her arrival in the United States. Solberg and co-producer David Meyer have unearthed clips from one of Miranda's early films (an incredible feat, given the difficulty of locating images from films made prior to 1940 in Brazil), home-movie footage, still photographs, and other footage in Brazil and the United States. Equally impressive are the interviews, which provide firsthand accounts from a diverse group of experts and journalists from the United States and Brazil; Miranda's fellow actors at Twentieth Century-Fox, Cesar Romero and Alice Faye; her sister Aurora, who performed with her in the early days in Brazil; and Brazilian friends and performers, Aloysio de Oliveira, her band leader for many years, and musicians Sinval Silva and Laurindo Almeida.

There are two drawbacks to this film. Many sequences lack important labels (dates and places, for example), which would place the scenes in historical context and help viewers distinguish between actual footage, interviews, and reenactments. While the subtitling is superb, the names and titles of the interviewees are often difficult to make out because the lettering is too small and appears on screen too quickly. This is nonetheless an important production. Solberg, a Brazilian woman and a celebrity in her own right, has previously created several masterpieces on female identity in Latin America (*The Double Day*, 1975, and *Simplemente Jenny*, 1977). In *Carmen Miranda: Bananas Is My Business*, Solberg narrates and guides the viewer through Miranda's life, while carefully interjecting elements of her own life into the narrative, thereby establishing a personal rapport with her subject. In so doing, Solberg has created our most intimate portrait of Miranda to date.

Darién J. Davis *Middlebury College*

Tango Feroz: La leyenda de tanguito. Produced by Claudio Pustelnik and Katrina Bayonas; directed by Marcelo Piñeyro; screenplay by Aída Bortnik and Marcello Piñeyro. 1993; color; 125 minutes. Distributor: Tara Releasing, 125 Belvedere, Suite 5, San Rafael, Calif. 94901.

Tango—the music, dance, and song form most associated with Argentina—anchors this compelling film. Like tangos popularized by singer Carlos Gardel in the 1920s and 1930s, *Tango Feroz* cherishes the tragic romance of a principal character and, through him, that of a nation in turmoil. But this is the Argentina of the late 1960s and early 1970s, not of the 1930s; the film substitutes a "ferocious" darkness, reflecting Argentina's descent to military rule, in place of the happy and optimistic endings of Gardel's Hollywood films—an optimism that suggested what Argentines believed was a time of brighter prospects for the nation.

This is the story of "Tango," a rock singer whose given name we do not learn until late in the movie—his nickname thus designates him as an Argentine everyman. Just as many Argentines remember the 1930s as a time of industrial growth, prosperity, and innocence, free of the grinding problems Argentina faced in the post–World War II years, so, too, Piñeyro's *Tango Feroz* offers up a rose-colored vision of pre-1974 Argentina (in cinematographic yellows) before the death squads, the mass torture, the disappearances. Tango's life is one of protest. Whereas the students around him do battle with the police and plaster the walls of the University of Buenos Aires with the posters of radical political movements, Tango is apolitical. His free spirit is ultimately destroyed by the creeping authoritarianism and commercialism that would later overwhelm the nation.

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A handful of rich historical themes inform the story and direction. The protagonist is an early exponent of *el rock nacional*, a popular music form initially derivative of American rock and roll. Sitting on a filthy urinal as he plays, Tango in music, style, and anti-authoritarian anarchy is reminiscent of The Doors; like Jim Morrison, Tango is destroyed in part, emotionally and artistically, by the production of a trivial and soupy rendition of his most important song. When he gets the joint jumping at a dignified tango club called "Glorias Argentinas," Tango gushes Elvis and the Beatles. But, just as Argentine rock evolved into a crucial and musically unique form of popular protest against military rule, Tango and his music presage the collapse of popular democracy in Argentina after 1974. At the same time, the film establishes *rock nacional* as the "tango" of its time, the people's music. In a powerful scene, Tango dances a beautifully choreographed tango after making love. It is tradition, it is dignified, it is Argentina—except that the dancers are irreverently nude.

A second important historical underpinning of the film is foreign influence, a theme at the core of the dependency-theory historiography that emerged at the time Tango is playing. Che Guevara's face adorns university walls, and students decry U.S. domination. Tango remains apart from the anti-imperial political violence, but he cannot escape its implications, because his music inspires the violent anti-Americanism. The musician is forced to face the protesters' message eventually when record producers try to Americanize him by changing his name and having him sing in English; otherwise, he is too reminiscent of Hollywood tango interpreter Rudolph Valentino, they say. Predictably, the artist will not sell out, although he consoles himself by listening to Bob Dylan.

Tango's run-ins with the police are more ominous than his experience with record producers. Here, the film excels. Comparatively, the police state is benign. But arrests are arbitrary, civil rights denied, and beatings of prisoners not uncommon. When Tango denies the police dossier's record of his past arrests, an inspector cheerily reminds him that the police do not lie. For his refusal to act as an informant for an officer appropriately nicknamed Wolf, Tango is sentenced to a long prison term. Piñeyro obliges his viewers to make uneasy and chilling comparisons with what will come only a few short years later under military rule. Although Wolf is a ruthless thug, he stops far short of the violence to come. After 1975, a generation of "Tangos" was crushed and erased without ceremony through torture and execution.

The film also adeptly frames Tango's destruction in the context of Argentinean racial prejudices and divisions that are frequently ignored in the historical literature and denied in Buenos Aires middle-class culture. The police call Tango "Negrito," a derogatory reference to his class, dark skin, and provincial origins. (The otherwise useful subtitles wrongly translate the term as "Deadbeat," only one discriminatory implication of this racist slur.) Class and race eventually come between Tango and his light-skinned partner. Moreover, in a bitter irony that underlines racial injustice in Argentina, Tango goes to prison for "attacking" a group of white, elite young people. In reality, it was Tango who was beaten viciously by the swastika-adorned neo-Nazis.

Tango's suicide in an asylum is a metaphor for the destruction of Argentine youths' freedom and innocence by the military authoritarians of the 1970s and 1980s. The film's message is poignant and effectively delivered. Though perhaps an overly idealized and romanticized portrait of the 1960s and 1970s as a time of innocence, *Tango Feroz* nevertheless reminds viewers that romancing the past is intrinsic to Argentine popular culture. Late in the film, Tango somberly discloses his prison sentence to another inmate, Angel. Angel reminds his cellmate of a famous Gardel tango that says twenty years is "nothing." Easy for Gardel to say, Tango responds, *he* spent his twenty years in Paris.

David Sheinin *Trent University*

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UNITED STATES

The Scarlet Letter. Produced by Roland Joffé and Andrew G. Vajna; directed by Roland Joffé; screenplay by Douglas Day Stewart. 1995; color; 135 minutes. Distributor: Buena Vista Pictures.

Pocahontas. Produced by James Pentecost; directed by Mike Gabriel and Eric Goldberg; screenplay by Carl Binder, Susannah Grant, and Philip LaZebnik. 1995; color animation; 81 minutes. Distributor: Buena Vista Pictures.

In 1564, John Hawkins, the first Englishman to bring African slaves to the New World, added a new crest to his family's coat of arms: a "demi-Moor captive and bound." Three decades earlier, John's less famous father, William, had himself made a pioneering voyage across the Atlantic, returning from Brazil with an exotic native "chief" to be paraded in court (and, as it happened, to be exposed to Old World contagion; he died on the voyage home). The elder Hawkins's adventures were not, alas, incorporated into the family's coat of arms, but he did earn the praise of one early twentieth-century biographer, who observed without the least hint of irony: "like his illustrious son John, [William] had a happy gift of making friends wherever he went" (Philip Gosse, *Sir John Hawkins* [London, 1930], 6).

It is one of history's sillier coincidences that the encounters inaugurated by John and William Hawkins have been reinterpreted in the late twentieth century by a Hollywood megastar calling herself "Demi Moore." The recent film adaptation of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, in which Moore stars as Hester Prynne (and appears, in the pivotal scene, captive, bound, and gagged), is not only lustily concerned with the Puritan sins of sexual repression that so occupied Hawthorne in 1850 but is also rather romantically distracted by the Puritan sins of political oppression—the treatment of Africans and Native Americans—which apparently captured the imagination of director Roland Joffé in 1995. Still more concerned with the politics of New World encounters is Disney's *Pocahontas*, which offers the tale of the Indian "princess" who "rescued" Captain John Smith as an animated musical. And, just as the Hawkins biographer insisted that John (the slave trader) and William (the kidnapper) had a "happy gift of making friends," the makers of these two films insist that their protagonists—Hester Prynne and Arthur Dimmesdale, Pocahontas and John Smith—are uniquely suited to forging successful cross-cultural relations. Goodwife Prynne inspires the dying loyalty of her mute African woman slave, "Mituba" (modeled after Tituba, of Salem witchcraft fame); Reverend Dimmesdale, here likened to the Puritan missionary John Eliot, is the "best friend" of his Algonquian interpreter, "the faithful Johnny Sassamon" (a Christian Indian who worked with Eliot); and Pocahontas and John Smith link their warring peoples by falling hopelessly in love with one another.

To be fair, neither of these films about colonial British North America makes any claim to be historically accurate: the opening credits of *The Scarlet Letter* announce that it has been "freely adapted" from Hawthorne's novel, and Disney's web homepage, "Pocahontas 101: Her Life and Legend," admits that "the real Pocahontas . . . remains shrouded in mystery to this day." In other words, *The Scarlet Letter* is only loosely based on a piece of nineteenth-century fiction, and *Pocahontas* whimsically reinterprets a legend that is at best vaguely documented and at worst entirely apocryphal. (Smith may have invented the story of his "rescue" or, more likely, simply misunderstood what happened; the rescue, if it occurred, was probably part of an Algonquian adoption ritual.)

Despite their efforts to anticipate potential criticism regarding historical accuracy, each of

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these films has met with considerable censure, if not outright dismissal, on other grounds. *Pocahontas* has been widely criticized for its shamelessness; among its gaudier promotional events, Disney staged a mammoth outdoor screening in Central Park. *The Scarlet Letter*, meanwhile, has been attacked for its dreadfulness; Anthony Lane memorably remarked that Joffé's film was " 'freely adapted from the novel by Nathaniel Hawthorne,' in the same way that methane is freely adapted from cows" (*The New Yorker*, October 30, 1995). If film critics refuse to take these films seriously, why should historians?

Perhaps the better question to ask is, do the filmmakers take us seriously? *Pocahontas* and *The Scarlet Letter* self-consciously (not to say brazenly) license themselves to adapt, enhance, exaggerate, and invent stories from and about the past, but they also explore issues central to a sizable chunk of recent historical scholarship: cross-cultural encounters, race, gender, and nature. It would be fatuous to claim that when Disney's Jamestown colonists sing, "This land we behold . . . , it all can be sold," they are mouthing arguments William Cronon made about English perceptions of land as a commodity in *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983), or that when Demi Moore's Hester Prynne insists, "My husband has sent me on ahead to prepare a place for his arrival," she is echoing Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's discussion of women acting as "deputy husbands" in *Goodwives: Images and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (New York, 1982). Fatuous, but not unutterable, for surely there is some relationship, however indirect, distant, distorted, and disturbing. Eminent historians such as Ulrich and Cronon have eloquently and subtly described a world where colonial women created networks of trade and sociability even as Puritan ministers condemned the fallen daughters of Zion, and where colonists and Indians hunted, planted, and settled in very different ways; Hollywood has imagined a world in which the women are headstrong and sexy (and own their own Jacuzzis) and Indians' woods are filled with amiable raccoons and talking trees.

There are good reasons to ridicule these two films: they are badly written, dull, and not very clever. But there are also good reasons to pay attention to their creepy familiarity. Indeed, much that is in these two films seems like a fetid distillation of recent scholarship—like history gone bad. Despite the filmmakers' disclaimers with regard to historical accuracy, both films are nevertheless powerfully interested in history. When Alan Menken and Stephen Schwartz accepted an Oscar for the musical score to *Pocahontas*, they cited the much-quoted (and probably spurious) speech of nineteenth-century Indian orator Chief Seattle as their inspiration for the song "All the Colors of the Wind," in which Pocahontas invites Smith, "Come roll in all the riches all around you, and for once, never wonder what they're worth." Menken and Schwartz had likely not read *Changes in the Land*, but they had read *something* and seemed to care about it deeply. Similarly, while I doubt that Joffé and his screenwriter Douglas Day Stewart checked *Goodwives* out of the Beverly Hills library, they did not get their Hester Prynne entirely from Hawthorne's novel. (As more than a few reviewers have suggested, they probably did not read that, either.) The list of characters in Joffé's *Scarlet Letter* reads like the "Index of People" to the Records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Some of the names have been changed, and other characters are composites; notably included are Ann Hibbens ("Harriet Hibbens") and Anne Hutchinson (the closest model for Prynne herself). Hawthorne based his novel on these real people, too. But Joffé's multicultural version adds John Sassamon, "Mituba," and the Algonquian leader Metacom. Finally, while Hawthorne's novel was set in the 1640s, the film takes place in the 1670s.

Of all these innovations, advancing *The Scarlet Letter* by several decades is the critical change, for it allows Joffé to tell his story against the backdrop of King Philip's War (1675–1676), in which Metacom (whom the English called "King Philip") led a confederation of Indians in an effort to oust the colonists from New England. Similarly, in *Pocahontas*, collapsing the founding of Jamestown (1607), Smith's subsequent captivity and "rescue," and foreshadowings of the Virginia "massacre" (1622) into a matter of days is equally crucial. Such chronological tinkering propels the final action of both films to the same place: the brink of war. In New England and in Virginia, war between the English colonists and Algonquian Indians is shown to be inevitable (although, in the Disney film, carnage is avoided at the last minute). And, in each case, only the hero and heroine rise above the conflict. Pocahontas and John Smith have the wisdom to avert the war, while Dimmesdale and Prynne hitch a wagon together and skip town while the skipping's good.

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Yet the wars themselves (and their inevitability) are just as necessary as our heroes' escapes: for all their flirting with historical fact and fiction, *Pocahontas* and *The Scarlet Letter* ultimately tell a story about the origins of our late twentieth-century selves. Smith and Pocahontas, Dimmesdale and Prynne, are presented as our Adam and Eve, transcending a violent historical legacy of racism, patriarchy, and prudery to found our more enlightened age.

In 1564, John Hawkins added a "demi-Moor" to his coat of arms to celebrate his slave-trading voyages. Centuries later, his biographer dismissed any moral evaluation of Hawkins's actions with just four words: "different times, different opinions" (Gosse, *Hawkins*, 9). Even that casual nod to the pastness of the past is infinitely more sophisticated than the way these two films tackle history. Gosse sought to exonerate Hawkins by making the past seem inaccessibly foreign; the makers of these two films seek to exonerate us by making their heroes starkly modern. Locating the origins of contemporary American gender and race relations in seventeenth-century New England and Virginia is nothing new; it was already old when Alexis de Tocqueville did it in the 1830s. But films like *Pocahontas* and *The Scarlet Letter* are sobering reminders that the story is still up for grabs.

Jill Lepore *Boston University*

Savage Acts: Wars, Fairs and Empire. Produced by Pennee Bender, Joshua Brown, Andreas Ades Vasquez, and Stephen Briar for the American Social History Project/Center for Media and Learning, the City University of New York; directed by Pennee Bender, Joshua Brown, and Andreas Ades Vasquez; written by Pennee Bender. 1995; color; 30 minutes. Video distributor: American Social History Project, Inc. (212) 966–4248.

A World on Display: The St. Louis World's Fair of 1904. Produced by Eric Breitbart and Mary Lance; written and directed by Eric Breitbart. 1994; color; 53 minutes. Video distributor: Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019 (800) 723–5552.

Since the early 1970s, encounters between anthropologists and historians have confirmed a common interest in the problem of the authority of the text. The linguistic turn in the philosophy of history and literary criticism has influenced debates about the possibilities and difficulties inherent in interpretive close readings of cultural practices and historical sources. Hayden White has argued that historical "facts" are a function of the meaning assigned to events, that the choice of story type and its imposition on events endows them with meaning. (He discusses this argument with reference to film in "The Modernist Event," in Vivian Sobchack, ed., *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television and the Modern Event* [New York, 1996], 17–38).

The documentaries under review provide an opportunity to confront official commemorations (efficacious narratives of progress) that shaped knowledge production a century ago. As politically engaged presentations, they also provoke analysis of their own impositions. The filmmakers treat similar subjects but use very different strategies and techniques to create a usable past. Alternative interpretations of the period are thus proposed and alternative meanings for the events constructed. The viewer is left with distinct historical memories.

Savage Acts decries "imperialism" as a phrase that, like "the city on a hill," "manifest destiny," and "the frontier," was used to celebrate a new phase of inevitable, righteous, and heroic expansionism. This linkage has been detailed by Western art historians, and historians of

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American foreign policy have also incorporated it. (See, for example, William H. Truettner, ed., *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier* [Washington, D.C., 1991]; Diane Shaver Clemens and Richard F. Allen, eds., *The Forging of America 1492–1904: A Cultural Diversity Reader* [New York, 1993]). *Savage Acts* declares that the acquisition of the Philippines was deemed necessary due to a need for markets in an industrializing economy at a time when the United States was threatened with social conflict. Imperialism was hence a solution to the closing of the frontier. Yet, because the only agent in this story is "the United States," this explanation is overly simplistic. Historians will demand a more detailed account of how particular economic interests (sugar and cotton producers or the National Association of Manufacturers) influenced foreign policy.

Subtle irony is communicated through quotations from the imperialist/anti-imperialist debate of the period: imperialists such as Theodore Roosevelt and Albert Beveridge linked the necessity of acquiring the Philippines to the glorious conquest of the North American continent. Anti-imperialists and Filipino nationalists, on the other hand, denied that the venture was in keeping with America's revolutionary tradition as embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Thus the filmmakers have adopted the narrative of their villains but inverted their value judgments. The Filipino adoption of America's revolutionary ideals is celebrated, and the denial of American aid to Cuban revolutionaries in 1896 is reproved.

Although I share these sentiments, there is a significant misrepresentation of the American Federation of Labor's anti-imperialism. It was, after all, informed by a racist, gendered version of class solidarity: Asiatic "coolies" threatened to undermine wages and hence the ability of American workers to keep white women from the "enslavement" of prostitution. Historians should certainly celebrate the nineteenth-century labor movement but not uncritically. An opportunity to discuss the construction of "whiteness" and masculinity in nineteenth-century culture and politics is thus ignored in favor of celebrating those who "built America." (Susan B. Anthony and William Jennings Bryan are quoted but not contextualized.)

This is unfortunate, because such a discussion would fit perfectly with a theme the filmmakers explicate particularly well. Reference is made to the anti-imperialist contention that the nation would be burdened with another "race problem." The institutionalization of Jim Crow and the pervasive lynching during this period is contextualized with the assertion by Frederick Douglass that America's only "race problem" was the moral failure of white Americans to live up to their own Constitution. This is in turn is related to letters from average soldiers likening the brutal counterinsurgency campaign in the Philippines to a "rabbit-shoot," congressional testimony on the use of water torture in Samar, the fascinating saga of black soldier David Fagan's defection to the Filipino nationalist cause, and editorials in black newspapers. That American insecurity was ameliorated and social unrest contained through discourses of racial hierarchy is the most compelling analysis provided in this film.

The world's fairs of the period are presented as attempts to ease social disruption: "The U.S. conquered distant lands, and at the same time, conquered doubts at home." The fairs provided a "new image suitable to the role of empire . . . , promoting industrialization and international trade and glorifying western culture" while depicting Filipinos as savages or children. Attention is paid to black and Native American demands to "publicize their accomplishments" and demonstrate their "advancement" in the main exhibition hall rather than the anthropological exhibits, effectively communicating the hegemony of the ideology of progress in American culture.

The narrative of *Savage Acts* is accomplished by the arrangement of an impressive compilation of primary documents, which provide a useful archive for the historian unfamiliar with the period. Primary quotations illustrate important linkages between the brutal repression of peoples of color both abroad and at home at the turn of the last century and the cooptation of a gullible public through spectacle. Most important, the protest of Filipinos is included, effectively forcing the viewer to reject the ideology that deemed them either vicious savages or "little brown brothers in need." Like other narrative documentaries, however, *Savage Acts* "compresses the past into a closed world" by presenting its texts as self-evidently illustrative of a single linear story with an uncomplicated interpretation. It elides complexities of motivation or

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causation; the narrator's trenchant tone "banishes subtlety" and thus tends to "suppress rather than raise questions." (Robert A. Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History* [Cambridge, Mass., 1995], 22, 11).

Many radical scholars committed to understanding, analyzing, and explicating the relations and structures of power in, through, and against which ordinary people live their lives are currently reconsidering the nature of the ethnographic and historical texts they create. This has stimulated critiques of literary devices and self-conscious examinations of their "embeddedness within the very structures and relations they attempt to understand" (William Roseberry, "The Unbearable Lightness of Anthropology," *Radical History Review* 65 [Spring 1996]: 6). Concurrently, historians interested in non-narrative forms of historical presentation have asserted film's potential for constructing postmodern visions of the past. The best of them, as Robert Rosenstone has pointed out, tell the past self-reflexively, in terms of what it means to the filmmaker historian. They personalize, emotionalize, and recount it from a multiplicity of viewpoints, showing not just what happened in the past but what it means to us (*Visions*, 61–64).

A World on Display questions the pretense that the screen can be an unmediated window onto the past. This film meditates on its own construction and raises questions about the evidence on which its knowledge of the past depends. The narrator deconstructs the anthropological gaze in the photography left over from the St. Louis World's Fair: photographers and anthropologists had their subjects pose for the camera, but they neglected to name individuals, choosing instead to present them as representative of racial "types." Entertainment entrepreneurs, ripping ritual out of cultural context for the sake of entertainment, went so far as to have Pueblo dwellers perform a Hopi snake dance since actual Hopi were not available.

Interviews with Americans who visited the St. Louis fair as children provide an opportunity for the viewer to confront the relationship between individual memories of these events and the "history" of them. Memory is called into question, as recollection is fused with its own contemporary interpretation by the subjects being interviewed; an implicit assertion is conveyed that the present is the site of past representation. The filmmaker, in an implicit rather than pedantic critique of the fair, refuses to create a hierarchy of his "texts." Thus one subject's memory of butterflies and boatloads of flowers, another's of the wonders of electricity, and a third's of dog-eating Igorots are given equal time. The obvious revulsion for Igorot diet that this last fairgoer continues to have is not condemned, forcing the viewer to acknowledge his or her own possible reactions under the circumstances.

Eschewing the exclusive use of omniscient narration, *A World on Display* combines these interviews with commentary from historians Robert Rydell, Niel Harris, and Zeyep Celik and anthropologist Ted S. Jojola. Rydell and Harris also avoid simple condemnations of historical actors, asking us to "imagine" what it would have been like to have been a fairgoer a century ago and encouraging multiple readings of the text. The academic experts are allowed sufficient time to develop complex readings of the 1904 fair: as a commemoration of the Louisiana Purchase centennial, a celebration of empire in the Pacific, an advertisement for American corporations and their technological prowess, boosterism for St. Louis in its competition with Chicago for control of the interior market, an indication of the process by which Americans were transformed from customers into consumers, and an anthropological spectacle narrating the civilizing process.

Rosenstone has observed that, in film, several things can occur simultaneously: image, sound, language, and text elements can both support and work against each other in order to render a realm of meaning (*Visions*, 15). When voiceover narration is used in *A World on Display*, it is not accompanied by music, allowing the viewer to concentrate on what is being said and not imposing an atmosphere. In one particularly interesting move, the editor uses the same recollection twice, once presenting the fairgoer in his living room, the second time presenting his recollection as a voiceover to photographs that were deconstructed earlier in the film. This simple yet effective device lays bare the means by which a filmmaker can impose readings of historical texts.

Visuals can also impose meaning on their own: a zoom-in to the eyes of a Filipino woman in a photograph from the fair forces the viewer to confront her gaze, which seems to this viewer to be one of both sadness and condemnation. Quotations from Geronimo's diary relating his experience of the fair provide a hint of how the people on display felt about it. Additional

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material of this type would have made the film even stronger, as ultimately it is by resurrecting and reconstructing the voice of "the other" that we may most effectively critique the excesses of imperialism, racism, and the anthropological gaze.

A World on Display is primarily about Western modes of representation, however; and, like the fair itself, it fuses entertainment and education. The entertained and educated viewer is compelled to examine his or her own education. Such examinations are especially important for historians if we want to maintain our status as mediators of past events. As 1998 approaches, interpretations of "democratic" or "progressive" imperialism and commemorations of the centennial of the war in the Philippines will probably be constructed with reference to debates that are again central to American concerns: trade policy, diplomacy, economic development, immigration, race, and cultural heterogeneity. These two films provide us with, on the one hand, a documentary archive of official responses to these questions a century ago and, on the other, a thoughtful investigation of how visual media have been, and might be, used as vehicles for thinking about our relationship to the past.

John Drabble *Koc University, Istanbul*

The Tuskegee Airmen. Produced by Bill Carraro; directed by Robert Markowitz; screenplay by Trey Ellis, Ron Hutchinson, and Paris Qualles. 1996; color; 110 minutes. Distributor: HBO Pictures.

In the last decade or so, World War II has passed from history into something like myth. The American public, most of whom were not even alive during that conflict, nonetheless have vivid images of Omaha Beach, Japanese kamikaze pilots, and General George "Blood-and-Guts" Patton, not to mention the bombing of Dresden, the internment of Japanese Americans, and the flight of the Enola Gay. Adding to the mythic quality of this conflict are the villains. Fifty years later, it is still rightly impossible for any reputable historian or filmmaker to say something good about the Nazis.

The Tuskegee Airmen, an HBO film treatment of the all-black combat fighter squadrons (the 99th, 100th, 301st, and 302d, later grouped into the 332d fighter group) of the U.S. Army Air Forces in World War II, taps into the war's mythic aura, with period music, aircraft, automobiles, steam trains, and official racism. The question such historically based films pose is how much "playing" with history should be accepted for dramatic effect, to make a tighter story line, or just to keep the interest of a general audience that wants lots of action against its Glenn Miller background.

Some such "playing," however, often results from the filmmakers' ignorance, and *The Tuskegee Airmen* is no exception. Throughout the film, the characters speak of the "Army Air Corps" well after that service had become the U.S. Army Air Forces in June 1942 and before the Tuskegee airmen entered combat. The film shows the first Tuskegee pilot being shot down over North Africa; he was actually lost over Italy. Indeed, although the bulk of the film's action takes place in North Africa, the majority of the real operations were from Italian bases.

The characters portrayed in *Tuskegee Airmen* also present some serious problems of stereotype. We see a raving racist major (Chris McDonald) welcoming the black rookie cadets: "This isn't your country. Your country has apes, gorillas, missionaries, and malaria." He continues to harass the cadets throughout their training. But he never existed. In reality, the racists at Tuskegee had to mute their feelings. Official policy was that the Tuskegee airmen were to receive training, treatment, and equipment identical to that of white cadets. This position was not only consonant with *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, it also protected the military; if the Tuskegee "experiment"

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failed, then the fault must lie with the cadets, not their treatment. (See my *Segregated Skies: The All Black USAAF Units of World War II* [Washington, D.C., 1992].)

In the film, a southern racist senator (John Lithgow) does all he can to sabotage the Tuskegee program. It is before his congressional committee that the 332d's commander, Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. (Andre Braugher), makes an eloquent plea for a fair chance. But these events are also fictions. Davis in reality spoke before the War Department's Advisory Committee on Negro Troop Policies, chaired not by some imaginary Dixie bigot but by the eminent African-American jurist William Hasty. Davis's father, Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., also sat on the committee, a nice touch that the film misses. The younger Davis confined himself to answering criticisms of the Tuskegee airmen's combat record. In an interview three decades later, Davis, by then a retired lieutenant general, explicitly told this reviewer he had made it a point not to speak out against racism during World War II: "I didn't want to play that game." Davis wanted to fly. But he would take action against any military discrimination that violated War Department policy. The film also does not bring out well the austere character of "The Thin Man" (Davis), whom some Tuskegee airmen hated but never despised. (There is a difference.)

The commanding officer in the film (Daniel Hugh Kelly), shown as basically fair-minded and sympathetic, is obviously drawn from the base's second commandant, Colonel Noel Parrish, an officer beloved by Tuskegee veterans until his death. He was the first known white U.S. officer of any rank to call officially for immediate and complete racial integration of the armed services. Yet, inexplicably, this most significant figure is transmogrified into "Noel Roberts."

In its action sequences, the film cannot resist several Hollywood air-movie cliches. For instance, a hot-shot cadet dismissed for buzzing the field sprints for a plane and takes off while his buddies look on in horror and the racist major screams into a microphone futile orders to return. You just know that this pilot is going to buzz the field again and then crash in a fireball. Then there is the Tuskegee airman fatally hit by enemy gunfire who goes down singing the song of the "Fighting 99th." Again, fiction.

The film has a moving but mythical scene where the white pilot of a bomber squadron, originally a dyed-in-the-wool Texas bigot, specifically requests the 332d as his escort after the "Red Tails" had saved his plane from enemy attack. It is certainly true that bomber pilots came to value this group as the "Good Shepherds" who never lost a bomber to enemy aerial action. But bomber squadrons had to take whatever escorts they were given.

We also see Eleanor Roosevelt, in her tour of Tuskegee Field, insisting that a Tuskegee cadet take her up in a biplane trainer as Secret Service men hold their breath. That really did happen. It is one of the best scenes in the film; maybe Hollywood could learn something from that.

More understandable than actually an error is the film's exclusive use of P-51 Mustang fighters throughout. The 99th and the 332d flew a greater variety of fighter aircraft than any other USAAF squadron (P-39s, P-40s, P-47s, and P-51s). Presumably, there were just not enough of the other planes still available for the film. (The P-47 does deserve a footnote in African-American history; some USAAF commanders thought this fighter would be welcomed by the Tuskegee airmen because its giant radial engine could put out a blast of cockpit heat, and "colored troops can't stand the cold." See, for example, General Ira Eaker, Mediterranean Allied Air Force Commander, quoted in *Segregated Skies*, 94. In truth, like most pilots, the majority of Tuskegee airmen preferred the classic P-51.)

A few probably insoluble problems in films with historical themes also show up here. Films dealing with the military are simply unable to instill in their military characters and extras that requisite marching and saluting "snap." The contrast is especially noticeable when juxtaposed with newsreel shots of real troops. Also, in the last decade or so, Hollywood seems to have run out of characters who can smoke as well as they can act. Lithgow presumably smokes to show that he is a bad guy, but he cannot blow smoke out of his nostrils or hang a cigarette from his lower lip like *real* smokers, such as Humphrey Bogart. Then there are the automobiles. Immaculately painted and waxed, they look as though they have just rolled off a museum floor, which they probably have. At least *The Tuskegee Airmen* did not commit *Patton*'s howler, in which the general's wartime staff car turned out to be a postwar Packard.

More positively, this film's aerial shots are good. The costumes, including those to-kill-for

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leather flying jackets, are authentic, as are the general background scenes. All characters, men and women, wear hats, and almost all them, military and civilian, smoke, as did more than 50 percent of the U.S. population in the 1940s. More important, the cadets are accurately depicted as well-educated people who wanted to become pilots more than they felt any need to prove that blacks could fly planes.

Films like *The Tuskegee Airmen* would gain immeasurably from a historical adviser, who could keep producers historically honest. The film does not explore any new territory. Its primary message seems to be that racism and racists are bad. All of its black characters are positive, but their desire to be pilots is not probed in any depth.

For all its omissions, fictive scenes, and too-shiny autos, *The Tuskegee Airmen* may give something of the "feel" of that time. It could be useful to illustrate for students a time in U.S. history that they may find incredible: when certain unoffending groups could be singled out for official segregation, exclusion, or internment solely on the basis of their race, and when the majority of Americans, when they thought about it at all, believed that these were reasonable-enough actions. But this film is no substitute for a sober presentation of the historical facts, which on their own are inspiring enough.

Stanley Sandler *U.S. Army Special Operations Command, Fort Bragg*

Nixon. Produced by Dan Halsted, Eric Hamburg, Oliver Stone, and Clayton Townsend; directed by Oliver Stone. Screenplay by Stephen J. Rivele, Oliver Hamburg, Oliver Stone, and Clayton Townsend. 1995; color; 190 minutes. Distributor: Buena Vista Pictures.

It is not enough to point out the factual errors in Oliver Stone's latest historical travesty, *Nixon*. This time, he has exceeded his previously demonstrated contempt for history and produced not just a movie made up of visual psychobabble imposed on a counterfactual base but a pornographic representation of an American president—perhaps a first.

I say this as one who believed that Richard Nixon should have been impeached for obstructing justice during the Watergate cover-up and as one who was (and is) very critical of his foreign policy. By calling this movie pornographic, I mean that it is like the pornographic representations of rape, which objectify and commodify women and silence audiences by leaving no room for discussion of facts or debate. In this movie, Stone has "raped" Nixon and seduced and silenced his audience. He has once again imposed his paranoid, conspiracy-driven mentality on us, especially on those too young to remember Watergate or Nixon, let alone the assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy (which take up half an hour of this film).

If the American system ("the beast," to use Stone's terminology) is so bad, instilling more cynicism and paranoia in the public is no way to address the problem. Stone could have used the millions that went into this movie to start a third party or finance an independent candidate. But the political problems facing this country are only exacerbated by implicating a drunken, dysfunctional, guilt-ridden Nixon in John F. Kennedy's assassination, and probably in Martin Luther King's, Robert Kennedy's, and even the attempt on George Wallace. This is easier to do than to portray Nixon as the quintessential American politician, representing both the best and worst of modern presidents.

It is not "just a movie," as Stone and other directors who pervert history often say when confronted with the facts by historians. It is the representational, pornographic rape not only of Nixon but of the presidency itself, which is all that is left of the American political system.

The major actors, Anthony Hopkins and Joan Allen, are not at fault. As Dick and Pat ("Buddy"), they give wonderful performances, even if these have nothing to do with the reality

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of the president and first lady's life together. Neither was a lush. Pat Nixon never stood up to her husband or his aides on political matters, let alone threaten divorce over them. Nixon did not neglect his children, as the film implies, nor was he emotionally twisted because his mother ("the saint") had neglected him for his two brothers, who died of tuberculosis.

Yes, the acting is brilliant and the cinematography is impressive, with its collages and montages of black-and-white and color flashbacks (although they make for a confusing chronology). The problem is the end result. Nixon, for all his flaws, deserved better, and so do moviegoers. Many reviewers have commented on the "surprising sympathetic portrayal" of Nixon in this film—a sympathy that escaped me but that I believe is the result of Hopkins's convincing performance of a psychologically bedeviled man. It has nothing to do with Stone's presumed sympathy for Nixon. The movie blatantly distorts Nixon's rather boring persona: a man neither obsessed by blood fantasies over his two brothers' deaths nor hospitalized from thrombophlebitis while president. *Nixon* simply imposes psychological blood fantasies on its main character for gratuitous effect.

The audience is also victimized by the inclusion of a composite Tex-Mex character played by Larry Hagman (invoking "JR" à la "Dallas") and an assortment of devious anti-Castro Cubans capable of conspiracies beyond those participated in by Lyndon Johnson and the CIA in Stone's movie about the Kennedy assassination, *JFK* (1991). And the audience does not need a 45-minute erroneous version of Watergate based on John Dean's and Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein's undocumented books of over twenty years ago.

Good solid scholarship exists, not only on Watergate but on all of Nixon's personal and political life—contrary to the implication of the disclaimer flashed at the beginning of the movie and scrolled by almost too fast to be read. For one thing, transcripts for the sixty-three hours of White House tapes released to date clearly indicate that Nixon did not use the specific profanities that allowed Stone to obtain the coveted "R" rating for his representation of the 37th president. Nixon was a mild-mannered, boring swearer (and moderate drinker), but, hey, who cares? Certainly not Stone, who cannot even quote the famous "smoking gun" tape correctly.

The arrogant distortion of the historical record in Stone's *Nixon* is exceeded only by the film's inattention to the interplay between history and artistic license. There is no interplay or tension between history and artistic license in this movie. There is only one silencing view presented: that of a rape of U.S. history in front of a mesmerized audience in order to impose once again Oliver Stone's personal political beliefs on moviegoers world-wide. Despite the good performances, the cinematically synchronized classical music to portray the mundane, and the seductive visuals, this movie about Nixon does not represent "entertainment" or just another inaccurate historical account. It should not be seen unless you already enjoy pornography; then, as one Supreme Court justice said, you will know it when you see it.

Joan Hoff *Center for the Study of the Presidency*

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE, editor. *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past.* (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. vi, 255. Cloth $49.50, paper $14.95.

Robert A. Rosenstone warns his readers at the top of his introductory essay that they are in for "an unusual collection of essays." By this he means that he will carry us into a new genre of filmmaking that has arrived *in mufti*—not wearing its identity on its sleeve. The "New History film" he calls it (p. 3). Under this rubric, Rosenstone separates himself from those historians who would limit their inquiry into film and history to mere exegesis of *The Charge of the Light Brigade* or *Elizabeth and Essex*, costume dramas of the 1930s meant to trick audiences into accepting them as "true" by providing surface authenticity of detail while thoroughly warping their subjects into modern fables.

His premise is that the moving image has matured beyond the two conventional modes of representing the past: the costume drama and the documentary drawn from journalistic footage, interviews, and voice-overs. Moreover, he argues, in departing from these conventions filmmakers were open to the prospect of "a new kind of film" that stands apart from "written history" and, indeed, sets forth "its own rules of representation [of the past]." More like a meditation on the past than a recapitulation of it, the genre aims more for a sense of "the relationship of the past to the present" than a dramatized representation of former times (p. 3).

The essays in Rosenstone's collection inquire into a new terrain, one in which movies serve as a form of deeply felt myth whose meanings are encompassed in value-laden images so evocative as to be truer than mere truth. These movies are like Michelangelo's *David* or a Diego Rivera mural in their "larger than life" scale. They are not artifacts of former times as much as they will be artifacts of our time. They are meditations on history rather than literal attempts at histories filled with pop-quiz facts. Rosenstone's own essay sees the film about the nineteenth-century adventurer, William Walker (1987), for example, filled as it is with anachronisms such as Zippo lighters, as an attempt to make Walker's incursions into Central America analogs for the American adventure in Vietnam. In Rosenstone's sense, then, a movie based in history can be "wrong" never in the sense of making errors about costuming or manners but only in failing to convey an era's politics accurately. In another instance, Clayton Koppes takes up *Radio Bikini* (1987) and analyzes how the filmmaker, Robert Stone, uses government propaganda film meant to mislead Americans on the nature of nuclear warfare to offer a wryly critical commentary on the American embrace of nuclear weapons.

The focus on contemporary movies that, by their tone of voice rather than their specific historical data, reflect on the nature of history gives Rosenstone's book access to "this past that is somehow different both from fiction and from academic history, this past that does not depend entirely upon data for the way it asserts truths" (p. 13).

The book is possessed of an index, halftone stills within the text, and rather uneven endnotes to each essay, but no bibliography.

THOMAS CRIPPS
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KEITH MOXEY. *The Practice of Theory: Poststructuralism, Cultural Politics, and Art History.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 153. Cloth $32.50, paper $12.95.

Keith Moxey wants to move art history from its intramural theoretical squabbles to the arena of political intervention, and he believes this can be achieved by adopting a semiotic model of analysis and argument. His book divides in two parts. A "theory" section defines Moxey's position amid the minefield of recent critical theory from Ferdinand Saussure to C. S. Pierce and Mikhail Bakhtin to Michel Foucault, with a heavy debt to Jacques Lacan. A "practice" section of four case studies follows. Here Moxey deploys his semiotic model on topics from his particular expertise of Renaissance studies: the ideology at work in Erwin Panofsky's book on Albrecht Dürer; the "high art/low art" conundrum with examples from Dürer and broadsheets; the construction of biography using Martin Schongauer's career as model; and the description of

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"genius" as found in the scholarly literature on the *Garden of Delights* by Hieronymous Bosch.

I suspect that non-art historians will be more interested in the theoretical scaffolding of Moxey's book than in his particular interventions in Renaissance studies, so my comments will focus on the "theory" part. A general introduction, which rehearses the issues of "doing history" in the wake of "deconstruction," lays out Moxey's rationale for thinking about art history as a form of cultural politics. It must be said, however, that by renouncing anything like a political program (p. 27) Moxey's idea of "politics" becomes rather modest: strictly speaking, any intervention in the "tissue of conventions" that define culture is a form of "cultural and political change," but this seems a rather quiet form of activism (p. 61).

Three subsequent chapters sketch out, respectively, a "semiotic" understanding of representation, of ideology, and of authorship. Representation for Moxey is mainly about connecting signs (verbal or visual, although his conflation of the two is not without problems) to the ongoing system of cultural semiosis: for this he turns to Pierce's triadic concept of the sign (representamen/object/interpretant) and Bahktin's notion of dialogism to derive the possibility of multiple voices constantly creating new cultural forms. Ideology is a bit more tricky. Moxey rejects both Marxist "false consciousness" (for its distance from material life) and the "discursive practices" of Foucault (for their lack of agency). He opts for an Althusserian model because the "interpellation" of subjects by ideological state apparatuses strikes him as semiotic in character. He "recuperates" agency in Louis Althusser via Lacan: Moxey equates the Lacanian "screen" we project to counter the "gaze" of the symbolic order with Althusser's definition of ideology as the "imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (p. 47). Moxey returns to Lacan in the chapter on authorship, where he suggests the Lacanian "screen," a construct that both defines subjectivity and creates new signs in the symbolic order, be "metaphorically extended to cover the image produced by the artist" (p. 53). Obviously, if the work of art both creates a subject and a resistance to the symbolic order, it must embody both conscious and unconscious forces, in which case interpretations that search for artistic "intention" are simply misguided. Moxey accepts that his position entails the demise of the humanist "subject," the sacrifice of continuing to write history in a semiotic field of floating signification. Why is this? Like any subject, an historian constructs a "screen" that might produce knowledge against the grain of the symbolic order. "The fascination of history and the historian's power," writes Moxey, "lie precisely in purporting to afford us access to what is by definition inaccessible" (p. 60). In short, the historian becomes a kind of artist.

Little of what Moxey proposes alters profoundly the social situation of doing art history: a work of art (the screen), an "interpreter," and a body of material or symbolic "traces" left by prior moments of Althusserian "interpellation" that one might call the archive. He dislodges, however, the social protocols for argument and consensus among historians: first, by undermining any claim to have "mastered" the archive, especially relative to another interpreter's similar claim; and second, by insisting on the role of individual subject-formation in the process of interpretation, in which case the shared ground where two subjects might discuss different readings is dissolved. Moxey's position leaves room for little more than a brownian-motion, semiotic "buzz" in real-time, everywhere directed to the surface of signs, dispersed hierarchically, with no space where the other's personal "screen" or "interpretation" might be debated. In short, the modest gain in "politics" offered by Moxey seems far outweighed by the loss of reasoned argument and intellectual exchange within the discipline.

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THOMAS BENDER and CARL E. SCHORSKE, editors. *Budapest and New York: Studies in Metropolitan Transformation, 1870–1930*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 1994. Pp. xiv, 400. $39.95.

Comparative history is a fascinating field, but the road leading to it is full of dangers. The risk of publishing a collection of essays on New York and Budapest by American and Hungarian scholars is that neither side would be familiar with the history of the other. Fully aware of the difficulties of their pioneering work, Thomas Bender and Carl E. Schorske have decided to solve this problem by writing a general introduction and an afterword. Except for these two texts, comparison is virtually limited to the brief introductions to the five sections. Although no name is attached to these interchapters, it is safe to assume that the American editors are responsible for their composition. Since their knowledge of Hungarian history is secondhand, their summaries are inevitably onesided.

Most of the essays on Budapest are analytic rather than synthetic. When some details are taken out of their original context and placed in a new one, the result may be an interpretation that will not hold up under scrutiny. Sometimes a shift in emphasis may lead to misunderstanding, as in the case of the discussion of the 1919 Commune in Hungary. In the general introduction, the editors mention that "one of the actions of the brief revolutionary government in Budapest in 1919 was to abolish the admission charge to Margaret Island" (p. 16). While this statement is absolutely correct, it may mislead a reader who is unaware of the consequences of the dictatorship introduced by Béla Kun and his colleagues after March 21, 1919. In a similar way, the argument that Admiral Miklós Horthy represented "Hungarian reaction and provincialism" (p. 9) seems far-fetched if compared to the much more complex characterization of this statesman given by Thomas Sakmyster in his recent book

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Hungary's Admiral on Horseback: Miklós Horthy, 1918–1944 (1994).

The most valuable chapters are those in which the contributors seem reluctant to draw parallels. The analysis of municipal policy in the two cities gives readers a chance to reach their own conclusions. Here, the excellent American contribution is preceded by an equally subtle examination of the interrelations between the adoption of liberal ideas by the city leaders and the rise of the Hungarian capital. Somewhat less satisfying is part 2. While the essay on New York's Central Park is highly illuminating about changes in the use of public space, the equivalent chapter on Budapest lacks a clearly defined focus. Once it has been established that Városliget "was and has been the only urban public park of the city that can be compared to well-known urban gardens elsewhere," the reader expects a history of this "City Grove" (p. 89). Instead, the author devotes special attention to a working-class demonstration held in different parts of the city on May 23–24, 1912. The exhibition of 1896 is also neglected, although it was held in Városliget and is generally regarded as an unquestionably significant public event that made a lasting impact on the life of Budapest as a whole. As is well known, the first subway line and several important public buildings and monuments date from 1896 and continue to remind citizens and tourists of the millenium celebration that radically changed the image of the Hungarian city.

Of particular interest is the next section entitled "Neighborhoods: Class and Ethnicity." Here the methods followed by the two scholars are different: the inquiry into the residential distribution of immigrant groups in New York City is based on published sources, whereas the description of St. Imre Garden City relies on field research. In the Hungarian essay, social history is happily combined with semiotic investigation. What I find less convincing is the theoretical underpinning of this interdisciplinary study. In my view, it was not Roland Barthes but John Stuart Mill who "worked out the denotation-connotation antithesis" in *A System of Logic* (1843), translated into Hungarian in 1874–1877. C. S. Peirce, Jacques Derrida, and Hans Georg Gadamer cannot be characterized as representing "a historical analysis of semiotics," and it is an exaggeration to assert that "the historical disciplines—with the sole exception of ethnography—have made little use" of semiotics (p. 175).

The last two sections are devoted to the cultural life of the two cities. While it is perfectly understandable that popular culture is taken very seriously by specialists of urban history—vaudeville, operetta, and journalism are given a substantial and thought-provoking treatment—it is somewhat surprising that only accidental references are made to musical activity in Budapest. The libretto of *The Gipsy Baron* is based on a text by the Hungarian novelist Mór Jókai, but it was composed by an Austrian for his native Vienna, and even *The Merry Widow* was originally intended for a Viennese audience. Ernő Dohnányi, Béla Bartók, and Zoltán Kodály, on the other hand, lived and worked in Budapest in the early twentieth century and were attached to such institutions as the Budapest Academy of Music, founded in 1875, or the Opera, opened in 1884. The first president of the Academy was Franz Liszt and the Opera had directors as distinguished as Ferencz Erkel, Gustav Mahler, and Arthur Nikisch.

Historians examine works of art as social documents; it is not their task to do justice to aesthetic value. Still, I find some of the conclusions reached by the authors of the last essays questionable. If we remember such paintings as *The Eastern Station at Night* (1902) by Tivadar Csontváry Kostka or the cityscapes of János Vaszary (two major artists not even mentioned in the book) or the long line of novels written about Budapest, we may doubt the relevance of the statement that "the city of big tenements and brownstone schools, of the eclectic and ambitious public buildings, of millenary monuments and broad avenues, does not surface in the pictures painted or stories told of Budapest" (p. 317). *Midás Király* (*King Midas* [1891–1892]), a long novel by Zoltán Ambrus, opens with the naturalistic presentation of a tenement in the Budapest of the late nineteenth century; *Budapest* (1901) by Tamás Kóbor is about the life of prostitutes in a rapidly changing city; *A vörös postakocsi* (1913, published as *The Crimson Coach* in 1967) by Gyula Krúdy portrays the life of actresses; *A kristálynézók* (*Crystal Gazers* [1913]) by Kálmán Harsányi is about the activity of Ödön Lechner, the most important Art Nouveau architect in Budapest; *A régi ház* (1913, published in New York as *The Old House* in 1922) by Cécile Tormay deals with the transformation of Biedermeier Pest-Buda into a capitalist metropolis; and *Anna Édes* (1926) by Dezső Kosztolányi tells the story of a district of Buda in the politically crucial years 1919–1922.

It is an interesting hypothesis that in Budapest aesthetic modernism was opposed to urbanism, but the validity of such a generalization may be limited if we do not forget that Hungarian artists could hardly paint skyscrapers. The social and political criticism formulated by some of the contributors is also somewhat vulnerable. It is easy to ridicule the Hungarian gentry; it is far less easy to explain why so many original artists and writers of the early twentieth century came from that class. In view of the fact that several among these composed their best works in the interwar period, it is a simplification to maintain that "the 1919–1920 emigration completely broke the continuity of Hungarian culture" (p. 322).

The reason for some of the weaknesses of the volume may be careless translation. The statement that "Ady created the unforgettable figure of Kornél Esti" (p. 360) suggests that inconsistencies are probably due to the translator's imperfect understanding of the original Hungarian text. *Kornél Esti* (1933) is a book by Dezső Kosztolányi, one of the landmarks in twentieth-century Hungarian literature. Other aspects of the book have similar imperfections: the map of Budapest

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has some inaccuracies (p. 37), the first permanent bridge of the city is mentioned under two different names (pp. 1, 3), and Hungarian words are misspelled and titles mistranslated in several parts of the book. Minor as these errors may seem, they occur quite frequently and remind the reader that the distance between New York and Budapest is so wide that coordinated projects run the risk of being uneven. Yet the shortcomings of the editorial work should not make us forget that this collection includes several brilliant essays, and the American-Hungarian project has helped break the ice for further experimentation with the comparative study of regions that have very different historical legacies.

MIHÁLY SZEGEDY-MASZÁK
Indiana University, Bloomington

SIMON SCHAMA. *Landscape and Memory*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1995. Pp. xi, 652. $40.00.

Simon Schama divides nature into three components—wood, water, and rock—and examines how humans have responded to each. He believes that we experience all aspects of nature in cultural terms. No one, whether a lover of jungles or of Riviera resorts, escapes a web of cultural associations and, more importantly, a body of myths that have attached themselves to the natural world. Each section of this book, then, takes us on a journey into our collective unconscious, what (following Maurice Halbwachs) he calls memory. This involves tracing powerful, recurring myths that may differ from place to place. Schama remains faithful to the tenets of the new cultural history by focusing on the outward (rather than hidden) manifestations of these myths in ceremonies, art, and literature.

Forests, as Schama sees them, embody most powerfully what humans cannot control, and they therefore speak most directly to a dark, mystical streak that can never be fully extinguished and that we dismiss only at our own risk. That is why, more than rivers and mountains, forests foster strong ethnic identities. That is also why this section is the most troubling for historians. Poles, Germans, Americans, and Britons project onto the forest their deepest beliefs about their own identity: nationalist, racist, or democratic. And, because we already know what this entails, the argument often reads like the shibboleths of yore. Schama believes that our attitudes are culturally conditioned rather than psychologically determined (as in Carl Jung's universal archetypes), but he allows only a constricted version of these influences. Thus nations can only have a single forest myth. For the alternate version, please cross the border.

If ethnic identity frames the argument on forests, the section on water revolves around the weighty cultural baggage of the Nile, a legacy that permeates the Western imaginary. Schama takes a curious, post–*Black Athena* stance toward Egyptian culture, even going so far as to speak of "the whole Egypto-Romano-Christian tradition" (p. 299). As in other sections, we move from religious to secular visions, lingering on man's determination to pierce the mysteries of nature. The Nile thus remains the river that cannot be possessed in an era of exploration, canals, dams, and (in a brilliant series of digressions) fountains. Here Schama is at his best, allowing his imagination to roam in a series of free associations. The stories, as throughout the book, are told with verve, a Dickensian delight in idiosyncracies, and a stupendous ability to engage and entertain the reader.

Because of this variety, and because of its construction as a series of almost self-contained stories, the book can be picked up at any point without confusion. One advantage of reading it front to back is that the tone noticeably improves. Early sections are marred by jibes at professional historians, Marxists, Zionists, and fat California women, giving an occasionally jarring insight into Schama's psyche. All this disappears in the discussion of mountains. This part also spans continents and centuries, but a significant segment concerns the eighteenth century and changing English appreciation of the Alps. Schama's delight in human inventiveness becomes transparent. For although he denounces irresponsible abuses, he clearly relishes our muscular engagement with nature. Climbing peaks or carving presidents on Mount Rushmore are treated as fertile obsessions.

Schama's greatest contribution is his effortless marriage of high and low culture, showing how similar responses permeate all ranks of society. He is less successful at convincing us that he has found ways of writing a postcololonial, poststructuralist history. His rejection of Enlightenment dualities (such as wild/tame) leads him to overstate a single cultural explanation (such as ethnicity) or to invoke so many that they dissolve into a series of anecdotes, albeit highly entertaining ones. Schama makes a good case that Western civilization always expressed an interest in nature. He has not convinced me, however, that this interest took the form of myths established at the dawn of time, doomed to be forever repeated.

LIANA VARDI
State University of New York, Buffalo

ROY PORTER and MIKULÁŠ TEICH, editors. *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science: The History of Attitudes to Sexuality*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 408. Cloth $69.95, paper $19.95.

This collection is the eighth in a series of volumes edited by Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich for Cambridge University Press, each offering an interesting and varied selection of papers on some broadly defined historical topic. Taking us from England and America to India and the Persian empire, the papers deal with abstinence and abortion, incest and impotence, masturbation and murder, and a good deal more.

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Porter and Teich distinguish sexual knowledge from the history of sexuality, framing their study with a series of questions. Which forms of sexual knowledge are legitimate, and which are taboo? Who has the right to know about sex? Are there competing sets of sexual knowledge? What kinds of understanding or analyses lay claim to be "scientific" accounts of sex and on what grounds? For the editors and most of the contributors, Michel Foucault's work on the history of sexuality serves as a major point of reference in that forms of knowledge and discourse are assumed to be problematic; there is no easy slide from knowing (or writing or talking) more about sex to increased freedom or "liberation."

Organizationally, Sigmund Freud stands at the center of the volume. The book is divided into two parts: sexuality before and after Freud. Freud does not, however, dominate intellectually: Carolus Linnaeus, Charles Darwin, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, and a host of lesser luminaries share the limelight. Issues of classification—normal and deviant, healthy and pathological, procreative and nonprocreative—are central. Oddly enough, many of the essays say relatively little about gender in relation to sexuality, suggesting that these contributors do not view gender categories as particularly problematic or that they perceive sexual knowledge as independent of gender. In the post-Freud section, seven of the eight contributors are male, a potentially dangerous imbalance for a book about sex. This said, a number of the male authors are clearly sensitive to gender issues; George L. Mosse, Angus McLaren, and Robert Martensen are noteworthy in this regard. Among the female authors, Helen King, Londa Schiebinger, and Renate Hauser contribute clearly defined feminist perspectives, illuminating the worlds of Greek and Roman sexology, zoological classification, and psychological theories of human behavior. The volume has little to say about class or race, although Sander Gilman argues at some length that Freud's theories were shaped by (sublimated) cultural constructions of Jewish sexuality.

The essays are diverse in style and tone as well as subject matter. Martensen contributes a provocative and original, although poorly organized, paper on women's bodies, medicine, and culture in early modern England; Porter takes us on a breezy and entertaining romp through pre-1800 sexual-advice literature; Mosse offers a thoughtful analysis of concepts of manhood and masculinity; and Michael Mitterauer provides an amazingly detailed account of cultural variation in incest taboos, proving that no unitary concept of the incest taboo can survive close historical scrutiny. In a brief but engaging paper, McLaren discusses late nineteenth-century violence against women, from the "normal" levels expressed by misogynist gynecologists and abortionists to the "extreme" case of Thomas Cream, physician, abortionist, and serial killer. Schiebinger offers a delightful, insightful, and often hilarious analysis of the Linnaean classification of "Mammalia" in relation to the cultural history of the breast.

Some of the chapters cover already familiar ground. Much of Schiebinger's paper has been previously published; Richard Davenport-Hughes and Christopher Phipps's well-crafted essay on AIDS covers known territory, as does Simon Frankel's analysis of sexual selection theory. Other contributions open up new and interesting questions. Vern Bullough, together with Dwight Dixon and Joan Dixon, described as a husband-and-wife team of sex therapists, provide a fascinating chapter on the centrality of sadomasochistic themes—mortification of the flesh and self-inflicted suffering leading to ecstatic transcendence—in Western cultural traditions of ascetic Christianity. In a volume primarily devoted to European history, Julia Leslie's paper on Indian views of female sexuality provides a refreshing glimpse of another cultural world. As more non-Western historians write about the human variety of sexual knowledge and beliefs, their studies should help to define better the particularities and peculiarities of European and American sexual cultures.

For the most part, contributors to this volume ignore the imaginative and playful extremes of "queer theory" as well as varieties of more recent feminist theorizing in favor of more traditional but perhaps no less subversive forms of analysis. Although most of the essays are extremely serious in tone, McLaren, Schiebinger, and Porter spice their analyses with a welcome touch of humor. Altogether, this volume will seduce any reader who is intrigued by the history of sexuality.

ELIZABETH FEE
National Library of Medicine

JAMES L. LARSON. *Interpreting Nature: The Science of Living Form from Linnaeus to Kant*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 227. $40.00.

In this study, James L. Larson analyzes European contributions to the study of the life sciences in the second half of the eighteenth century. He conceives of the history of this period in two parts: between 1740 and 1760, when the enormously influential syntheses of Georges Louis Leclerc (Comte de Buffon), Carl Linnaeus, and Albrecht von Haller prevailed; and between 1760 and 1790, when a new generation challenged some of the cherished views of the older generation. Previous historians have focused on the antagonisms and rivalries of the three scientists of the first generation, but Larson explains how they shared a common set of assumptions about nature as divinely ordered, ahistorical, and unchanging (except within carefully delimited boundaries). Yet none of the three were immune to the implications of their empirical work and its implicit challenge to these assumptions.

This unresolved tension set the stage for the younger generation of northern and central European naturalists on whom Larson has chosen to focus. They used

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the science of the celebrated triumvirate of the previous era as a point of departure. Larson sees the work of the younger generation as more disciplined and rigorous as well as more secular. They did not reject the theological presuppositions of their predecessors, but they were less likely to let religion interfere with or obscure their careful empirical investigations.

The four central chapters of the book deal with classification, the distribution of natural forms, the question of the limits of variations in nature, and the problem of generation. Larson's final chapter discusses Immanuel Kant's critique of teleological judgment. It serves as a summary of one of the major themes of the book: the balance between truths established through rigorous empirical investigations and the inescapable presuppositions of the age of reason. Kant argues that there is no necessary connection between the two. Science cannot be used to prove that nature is ordered, created by the hand of God. Nor can it establish whether animals are machines. These assumptions function as heuristic devices to advance knowledge, but there is no way to prove whether or not they are true.

What distinguished the generation that followed Linnaeus, Buffon, and Haller, Larson argues, was its focus on the study of physical forms and processes and its reticence to speculate. For example, Caspar Wolff's empirical and theoretical challenge to Haller's observations on the development of the chick embryo involved even greater skill and diligence than those of Haller. He argued that the structures of the embryo did not preexist but unfolded successively. Discussing the formation of the intestine, he did not claim to know how or why it developed, only that it did. Similarly, seeking explanations for the diversity of nature, Linnaeus had argued that hybrids established new species. This was challenged by Joseph Koelreuter, who established the sterility of the crosses. Koelreuter also believed that his conclusions supported the idea that species were created by God and immutable, but this belief did not stand in the way of careful experimental technique. This liberation from teleological explanations, Larson concludes, was typical of the growing professionalism of the younger generation of practitioners.

Larson's analysis of the thought of these scientists is penetrating and original. His account is also beautifully written. Larson brings together much of the secondary literature published since the groundbreaking work of Jacques Roger in *Les Sciences de la vie dans la pensée française du XVIII^e siècle* (1963), but he goes well beyond Roger in throwing new light on a period often simplistically viewed as preparing the way for Darwinian evolution or German organicism. Larson reveals the complexity, sophistication, and real achievements of the generation that stood on the shoulders of three giants of natural science and refused to submit to their authority.

VIRGINIA P. DAWSON
Case Western Reserve University

R. STEVEN TURNER. *In the Eye's Mind: Vision and the Helmholtz-Hering Controversy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 338. $49.50.

In the 1860s, Ewald Hering and Hermann von Helmholtz began a heated exchange on the nature of vision that was kept alive by their followers until the 1920s and resurrected by their heirs in the 1950s. R. Steven Turner's study of the Helmholtz-Hering controversy transforms a protracted, tedious, and convoluted debate into an occasion for understanding more deeply the social dimensions of intellectual engagement. His results are provocative.

At its core, the Helmholtz-Hering controversy centered on binocularity, depth perception, and color: that is, how the eye's mind perceived space and the objects in it. Hering and his followers were nativists who argued for the innate nature of vision using an original vocabulary, practiced rhetorical skills, and results from qualitative, introspective, and phenomenological experiments. The Helmholtzians were, by contrast, empiricists who believed that vision was learned through experience. Their orientation was more pragmatic and physical, their experiments more mechanical and quantitatively precise. Debates about space and color were crucial to understanding real world problems, as seen when color blindness became a factor in railroad accidents in the 1870s. Yet this summary is too simple and clean, for, as Turner amply demonstrates, the bipolarity of their views did not provoke the Helmholtz-Hering debate but was rather a product of it. Turner's conclusion that scientific controversy is constitutive both of theory formation and scientific change is one shared by Martin Rudwick. The story does not, however, end there.

In the penultimate chapters, Turner examines more deeply the central sociological and philosophical dimensions of his otherwise historical argument. Turner's amplification of the largely sociological notion of a scientific school and the philosophical one of incommensurability deserve special attention, for here his powers of historical analysis shine. Gerald Geison's description of a scientific school with the skillful and appropriate addition of Harry Collins's notion of a "core set" serve Turner well in his delineation of the traditional school of Hering and the looser intellectual alignment that characterized Helmholtz's school. But Turner adds to this insights gained from over twenty years of research on the German universities and the research imperative. Only recently has the literature begun to take note of the affective interests and emotional bonds that held together seminar students, schools, and other academic groups. With Hering's school in mind, Turner argues that in order to understand intellectual filiation and productivity in the highly competitive, stressful, and ascetic environment of the German university system, one must not only take these affective bonds into account, but also understand how they offered essential psychological compensation for the risks of academic life.

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Turner's discussion of incommensurability in chapter twelve is, I believe, his crowning achievement. What was the Helmholtz-Hering controversy if not the meeting of incommensurables of several types—in *Denkrichtung*, assumptions, language, and mental furniture? Building on the pioneering work of Thomas S. Kuhn, Turner dissects the several types of incommensurability operating in the controversy: cognitive, linguistic, perceptual, and social. His discussion of the three last is especially provocative, in part because Turner is able to link them in subtle ways to features of the German academic system such as discipline formation, laboratory training, and career opportunities. He suggests that in an age of internationalization, linguistic incommensurability, normally a precondition for the establishment of a discipline, mitigated chances of either school becoming a locus of disciplinary specialization. In the end, the schools of Helmholtz and Hering maintained a delicate balance by acknowledging enough commonalities to sustain controversy while creating equally enough incommensurables to maintain separate identities.

In the persistence of the Helmholtz-Hering controversy over the long term, Turner finds a challenge to narrative conventions. Those interested in recent discussions of historical narrativity and forms of employment will especially enjoy the critical reflections in the last chapter of the book. Ripe for deeper study are Turner's enticing remarks about how the waxing and waning of the nativist-empiricist debate were related to the late nineteenth-century distrust of rationality. *In the Eye's Mind* challenges all of us to reconsider the dynamics of knowledge formation in academic disciplines.

KATHRYN M. OLESKO
Georgetown University

ROBERT HUNT SPRINKLE. *Profession of Conscience: The Making and Meaning of Life-Sciences Liberalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. 257. $24.95.

The medical and biological sciences have grown rapidly since the end of World War II, and, with their emergence as "big science," associated ethical and professional problems have assumed an ever-growing significance in the scientific community and in the public mind. An entire industry of medical ethicists, applied philosophers, and biological humanists has emerged to help clarify the issues, sensitize researchers and administrators, and educate future practitioners. Since there is no general consensus on the foundations of ethics among philosophers today, the problem of grounding an ethical/professional stance is highly problematic. It should be of little surprise, therefore, that history is often invented to legitimize particular perspectives. These historical constructions unfortunately are generally of the great person variety and are organized in Whiggish fashion to show the progressive march of history toward the writer's preferred conclusion.

Robert Hunt Sprinkle's new book attempts to defend a liberal political/ethical position on issues involving medicine and, more broadly, life sciences by tracing its history and examining a set of contemporary case studies. As history it fails; it is almost a textbook example of "mythistory." After an introduction about the past war crimes of scientists and the looming threat of biotechnology, Sprinkle uses the first half of the book to construct a "history" of "life sciences." He starts with Hippocrates and Aristotle, jumps to a brief treatment of Francis Bacon, and then focuses on the hero of his story: John Locke. Locke is portrayed as the font of a contemporary position that values the well being of the individual over that of any larger group. A few alternative social philosophies are sketched to reenforce the value of Locke's: Rudolf Virchow's *Zellenstaat*, English and German Social Darwinism, and the U.S. eugenics movement. These three misguided, nonliberal social philosophies allegedly converged in the Nazi biomedical community, and the resulting crimes were condemned at the Nuremberg trials. Liberalism triumphs through the guilt by association of its opponents.

The second half of Sprinkle's book considers some alternative ethical positions and a few case studies that illustrate liberalism's superiority as a guide through the current maze of problems in biomedical ethics. The examples are ones commonly studied in medical ethics courses: health care, biotechnology, and the marketing of artificial feeding products in the Third World. Sprinkle's selection is heavily weighted toward medical concerns and ignores some of the most pressing problems that worry life scientists: overpopulation, the threat to biodiversity, and environmental degradation. These issues are certainly as important in any discussion of the political/ethical problems of the life sciences as the patenting of genetically novel organisms or the inadequacies of the Oregon Health Plan.

Sprinkle's book is a poor defense of liberalism. It is historically naive, and it often confuses philosophical with social issues. It does not adequately make the case that there exists an intellectual or professional tradition of the life sciences. Liberalism has a history, as do various professional codes of ethics. Sprinkle's study demonstrates that there is a lot of serious history yet to be written.

PAUL LAWRENCE FARBER
Oregon State University

JOHN KERR. *A Most Dangerous Method: The Story of Jung, Freud, and Sabina Spielrein*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1993. Pp. xi, 607. $30.00.

Until 1982, when Aldo Carotenuto published Sabina Spielrein's diary (1909–1912) and her correspondence with Carl Jung and Sigmund Freud (1909–1918) in *A Secret Symmetry*—materials that had accidentally turned up in the cellars of the former Geneva Institute

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of Psychology—she was only an occasional and obscure name on the roster of Freud's Wednesday Society. With the help of this find and another cache, John Kerr, in his accessible and lively writing, unravels the life and psyche of this mysterious woman, demonstrating how she mediated between and contributed to Freud's and Jung's evolving psychoanalytic theories. In the process, Kerr throws new light on the relationship between Freud and Jung and rewrites the early history of psychoanalysis. He succeeds admirably in rounding out what we know about the rivalry between Freud and Jung.

In 1904, Spielrein, an aspiring medical student and the daughter of a wealthy Jewish family from Rostov-on-Don, was sent to Jung at Zurich's Burghölzli clinic as a patient to be cured of psychotic hysteria. Jung had recently been married and had not yet met Freud. He had studied with Pierre Janet in Paris, made his reputation as a hypnotist, and developed a sophisticated word association test; after having read Freud's book on dreams, he was analyzing his own dreams. Spielrein was his first case of hysteria. He treated Spielrein with a didactic psychoanalytic method, interpreting her fantasies and dreams to uncover her earliest repressions of infantile sexuality.

By April 1905, Spielrein was well enough to enter medical school. She continued to see Jung on a regular basis, more as an outpatient than as a friend and fledgling colleague, but with aspects of both. Therein lies the rub and the unsolved mystery. For Spielrein fell in love with Jung, and he reciprocated her feelings. Their volatile, clandestine relationship was part of her analysis, his turmoil, and both their dreams, which, in the interest of their profession, they not only interpreted to each other but reported on (in disguised form) at psychoanalytic meetings.

Jung revealed the secret in a letter to Freud when he thought Spielrein had spread rumors that he was about to get a divorce, and Freud responded: "such experiences, though painful, are necessary and hard to avoid . . . but I have come very close to it a number of times and had *a narrow escape*" (William McGuire, ed., *The Freud/Jung Letters: The Correspondence between Sigmund Freud and C. G. Jung* [1979], p. 230). Kerr cites this passage, along with a reminiscence by the 71-year old Jung that "Freud was in love with [his wife's younger sister] and had sexual relations with her" (p. 136). He accepts this recollection from the notes of an interviewer at face value, even though he states, in a chapter on "The Spiritual Trend in Psychoanalysis," that Jung's memoirs "were not meant as an historical record" but as "an account of his life as seen through his own personal myth" (p. 309). Elsewhere, Kerr comments on the appeal of Jung and Freud to their female patients. As Fritz Wittels, for instance, noted in his memoir, psychoanalysts then "knew from Freud that repressed sex instincts made men neurotic," but not "that former puritans running wild would not help either" (p. 63). They had yet to learn about the countertransference.

Kerr meticulously locates the struggle between Freud and Jung in relation to developing knowledge in the discipline: intellectual father to son; founder to potential successor in the movement; Christian to Jew; Austrian to Swiss. He discusses debates over credit for theoretical advances and clinical discoveries, elaborates the interactions of both men with other disciples, and notes Freud's wish to distance his psychoanalysis from "deviants" such as Alfred Adler, Wilhelm Stekel and Isidor Sadger. Both Freud and Jung wanted to be known to posterity for innovations that, in the final analysis, were built on their own and one anothers' more or less "systematic" interpretations of dreams.

Freud's "science," primarily postulated an individual unconscious, Jung's an "archaic," collective one, although neither denied the existence of both. Undoubtedly, as Kerr notes, Freud quickly wrote his *History of the Psychoanalytic Movement* (1914) and *Totem and Taboo* (1913) to establish his primacy over Jung (and Adler). Spielrein's legacy provides an eye witness account of their rivalry, fantasies, and dreams. Her brilliant insights document her central role in the unfolding of psychoanalysis as well as its founders' psychological hangups. Because they were exploring "neuroses" in the interest of "science," chaos and clashes were unavoidable, as Freud expected to seize the movement's reins. And because interpretations of their (actual or potential) love affairs were incorporated into their theories, their personal lives remain of historical interest. But the validity of their contributions must be judged apart from their lives, on conceptual and empirical grounds.

Kerr recounts the psychoanalysts' ambivalences and ambitions, and dilemmas with sensitivity and sympathy. His revisionist history makes good reading and leads one to conclude that, unfortunately, some of the origins of psychoanalysis have been buried with their founders, to remain an unresolved mystery, subject to the imaginations of successive historians.

EDITH KURZWEIL
Adelphi University

RICHARD HUGHES SEAGER. *The World's Parliament of Religions: The East/West Encounter. Chicago, 1893.* (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xxxi, 208. $35.00.

The World's Parliament of Religions, convened alongside the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, has been revisited time and again by scholars over the past one hundred years, and justifiably so. It is a fascinating and volatile arena offering a seemingly inexhaustible number of interpretive possibilities. As the object of such sustained scrutiny and interpretation, the Parliament itself has become an icon central to American interpretations of nineteenth-century thought, especially in terms of the roles, responsibilities, and possibilities of religion in a "modern," "cosmopolitan," and "scientific" world. In this most recent

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study, Richard Hughes Seager expresses his belief that "the Parliament deserves a special place in American and modern religious history" (p. xv) and also his hope, here echoing the cosmopolitanism of the Parliament itself, that the Parliament will continue as "a touchstone for discussions of the interactions between Asia and the West" (p. xxiv).

Seager interprets the Parliament from different perspectives: as a singular event in American religious history, as a facet of the Columbian Exposition, and as an event with global consequences. He suggests that the Parliament as an expression of eighteenth-century classical revivalism embodied the iconic style for Anglo-Protestant civil religion. Following Robert Rydell's work on world's fairs, Seager finds that the Parliament also attempted to incorporate an evolutionary model into the interpretation of religion for the modern world. The combination of these aesthetic and scientific concerns resulted in a parliamentary vision of true religion as a creation of the highest evolved civilization, a modern Greece or Rome. This vision was, of course, most perfectly embodied in the Parliament itself. The Parliament was thus "a struggle over the content of a myth of America" and, Seager concludes, it "was a liberal, western, and American quest for world religious unity that failed" (p. xxviii).

Recognizing that "there was no single World's Parliament of Religions, but many" (p. 160), Seager for his part chooses to place "the Asians and the East/West encounter" at center stage of his analysis (p. 95). His discussion of Indian, Chinese, and Japanese delegates to the Parliament, though significantly hampered by the exclusive reliance upon English language materials, is a noteworthy attempt to rethink the roles of these "Oriental others" in the Parliamentary vision of religion and civilization. Through a richly textured discussion of the Asian delegates, Seager effectively demonstrates that the Parliament was shot through with "parochialism, ethnocentrism, imperial pretensions, and hegemonic intentions" (p. xxviii). In such an environment, he concludes, "Asians and their religions could only operate as secondary, subordinate signs in a global discourse" (p. 49).

Clearly the "Oriental delegates" were not a single, unified group, in spite of contemporary claims to the contrary. The Parliament failed to produce a global unity among religions not only because of its inherent conceptual limitations but also because of the active and distinct roles of the supposedly passive Oriental delegates. Seager challenges us (and in one passage, myself and John McRae in particular) to continue to use the Parliament in order to explicate Asia's relation to the West (p. xxiv). But it seems that the iconic power of the Parliament is far more crucial to America's sense of religion and religious mission than it ever was to, say, members of the Japanese religious communities.

JAMES E. KETELAAR
Stanford University

DONALD J. DIETRICH. *God and Humanity in Auschwitz: Jewish-Christian Relations and Sanctioned Murder*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction. 1995. Pp. xii, 355.

This is a well-intended study of Jewish and Christian theology since, and in light of, the Holocaust. By well-intended I mean a work that is rightly critical of Christian anti-Semitism and the role this tradition of theological Judeophobia played in creating the conditions that legitimated Auschwitz. I mean, too, a work that supports efforts to reform church teaching on the Jews so as to foreclose the possibility that this tradition might again lead to mass murder.

Donald J. Dietrich begins his study with a summary of the historical development of medieval and modern anti-Semitism (chapter 1) and a consideration of "Institutional Catholic Attitudes to Judaism and the Jewish People" (chapter 2). Both discussions are accurate, although the compact nature of the survey of historical issues means that his analysis lacks the detail and nuance that a full exploration of these crucial topics would provide. The review of Catholic actions since the accession of Pope John Paul II is more developed and provides a helpful introduction to the subject.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 analyze the scriptural and contextual basis of anti-Semitism; the theological issues that are at the center of the dialogue between Judaism and Christianity; and the relationship between Christology and anti-Semitism. In developing these topics, Dietrich shows himself to be a liberal theologian of the best sort. His decipherment of the links between the New Testament and anti-Semitism and of the relationship between Christology and anti-Semitism, however, is too simplistic. The church did not become profoundly unsympathetic to Judaism by accident. The theological differences between Judaism and Christianity are more fundamental and intractable than Dietrich allows.

Elemental issues like the theology of supersessionism cannot be overcome merely by contextualizing Christian doctrine or recovering the Jewish background to the teachings of Jesus and Paul. Paul's teaching is fundamentally incompatible with Judaism, despite contemporary scholarly efforts such as those of William David Davies and, more recently, E. P. Sanders, to make Paul more "Jewish" in the hope of softening the confrontational nature of his pronouncements. This presents an absolutely basic issue that Dietrich does not confront adequately: can Christianity change enough to rid itself of the anti-Semitic implications of Christology and supersessionism and still remain Christianity? Considered from the other side of this historic encounter, there were significant reasons why the Jewish community of first-century Palestine, although tolerant of many theologies of Judaism, rejected Christianity as being completely outside the pale.

Chapter 6, on Jewish theology since World War II, including the theological responses to Auschwitz of-

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fered by Richard L. Rubenstein, Emil Fackenheim, and Eliezer Berkovits, is a reprise of the work of others and offers nothing original. Chapter 7, on political theology, is likewise derivative. Having said this, however, one cannot but endorse Dietrich's basic demand: "What Christian theologians can now *do* for the murdered Jews is to change the theology that has led to the barbarities perpetrated during the Second World War" (p. 235). And he is correct that the theological work of Matthew Lamb, Dermot Lane, Johannes Metz, Bernard Lonergan, and Karl Rahner provide some "conceptual opening" (p. 236) for this reevaluation to occur. One only hopes that the work of these theologians will carry weight in the Catholic (and larger Christian) community to bring about new "standards for action" (p. 223). There is some reason for optimism on this front given the various reforms instituted by the Catholic church (and others) since Vatican II, the most notable being the recent Vatican recognition of the state of Israel.

One can only support Dietrich's position, outlined in chapter 8 ("The Holocaust and Modernity"), that "The Holocaust has reemphasized the need to highlight the person as *the* central factor in the social order to counterbalance state power" (p. 269). Although this is not an original moral claim, in light of the tens of millions of persons killed in the twentieth century by immoral states, this call cannot be sounded often enough. Maybe someone, somewhere, will listen.

Altogether, this is a thoughtful, morally sensitive, and intelligent, if not altogether original, summary of what the Holocaust means to the Jewish-Christian dialogue and to our society more generally.

STEVEN T. KATZ
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THOMAS BEHME. *Samuel von Pufendorf: Naturrecht und Staat; Eine Analyse und Interpretation seiner Theorie, ihrer Grundlagen und Probleme*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 112.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1995. Pp. 195. DM 45. KARI SAASTAMOINEN. *The Morality of the Fallen Man: Samuel Pufendorf on Natural Law*. (Studia Historica, number 52.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1995. Pp. 179.

Among the three pioneers of modern secular natural law—Hugo Grotius, Thomas Hobbes, and Samuel Pufendorf—the last has until recently been the most neglected in the English-speaking world. Apart from a fine exposition by Leonard Krieger (*The Politics of Discretion: Pufendorf and the Acceptance of Natural Law* [1965]), he has only been rediscovered since about 1979, principally by Cambridge scholars. Yet from the 1670s until the second half of the eighteenth century, his *De jure naturae et gentium* (1672) and the textbook version *De officio hominis et civis* (1673) were more widely read in Europe than the writings of Grotius and Hobbes. Here are new works by two young scholars, both grounded in their doctoral dissertations, one by a German and written in German, another by a Finn writing in English. Although they use the same texts, they differ in approach.

Thomas Behme commences his account of Pufendorf's thought with the state of nature, the foundation of natural law philosophy, and follows it step by step to the basis of the state in natural law, in the process incorporating Pufendorf's view of the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire. Behme points out that Pufendorf diverged from the fashionable intellectual current of his time. Although well acquainted with Cartesian thought, he departed from René Descartes's *mos geometricus* and relied more heavily on empirical investigation, making allowances not only for pure reason but also for free will. The idea of natural law as a universal, innate faculty of reason accessible to all humankind seemed to him inappropriate and lacking in empirical evidence. Instead, as a good Lutheran, Pufendorf posited a divinely created order of human reason on a par with the divine order of creation. Human nature, its dispositions and abilities, therefore must be traced back to God the creator.

Behme also claims that Pufendorf raised the concept of *socialitas*, the concept of humanitarian and charitable obligations toward the rest of humanity required to maintain peaceful coexistence, to the position of a fundamental norm of natural law. Only after setting the moral and social preconditions for human government, which incorporated subsidiary nonpublic associations such as family and household, did Pufendorf proceed to his contractual theory. In contrast to Hobbes's one-step version, Pufendorf posited a three-step model for the formation of the state, involving both a social contract and a ruling contract. Beyond the needs of common security, subjects preserve their personal rights and qualities as *persona moralis*; the obligations of the ruler are strictly limited to the purposes of state. Hence Pufendorf has been variously seen as both a theoretical defender of enlightened absolutism and a forerunner of early liberalism.

Kari Saastamoinen's study obviously shares some textual exposition with that of Behme, but her purpose is very different and is enunciated more clearly. Saastamoinen concentrates on Pufendorf's account of natural law as a theory of morality rather than a construct of political philosophy. She agrees with Behme that the seventeenth-century natural law authors marked a radical departure from classical ethical thinking. Whereas the earlier writers focused on the cultivation of individual *virtù*, the later thinkers articulated a set of rational principles for interpersonal relationships on the basis of which human beings might establish a peaceful social order.

Although Pufendorf credited Grotius as the founder of modern natural law, he disagreed with him over the origin of morality as a human phenomenon. Grotius claimed that, because human beings are distinguished from other animals by their unique intellectual and social functions, it is human nature to live a peaceful and rationally organized social life. Pufendorf dis-

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sented. He was convinced that the only possible sources of morality were the commandments of God and therefore that the whole social order depended on a collectively shared fear of God. Expanding on Martin Luther's doctrine of law, Pufendorf saw natural law as a rule God had imposed on the corrupt human species in order to maintain an ordered social life, in this way ensuring the survival of humanity. Yet his was more a natural than a Lutheran theology. Pufendorf believed that human reason as such, without the Bible or knowledge of the fall, could perceive that the human species had become corrupt and was inclined to work against God's will. In this respect his moral theory differs not only from that of Grotius and Hobbes but also from later moral philosophy. Pufendorf insisted that morality was something external to human beings and that there was a God who wanted human beings to behave in a certain manner.

Despite their differing themes, both authors have a number of ideas in common, as might be expected. For the general historian, the importance of Pufendorf lies in his abiding influence. Both authors briefly touch on this subject at the end, Behme more than Saastamoinen. But his focus seems to be mostly on the work of Jean Barbeyrac. Short shrift is given to Christian Wolff and, more particularly, Christian Thomasius, who maintained close contact with Pufendorf and whose ethical positions resembled his. An opportunity to integrate Pufendorf into the German Enlightenment is thereby missed.

HANNS GROSS
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ROGER BEAUMONT. *War, Chaos, and History*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1994. Pp. xv, 214. $57.50.

Sun Tzu wrote in his *Art of War*, "In the tumult and uproar the battle seems chaotic, but there is no disorder; the troops appear to be milling about in circles but cannot be defeated" (Samuel B. Griffith, trans., 1963, p. 92). The passage seems to capture the essence of Roger Beaumont's new book on military history, chaos, and complexity theory. The book offers a glimpse into the black box of war. It is thus primarily a work of military science that attempts to inform military historians and their craft. As such, it has more in common with S. L. A. Marshall's *Men against Fire* (1947) and John Keegan's *The Face of Battle* (1976) than a traditional piece of military historiography. Although some military historians will find this troubling, Beaumont's work offers a new way to look at the phenomenon of warfare.

This book has intellectual roots that in many ways revert back to the fall of 1987 when two coincidental events brought before the general public the idea of chaos: the stock market collapse in October and the publication of James Gleick's book, *Chaos*, which seemed to explain the causes of the whole securities debacle. Since then, some of the discussion surrounding chaos and its lesser offspring, complexity theory, has assumed a faddish tone reminiscent of the hype that greeted René Thom's catastrophe theory in the early 1970s. Beaumont's book, however, is the first offering on chaos and complexity theory made accessible to the military historian.

Toss a paper cup into a turbulent stream, plot its course with respect to time, and you have a curvilinear trajectory that becomes nonlinear and chaotic once the cup hits the water. Spin a gyroscope on a desktop, plot its position against time, and you have a graph that is essentially linear. Let the gyroscope spin off the desk and its behavior immediately becomes nonlinear and chaotic. Nonlinearity is a fundamental characteristic of chaotic systems whose dynamics change dramatically under small external influences. In the case of the gyroscope, a tiny change in position can cause it to spin chaotically over the edge of the desk and out of control. Systems that are inherently subject to chaotic behavior, systems that operate at the "edge of chaos," are called complex systems. One can argue intuitively that military systems are complex systems that operate at the edge of chaos: the initial shock of combat operations can send them spinning into disorder and disintegration; yet at lower echelons of command self-organization kicks in, bringing the whole system to some level of stability. Armies move through such complex cycles until one side or the other is defeated. Beaumont argues that the command and control function of an army aims precisely at maintaining internal cohesion and stability throughout the organization. In practice, this means that a rapid and efficient flow of information is essential to control the chaos and friction manifest in war. Beaumont suggests that military doctrine plays a similar role at the institutional level. Doctrinal information operates on the military system as a kind of centrifugal force that keeps the parts of the system from flying off into fragmented action. Military doctrine causes the dissimilar parts of the army to cohere in a collective rational fashion. The force of doctrine, in light of chaos and complexity theory, is not so much that it be correct, as historian Michael Howard has argued, as that it simply exist.

Beaumont's book raises at least three substantive issues that bear directly on the craft of military historiography. First, all military action, especially war, must be conceived of as an organic whole. The essence of a war, a campaign, or even a battle cannot be reduced to the sum of its constituent combats. Detailed campaign studies and exhaustive battle narratives represent so many ripples in the much broader and deeper ocean of war holistically conceived. Second, armies, and security systems generally, are living systems that develop a unique evolutionary path expressed as history. These living military systems coevolve in an environment of conflict, in which each seeks to dominate the other. The process of coevolution through adaptation and domination leads, on rare occasions, to military revolution. Third, the fractal—infinitely nested—nature of military action

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and organization suggests a complexity in war that tends to be neglected in the burgeoning cottage industry of military history. Here, the many facile narratives place the commander and his army in the dock of historical inquisition that seeks to determine the ultimate causes of victory and defeat. Beaumont's book on complexity and chaos theory leaves us wondering how the commander and his army were able to take the field at all.

By way of warning, the prospective reader would be well advised to read any number of the excellent popular accounts available on chaos and complexity theory as prerequisites to tackling Beaumont's penetrating new book.

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JAMES L. RICHARDSON. *Crisis Diplomacy: The Great Powers since the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. (Cambridge Studies in International Relations, number 35.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 426. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

Alexander George pioneered the use of "structured, focused comparisons" of historical examples to allow theorists of international relations to make generalizations with more historical accuracy. This approach shapes James L. Richardson's massive study of crisis diplomacy. The work seeks to distinguish between the underlying structural issues that make international conflict likely and the part played by crisis diplomacy during the course of the confrontation. Richardson's focused comparisons are deliberately less familiar ones, ranging from the Eastern crisis of 1839–1841 to the Crimean War to the Russo-Japanese conflict of 1904–1905 to the Sudeten crisis of 1938 and culminating with the Cold War struggles over Berlin.

Richardson's historical analysis, which draws upon the relevant secondary works and published document collections, fits a rigid format. He describes the setting of each crisis, the goals of the major participants, their perceptions of the crisis, the bargaining that occurred during the negotitions, and the role of internal politics. He then pauses to assess the interplay between structure and crisis diplomacy. Using this schemata, he takes the reader through the crises, in more detail in the earlier examples, somewhat hurriedly thereafter. He delineates the complexity of each war/peace situation and gives some attention to the differences between the nineteenth and twentieth century contexts. At mid-point he examines, critically, the tendency of many recent theorists to overstress the concept of "crisis management." In particular, Richardson believes "crisis management" suggests far too comfortable an assertion that international conflict can indeed be managed when the actual risks of war are far greater. He warns—correctly in my opinion—about drawing too many conclusions from the Cuban missile crisis.

Richardon's overall conclusions will not surprise many historians of international relations. They will enjoy his assessment of the personalities and his mastery of the secondary material. His analysis of the probabilities of each of the crises, as viewed at the start, ending in peace or war is also intriguing. Nevertheless, some will wonder about the comparative value of historical cases in which communication patterns differ so strongly (from the pre-telegraph era to the post-telegraph age) or whether the word "crisis" might not be the right term of analysis for the Eastern tensions of the late 1830s. While many historians would agree with his assertion that "crisis diplomacy is an intentional, goal-seeking form of behaviour, the pursuit of policies or strategies aimed at achieving certain ends or avoiding certain outcomes," they would strongly resist his assertion that this is "a neglected area of crisis research" (p. 236). The voluminous studies on the outbreak of both World Wars surely belie that comment.

Richardson's analytical explanation of goals, perceptions, bargaining, and internal politics does not contain much that is new. In many instances the findings will appear a statement of the obvious, such as "Internal politics provides the key to many otherwise puzzling aspects of crises" (p. 332). Richardson's failure to assess the issue of time pressures on decision makers remains surprising, since the question of time—especially from the perspective of military operations—has been a constant worry for civilian leaders since the 1860s.

Nevertheless, his final conclusions have cogency and even a ring of urgency for policy makers: the need for multiple advocacy to insure that all options are considered, a careful limitation of objectives, flexibility in selecting options, the importance of perceptions and their verification, and constant attention to communications. In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the return to more ambiguous situations of war and peace, these admonitions have force and relevance. We must hope that some future policy makers will read and possibly heed.

SAMUEL R. WILLIAMSON, JR.
University of the South

PAUL BROOKER. *Twentieth-Century Dictatorships: The Ideological One-Party States*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. vii, 311. $40.00.

Paul Brooker specializes in the comparative analysis of authoritarian political systems. His first book, *The Faces of Fraternalism: Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Imperial Japan* (1991), undertook a comparative analysis of the relative success of each of the Tripartite Powers of World War II in achieving "mechanical solidarity" within their respective societies. The present work involves the typology and comparative analysis of what Brooker defines as the principal types of one-party political systems in the twentieth century. It does not propose to be a general guidebook to

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dictatorships and does not attempt so complete a general taxonomy as Juan J. Linz's "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes" (in *Handbook of Political Science* vol. 3, "Macropolitical Theory," F. Greenstein and N. Polsby, eds. [1975], pp. 175–411). It is somewhat nearer in focus to Amos Perlmutter's *Modern Authoritarianism: A Comparative Institutional Analysis* (1981), though only in part.

It is structured in three parts, which consist of the analysis of "The Party-State Type," "The Military-Party Type," and "Transformations From One Type to Another." Each part studies only the most representative types, without attempting to be exhaustive. Part 1 thus deals with Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union to 1945, Communist regimes in general from the 1940s to the 1980s, Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana, and Sekou Toure's Guinea. Part 2 examines what Brooker calls "The Quasi-Fascist Examples" of the two dictatorships in Spain, two "Third World Socialist Case Studies" (Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt and Ne Win's Burma) and two "Third World 'Multi-Party' Case Studies" (Juan Peron's Argentina and Thojib Suharto's Indonesia). Part 3, treating "Transformations," analyzes Kuomintang China, Wojciech Jaruzelski's Poland, Mexico, Fidel Castro's Cuba and Kemalist Turkey.

Brooker has a firm grasp of the secondary literature and provides trenchant descriptive analyses of each case that he takes up. His work will be useful to students of twentieth-century politics and history in two respects: it provides a lengthy set of informative case studies on the one hand, which will constitute a handy reference for more general students and scholars, and it offers a useful set of typologies for the comparative analysis of authoritarian regimes on the other.

Some scholars will doubtless take issue with certain aspects of the typology in terms of both inclusions and omissions. The criteria that guide the former presumably have to do with each regime's significance, duration, and typological utility. All the interwar East European regimes are ignored, though the regime of Józef Piłsudski in Poland lasted longer and presumably was more significant than that of Miguel Primo de Rivera in Spain. The most venerable of all European non-Communist authoritarian systems, the Portuguese Estado Novo, is likewise passed over.

Similarly, some scholars might prefer an approach that establishes a systematic taxonomy of communist regimes or a more unified and extensive treatment of fascist and "quasi-fascist" systems. Treatment of probably the most common form of authoritarian regime, the military dictatorship pure and simple, is, of course, ruled out by the focus on "ideological one-party states," and Brooker is certainly correct that the latter constitute the most significant and durable regimes.

In general, the political literature on authoritarian regimes is more limited and weaker than that on democracies and nominal parliamentary systems. Since the former have been more numerous during this century, scholars are indebted to anyone who is able to contribute to their comparative analysis and taxonomy. Here Brooker has made a useful contribution, though not everyone will be convinced by the structure of the typology he presents.

STANLEY G. PAYNE
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FORREST D. COLBURN. *The Vogue of Revolution in Poor Countries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 135. $19.95.

What is one realistically to expect from a slim (105 pages of text and notes) volume touted on its dust jacket as "without question the most important analysis of (the failures of) socialist construction ever written"? However generous one may be inclined to be toward Forrest D. Colburn and his purpose, this remains a frustrating little book, an awkward mixture of personal experience, haphazard scholarship, and political and intellectual confusion. Some readers will, not entirely unjustly, dismiss it as a somewhat pretentious example of a politically partisan academic's failure to come to terms with the discrediting of communist/socialist movements.

There are three main problems. Foremost is the assumption that "revolution" can only be communist/socialist in nature. While Colburn recognizes the problem of defining revolution (pp. 6–7, 100), he does not discuss the difficulties caused by ignoring non- and even anti-communist/socialist revolutions. The curious list of twenty-two contemporary revolutions (p. 8) is at best arbitrary and lends a tautological cast to the whole enterprise. A more accurate title for the book as it stands might be drawn from a phrase used only once in the text but implicit throughout: "the vogue of socialist ideology" (p. 50). Colburn might better still, in my view, have avoided considerable difficulty by concentrating on the less ideologically loaded concept of egalitarianism.

A second problem lies in the argument that (communist/socialist) "revolution" is best understood as a vogue or fashion. It is fair enough to criticize the earlier structural analyses of revolution and to plead that revolutionaries' ideas have to be taken seriously (pp. 10–16). But to then turn, essentially, to an analysis founded on "political sequence" (p. 17) and merely wonder at the ironies and paradoxes of the intellectual world of these revolutionaries is both disappointing and unhelpful. Further, the words "vogue" and "fashion" have a dismissive sense that Colburn does not intend but that lingers nevertheless, to the confusion of the thesis. In any case, this is not the intellectual or cultural history that Colburn calls for in his introduction, and he never really gets around to the "crucial" business of "explaining revolutionary elites' ideas" (p. 104) or saying precisely why "fantasy in prosperous Western Europe and North America became realism in many poor countries of the world" (p. 35).

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Finally, and particularly for readers with specialized regional knowledge, this work is marred by what might be called the naivete of globalization. Colburn's purpose is to generalize, of course, and it would be unjust to complain about that, for we need good generalization. But his thesis encourages a too-easy view that everything is the same or remarkably similar under the socialist lens; the reader in fact gets no sense of difference or shades of local meaning. That Burma and Vietnam, for example, might have had remarkably different "revolutionary" experiences is not hinted, and that indigenous minds, ideas, societies, or cultures might have had something to do with how things turned out is nowhere considered seriously or at length. Indeed, there is a rather old-fashioned sort of Third-Worldism at work here, one strong enough to leave the impression that once again "it was all the fault of the West," now in the guise of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and V. I. Lenin (via Berkeley, Paris, or wherever). Such a conclusion is both lacking in nuance and, to one degree or another, misleading, as is this work as a whole.

WILLIAM H. FREDERICK
Ohio University

ANCIENT

HOWARD CLARK KEE. *Who Are the People of God? Early Christian Models of Community*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. vii, 280. $32.50.

In the tumultuous and troubled world of the first two Christian centuries, peopled with Pharisees, Sadducees, Zealots, Essenes, Gentiles, Romans, Christians, and myriad combinations of these groups, all with competing claims of loyalty and devotion to various deities and beliefs, one indeed might have asked, "who are the 'people of God'?" This volume attempts to answer that intriguing question. Howard Clark Kee is no stranger to this period, and his book testifies eloquently to the extravagant religious fertility and flowering of the world of Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity.

Kee focuses on crucial Jewish and Christian texts, trying to locate them within the cultural world that spawned them. His approach is sociocultural and seeks to emphasize the diversity of viewpoint and belief that obtained in Second Temple Judaism and nascent Christianity, as well as the numerous ways in which these two communities reacted not only to each other but also to the changing world that surrounded them.

Kee asserts that in the postexilic period, Jews began to adopt diverse strategies to sharpen their group identity, to express their special relationship to God, and to give voice to their responsibilities toward each other and the outside world. These models, which provided the means by which Jews responded to the challenges and chances for reinstating themselves as the "people of God," are: the community of the wise, the law-abiding community, the community of mystical participation, the city or temple, and the ethnically and culturally inclusive community. In developing his thesis, Kee reviews prophetic writing, apocraphal literature, apocalyptic writing, some philonic material, and all too briefly, some of the *merkabah* literature. It is, however, the New Testament canon that Kee probes most deeply and that constitutes the bulk of the material examined.

With a keen eye and stimulating approach, Kee examines the gospels and epistles in an attempt to fathom how early Christians came to see themselves as the "people of God." Rather than simply invoking the cliché of Christianity "superseding" Judaism as the "new Israel," he shows how nascent Christianity began to employ, exploit, adopt, and adapt the Jewish models of community. Kee shrewdly notes that the Christian models did not correspond precisely to the Jewish models. "But the Jewish models are both precedents and foils for the variety of ways in which the early Christians understood themselves to be the heirs of the covenant promises, and for the roles they saw Jesus fulfilling in what they regarded as his God-given task of establishing the new people of God" (p. 54). The models could exist individually or in various combinations.

Kee is not so much interested in replacing the categories of nineteenth-century history of religions with new pigeonholes into which data can be segregated. Rather, he aims "to produce a new set of analytical modes and theoretical procedures by which the diverse and dynamic development of post-exilic Judaism and the origins of Christianity can be illumined and more responsibly analyzed" (p. 13).

A sociocultural approach, centering around communities, their leadership, and their sense of destiny, may shed new light and perspectives on the origins, diversity, and dynamics of religious movements. Kee argues that such an approach illuminates texts and their origins in novel ways, and all students of early Christianity will benefit from this work. While it treads well-worn paths, it does so energetically, providing new insights into all too familiar sources.

STEPHEN D. BENIN
University of Memphis

MICHAEL H. JAMESON, CURTIS N. RUNNELS, and TJEERD H. VAN ANDEL. *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day*. Assisted by MARK H. MUNN. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 654. $125.00.

This massive volume presents the first part of the results of the Southern Argolid survey, organized by Michael H. Jameson from 1972 to 1982. It is an important book. It is rare for a Byzantine or early modern historian of Greece, and virtually unheard of for an ancient historian, to have access to documents describing rural life and landholding, and traditional archaeological excavations help but little. In the 1960s, Jameson was one of the first scholars working in

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Greece to recognize that the intensive surface survey, as pioneered by North American "new archaeologists," might fill the gap. Working from the ceramic, lithic, and architectural remains visible on the current surface, Jameson and his colleagues have reconstructed 50,000 years of settlement history and land use, truly a history of the *longue durée*. Until recently, the normal kind of survey in Greece amounted to a group of archaeologists driving around the countryside visiting likely looking spots for ancient sites which could later be excavated. Jameson made the survey an end in itself, selecting an area of just 43.75 square kilometers that cut across all major ecological niches and walking over all of it with team members spaced just 5–15 meters apart to recover traces of every kind of surface deposit, no matter how small. The biggest clusters of artifacts belonged to ancient cities with populations in the thousands; the smallest was an area of just 12 square meters.

The methodological problems of working from surface debris to ancient settlement patterns are of course enormous, but Jameson, Curtis N. Runnels, and Tjeerd H. van Andel confront them squarely. Surface artifacts do not relate in any simple way to subsurface remains, and in fact in most parts of Greece ancient material is to be found in a thin scatter across almost the whole countryside rather than packaged in discrete "sites." Jameson and his coauthors recognize this but nevertheless do not argue with the advocates of the so-called "siteless survey"; instead, they seek a middle position: "The term 'site' is thus nothing more than a convenient way to designate a locality where cultural materials were found, apparently belonging together" (p. 221). This is a good working definition, but it also prevents them from becoming involved in some of the fruitful debates (for example, over the history of manuring) that a "second generation" of even more intensive surveys in the last ten years have made possible.

But in a field so far characterized more by methodological discussion than substantive results, the practical approach of Jameson and his team is refreshing. Just twelve years after their final field season, they have given us a massively detailed catalog of the 328 sites they identified, buttressed by comprehensive treatments of the geomorphology, vegetation history, and climate of the southern Argolid. These chapters will make this book a standard resource for all Greek economic historians, not just those interested specifically in this region.

Although their work is much more oriented toward the nuts and bolts of rural life than most historical studies in Greece, the authors rightly point out that their focus is less ecological than that of most survey archaeologists in other countries (pp. 10–11). They consistently emphasize human agency, rather than nature, as the dominant force in the evolution of the landscape. Like other recent surveys in Greece, they identify alternating phases of dispersed and nucleated settlement, and note that dispersed settlement generally corresponds with higher population levels.

Ancient historians will be particularly interested in their discovery of a mass of small sites dating to the Late Classical/Early Hellenistic phase, roughly 350–250 B.C., which they interpret as dispersed farmsteads (pp. 383–94). They argue from the pattern of these sites around Flamboura that new farms of 5.5 to 22.5 hectares were forming in the fourth century, worked by farmers and laborers resident on the land. This apparently widespread pattern (also identified in J. F. Cherry, J. L. Davis, and E. Mantzourani, *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History* [1991]; and H. Lohmann, *Atene* [1994]) was hardly suspected even a decade ago and is making ancient economic history an exciting field. Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel connect it with the controversial "new model" of classical agriculture, which argues for a major increase in productivity in the fifth or fourth century and a reorientation of production away from subsistence and toward the market. By 250 B.C., this pattern was starting to break up in the southern Argolid. People drifted away from the farmsteads, and population began a decline that was only reversed seven centuries later.

Even before their detailed publication, this and other survey projects have begun to transform the way ancient and Byzantine historians are thinking about Greek agriculture and its relationship to broader structures. I suspect that by the end of this decade, no self-respecting Greek historian will be able to afford to be ignorant of this work. This book is a major contribution to an important new field.

IAN MORRIS
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STEPHEN WILLIAMS and GERARD FRIELL. *Theodosius: The Empire at Bay*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. 238. $28.50.

Stephen Williams and Gerard Friell present a portrait of the Roman emperor Theodosius I (379–95 A.D.) as a man struggling to control both his temper and a cacophony of crises, and in doing so, they argue, he forever altered the direction of Western civilization. The costs included fracturing imperial unity, redefining membership in a Christian-Roman society, and forcing the dynastic principle. By applying triage in the West, Theodosius doomed much of it to barbarism. Williams and Friell present a chronological survey from the Roman defeat near Adrianople in 378 to shortly after the "sack of Rome" in 410, but not until page 171 do they announce that their primary aim is to examine how Rome managed "to accommodate a new scale of barbarian challenge."

This is a book of synthesis intended for non-specialists; Williams and Friell make little effort to engage the primary sources directly. Perhaps because they have extracted this biography from secondary materials that are not themselves biographical in nature, the

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book fails to provide a coherent vision of Theodosius, particularly in regard to his barbarian policy. Better treatments of this theme can be found in several of the authorities cited in the bibliography (P. Heather, *Goths and Romans, 332–489* [1991] and H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* [1988]) Two cases of apparent confusion must suffice. Although Williams and Friell write that the barbarian "hoards washed ... and pushed" (p. 31), they later, to the contrary, insist that the barbarian were actually "not the myriad hordes of legend" (p. 86). Again, although much of the book depicts Theodosius as defeating the Goths piecemeal, the authors nonetheless adopt the traditional premise that in 382 the emperor concluded a major treaty with some 100,000 Goths who then settled "as a semi-independent nation in arms" (p. 101).

Some errors are especially vexing. Had Williams and Friell carefully checked the numismatic record, they would have had to conclude that Theodosius did, or fully intended to, acknowledge Magnus Maximus as his colleague (pp. 37–39; see, for example, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 9, p. 233). Their discussion of his plans for the young Valentinian II is also unresolved and unclear (pp. 125–127, 187). Alaric was certainly not, despite their claim, the leader of the Gothic federates at the Battle on the Frigidus in 394 and so destined to become the Goths' king (p. 132). Since so many of the events chronicled in this book are the objects of intense scholarly debate, it may be unfair to hold Williams and Friell accountable for not reconciling them. Their incongruities and errors are nonetheless troubling. Citations to works in French and German are beset with errors.

Williams and Friell are, however, extraordinary at summarizing difficult concepts. This is particularly apparent in their discussions of Trinitarian theology (pp. 47–48), structural (p. 104) and economic (p. 114) problems, and Alaric's delicate position astride "two horses" (p. 151). Even when one strongly disagrees, one cannot help grappling with major historical issues while reading this book. Nonspecialists will find much here to reward their efforts, but specialists will have to take their cue from Theodosius and contain their frustrations. Alas, Theodosius the Great was ultimately unsuccessful in this regard.

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MEDIEVAL

SUSAN A. RABE. *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 220. $36.95.

In this relatively slim volume Susan A. Rabe seeks to reconstruct the conceptual elements that inspired the architectural and liturgical program that Abbot Angilbert put in place at the monastery of Saint-Riquier during the 790s. As she points out in her first chapter, achieving that end requires new approaches to Carolingian monastic history and its sources.

Rabe begins her search by describing, in her second chapter, the almost frenzied effort made at the Carolingian court during the 790s to formulate a political and cultural program to defend trinitarian and christological orthodoxy against iconoclast and Adoptionist heresies. Her third chapter focuses on Angilbert's career as royal official, intimate member of the learned circle surrounding Charlemagne during the 790s, and, ultimately, abbot of Saint-Riquier (ca. 789–814). The bulk of this chapter is devoted to an analysis of writings ascribed to Angilbert, especially the *De conversione Saxonum* (ca. 793) and a dedicatory poem written to accompany a copy of Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* (396–426) prepared for Louis, king of Aquitaine. Rabe's nuanced reading of these texts reveals a mind seeking to discover the path Christians must take to achieve right faith, access to which is gained by reading symbols (*signa*), especially numbers and metaphors, evoking the Trinity. Pushing for a fuller understanding of Angilbert's symbolic understanding, Rabe devotes her fourth chapter to a detailed analysis of the *Libri Carolini* (391–393) and of Augustine's two great treatises, *De doctrina Christiana* and *De Trinitate* (399–419). These texts, she argues, served to fix in Angilbert's mind a linkage between true faith and liturgy and a conviction that created things constituted the *signa* through which ultimate truth could be discerned.

In a final chapter, Rabe turns to a description of the artistic and liturgical program Angilbert fashioned at Saint-Riquier. Utilizing the literary and archaeological evidence concerning the structures built at the monastery, their inner arrangement and decor, and the liturgical routine imposed by Angilbert, Rabe seeks to demonstrate that his program "expressed in terms more compelling than doctrinal teaching the essential and specific trinitarian and christological doctrines at stake in the 790s" (p. 137). She focuses her attention especially on the redolent number symbolism in the art and liturgy of Saint-Riquier, intended to draw the monks and the rest of the Christian community to a salvific understanding of Christ and the Trinity.

At times, Rabe's case seems in danger of collapsing. It hinges on acceptance of several propositions that she recognizes as debatable: that Angilbert was decisively engaged during the 790s in the formulation of the theological concepts supporting trinitarian and christological orthodoxy; that he wrote the *De conversione Saxonum*; that a relatively brief dedicatory poem and the availability of texts provide sufficient proof that he had fully absorbed Augustine's theory of knowledge and concepts of aesthetics; and that his descriptions of his program at Saint-Riquier are trustworthy.

Despite these reservations, this is a valuable study. Rabe casts light on what a prominent abbot thought he was doing when he made a tremendous investment in rebuilding a monastery. And she reveals how fruitful is the linkage of politics, theological learning, and art in

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search of a fuller understanding of Carolingian cultural life. In her conclusion, devoted to some brief reflections on what was unique about Angilbert's achievement at Saint-Riquier, Rabe suggests an important program for research that one hopes she and others will pursue: the study of individual monastic houses from a specific and interdisciplinary approach in search of "competing or complementary visions of Carolingian culture" (p. 8).

RICHARD E. SULLIVAN
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CHRISTIAN KRÖTZL. *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag: Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter (12.-15. Jahrhundert).* (Studia Historica, number 46.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1994. Pp. 393.

In this comprehensive study of the related phenomena of pilgrimage and miracle in miracle collections from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, Christian Krötzl demonstrates the usefulness of such materials for cultural history and contributes to the discussion of saints' cults in medieval Europe. Krötzl defines his terms and poses the questions that shape his study in the first of six clearly organized and copiously documented chapters. In chapter two he moves to a chronological survey describing and offering a statistical analysis of each miracle collection. Among the royal saints are Cnut of Denmark and Olaf of Norway. Churchmen include Nicholas, bishop of Linkoping, and Brynolph, bishop of Skara. It is especially interesting to see the miracles of Birgitta of Vadstena treated in this context.

Chapter three offers a profile of Scandinavian pilgrims according to date and goal. The earliest information, which is found in runic inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries, reports pilgrimages to Jerusalem, including that of Ingirum, daughter of Hardar. By the twelfth century, Scandinavians, who had first visited Santiago as Viking raiders, were stopping en route to the Crusades as pilgrims. Within Scandinavia, the tomb of Olaf in Trondheim attracted the most pilgrims. In the thirteenth century, the most popular goal for long-distance pilgrimages was Jerusalem; mention of women is now infrequent, though the Dominican nun Ingrid of Skanninge, later a saint herself, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1282. Scandinavian pilgrims also traveled to Bari to visit Saint Nicholas and to Thomas Becket's relics at Canterbury.

At the end of the Middle Ages, Rome, Santiago, and Jerusalem continued to be major goals, and sites in northern Germany attracted numbers of Scandinavian pilgrims. Native saints, however, were not well known outside Scandinavia; though Vadstena had become the favorite pilgrimage goal of Scandinavians, not even Birgitta drew foreign pilgrims.

Chapters four and five divide the pilgrimages and associated miracles into two major types. Quest pilgrimages resulted in miracles worked in the presence of relics, that is, at the shrines of the saints. Pilgrimages of thanksgiving acknowledged miracles worked from afar. Quest pilgrimages sought healing miracles, usually of chronic complaints such as blindness and lameness, from a saint conceived as a concrete, active individual. Miracles were often connected with dream visions experienced in the church while many others were present and at liturgically significant times. This type predominated in miracle collections until the mid-fourteenth century, though a shift began during the thirteenth. Distance miracles also occurred throughout the time period, but in the earliest collections the saints tended to effect rescues or find lost objects. By the fifteenth century, however, distance miracles virtually took over the category of healing and extended it into new areas connected with everyday life.

Krötzl explores the reasons for the increasing percentage of distance miracles, which has been noted elsewhere in medieval Europe and which he posits as a pan-European phenomenon. Scholars such as André Vauchez and Pierre-André Sigal point to the rise in devotional images, suggesting that they functioned as substitutes for relics. Krötzl, however, finds no reliance on the availability of images in Scandinavian miracle collections and concludes that the rise of devotional images and of distance miracles are parallel rather than interrelated phenomena. This significant challenge to the power of images should be tested against miracle collections from other areas, as Krötzl urges. He attributes the shift to increasing competition among shrines and to the need for more impressive miracles to bolster claims for canonization. Further, if most pilgrims came to give thanks and make offerings, decorum at shrines increased and the need to provide extended care for sick pilgrims diminished.

Krötzl's study offers a contribution and a challenge to our understanding of medieval culture. It is also a model of clarity and comprehensiveness that future researchers in medieval hagiography will consult with gratitude.

PAMELA SHEINGORN
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PAUL B. PIXTON. *The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1216–1245: Watchmen on the Tower.* (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, number 64.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1995. Pp. xv, 543. $135.00.

Few medievalists would disagree with the conventional wisdom that the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 was the greatest ecumenical council of the Middle Ages. Studies of the realization of its spirit and decrees are therefore particularly desirable. Paul B. Pixton has sought to make such a contribution by focusing specifically on the decrees concerning reform of the clergy in the dioceses of the six ecclesiastical provinces of Germanophone Europe in the three decades after the

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council. Originally he wanted to carry the study up to the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, but that would have proved to be simply too much. The volume of material that Pixton gathers and surveys is very impressive; indeed, in its details this is perhaps the single handiest guide to the German church in the first half of the thirteenth century available in English.

Unfortunately, the methodology and findings are more problematical. In narrowing in on the issue of reform of the clergy, Pixton chose the most intractable problem facing the reformers, and in limiting his chronological scope to thirty years, he was bound to arrive at negative conclusions. Pixton is certainly aware of the unfortunate state of papal-imperial relations during most of this period, which would naturally have soured the attitudes of many German prelates toward papal ideas of reform, but this does not impinge on what seems an unconscious predetermination to foredoom the work of the council. He could certainly have benefited from some comparative perspective. All early modern historians know that in the Empire the implementation of the decrees of the Council of Trent (when the church stood in much greater need of reform) did not begin on a broad front until after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, and in many dioceses not until the eighteenth century. In short, Pixton's expectations are unreal and naïve. One sometimes sees this in the details as well. Thus in the discussion of pluralism (pp. 96–100) he does not distinguish between benefices with and without the cure of souls, and he assumes, but does not demonstrate, that all the prelates he lists retained all the offices and dignities that they previously held. Finally, there are typographical errors aplenty (e.g., "Moné" instead of "Mone"), as well as stylistic infelicities (such as beginning sentences with "E.g.").

In fine, this is a workman-like book to be used with considerable caution.

LAWRENCE G. DUGGAN
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SABINE WEISS. *Kurie und Ortskirche: Die Beziehungen zwischen Salzburg und dem päpstlichen Hof unter Martin V. (1417–1431)*. (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, number 76.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 1994. Pp. xii, 575. DM 166.

One of very few comprehensive examinations of the effects of curial practices at the local level, this study of relations between the Roman curia and the Salzburg archdiocese is a most welcome contribution. Together with earlier studies by Andreas Meyer and François Baix, it enables us to assess changes brought by the ending of the Great Schism and the reforms of the Council of Constance. Moreover, Sabine Weiss's deep knowledge of the archival sources (acquired through years of work on the *Repertorium Germanicum*), her impeccable accuracy, and above all her innovative format for presentation make this book a true treasure. Her brief synopses of each individual transaction of a Salzburg resident with the curia (using Vatican and local sources) offer readers a direct window on the papal archives.

Weiss's evidence shows that Martin V faithfully executed conciliar reforms that made significant retrenchments of papal practices in areas such as exemptions and dispensations. Yet more than one-third of the 480 parish churches in the archdiocese were still filled through papal grants during Martin's reign (seven percent through simple provisions, twenty-two percent through *novae provisiones*, and seven percent through provisions *si neutri*, surrogations, and expectancies). Not that papal candidates often prevailed against ordinary collations. The success rate of papal provisions was low, about twenty-one percent for provisions to reserved benefices and fourteen percent for expectancies pp. 490–493), and in those few cases in which papal providees did prevail in competition with persons collated by the ordinaries, it was almost always through the influence of powerful local lords (pp. 250, 253). The largest groups of grants were *novae provisiones* sought by clerics who had received their benefices from the ordinaries, but who wished to remove uncertainties of title. In some cases, a cleric collated by the ordinaries to a benefice touched by a papal reservation would seek a *nova provisio* in order to forestall competition from a possible papal providee. More often, *novae provisiones* were granted for benefices received through permutations effected by the ordinaries, probably to remove the stain of simony incurred in such exchanges (p. 173).

Weiss sees a marked increase in both provisions and *novae provisiones* because of the alternating collation rights of pope and ordinaries enacted in the German concordat at the Council of Constance (*ius alternativum*, later altered to papal advantage in the system of "papal months"). For her, this increase was fundamental to the rehabilitation of papal primacy during Martin's watershed reign.

I would argue, however, that the Salzburg patterns are not of general validity but instead point to the wide variety of effects of curial practices in different regions of Europe. For example, the granting of expectancies to canonries, which played such a major role in Zurich collegiate churches, figured much less prominently in the Salzburg archdiocese, partly because, as Weiss herself notes, five of the Salzburg episcopal chapters were composed of Augustinian canons and thus not subject to papal provisions (p. 3). Thus, Weiss's study above all invites additional regional studies. One hopes that these will imitate her exemplary thoroughness.

PHILLIP H. STUMP
Lynchburg College

D. L. D'AVRAY. *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. 315. $65.00.

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Sermons for dead princes were a new genre in the early fourteenth century. Addressing court audiences, preachers balanced this-worldly and next-worldly concerns. They sometimes individualized the dead; Edward I, for example, of England was presented, using scriptural texts, as an Alexander in war (1 Maccabees 1) and a Solomon in wisdom (3 Kings 3). D. L. D'Avray points out, however, that the text selection itself reflects calculations of what was apt as well as what could be said. Another preacher, for example, differentiated between the peace-loving Charles II of Naples and his warrior father. In life, the two had been at odds. D'Avray argues, with a wealth of historical data, that the commonplace image of Charles was true to life, an artfully adopted individual style having become the real thing. He concludes, citing Hermann Hesse, that the fourteenth-century princely personality could "open up" in its "hierarchical function" (p. 114). He might have added that what royal consecration had joined together not even death could put asunder: the office embraced the man.

The world of the preachers overlapped with that of the schools. In a sermon on political authority, D'Avray's acute ear catches echoes, bounced off Thomas Aquinas, of Aristotelian "legal justice," with an extra resonance of ordered subjection. These sermons comfortably accommodate chivalric and courtly values of noble birth, wealth, power, and fame. They also present "in a nutshell the medieval Church's idea of death" (p. 159). The "psychologically perceptive" preacher who started from Psalm 74: 9 to depict Edward I's restless energy, then turned to discuss the mutability of individuals (not just that of their circumstances), used the rest of the verse to evoke the bitterness of death in terms of loss (p. 171). Interestingly, these sermons seldom dwell on purgatory. D'Avray's excursus on "Some Recent Work on the History of Death" (pp. 177–184) shows his mastery of what he calls the "big books"; his survey is judicious, generous yet constructively critical. The shape of D'Avray's distinctive contribution emerges clearly. Clinching the argument that these sermons represented political society to itself, he offers a theory that they worked by stirring memories and analogies in hearer's minds (the parallel with modern-dress productions of William Shakespeare is illuminating). D'Avray's plea for continued collaborative work on memorial sermons is characteristic of one who has shown equal generosity in sharing his own insights and acknowledging the work of others. International scholarship should be like this.

The style—clear, unpretentious, and direct—reflects the man. D'Avray never patronizes. He contrives to write stimulatingly for both fellow experts and students. He explains the significance of the manuscripts he explores and supplies hard-won transcriptions, a great boon. Taking the reader through the translated texts, he reveals their beautiful economy. The same quality imbues this book. Every part does its job perfectly, and the whole is more than the sum of these parts. D'Avray shows homology in deep structures of political thought and action, and he reveals fundamental relationships between ideological and political change in a critical period. The princely memorial sermon takes us to Latin Christendom's heart. In the sense that matters, this is a big book.

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HELEN SOLTERER. *The Master and Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 301. Cloth $50.00, paper $18.00.

An elegantly conceived ethical critique of representation, this book treats specifically the gendering of verbal damage in Latin and French vernacular texts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Helen Solterer's study deserves a place by such important ethical works as Elaine Scarry's *The Body in Pain* (1985) and Drucilla Cornell's *Beyond Accommodation: Feminist Ethics, Deconstruction, and the Law* (1991). This reader hopes, too, that it will make its way to law school curricula, since it provocatively historicizes actions such as libel and juridical concepts such as the autonomous status of the literary. It certainly should be required reading for medievalists.

Solterer shows how the institutionalization of the master (*magister*) at the medieval university—through the repetition of disputation (*disputatio*) and the reproduction of the disciple relationship—set in motion a formal structure of verbal damage that constructed the feminine as its target. The study of the genre known as the "response" (*responsio*) enables Solterer to grapple with the instabilities of the production of verbal damage. The response, in her words, "provided a way for the disciple to assume an authoritative role and argue the master's knowledge in his stead" (p. 97). Through her close reading of exemplary responses, Solterer traces strategies of what she calls "contrariety," whereby the respondent locates a feminine knowledge not in contradiction to the master but rather as a distinctive oppositional epistemology (p. 105). Today theorists would call such a move "tactical essentialism," and Solterer's study provides some suggestive ways of historicizing this tactic and understanding better its risks.

Respondents used arguments of contrariety to challenge the clerical figuration of women and to show its verbal damage. The *responsio* emerged in the Brabantine region of the late thirteenth century, where aristocrats and burgers hotly debated questions of literacies. In her reading of fifteenth-century *querelle*, notably Christine de Pizan's *Querelle du Roman de la Rose* (1402), Solterer brilliantly unfolds the polemical tactics that made formal accusations of defamation: "Implicit here is the rivalry between the poetic and the legal" (p. 153). The *Querelle* and other writings of De

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Pizan deflect the collapse of *femme/diffame* to one of *femme/fame/sapience*.

This brief summary cannot do justice to the careful thought given in this volume to speech acts, speech events, and feminist issues of identity and identification. The urgency and complexity of Solterer's subject can be at least underscored by recalling the discursive intersections of Christine de Pizan with Joan of Arc. An inquisitor had the legal right to begin *inquaesitio* on the basis of *fama* alone. He needed no accuser; *fama* could stand in the place of the accuser. Joan of Arc's *fama*, particularly her transvestism, enabled her betrayal and death at an inquisitorial show trial. Solterer's findings can bear on studies of inquisitorial narrative: to what extent did scholastically trained inquisitors of the later fifteenth century recuperate the tactical essentialism of contrariety staged in the response in order to intensify the engendered construction of witches as their target? We are indebted to her for raising such complex and troubling questions. The question of whether or not Solterer's book should be read as a *responsio* in its own right to Howard Bloch's *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (1991) I leave to the audience.

KATHLEEN BIDDICK
University of Notre Dame

CLAIRE RICHTER SHERMAN. *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representations in Fourteenth-Century France*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 419. $65.00.

One of the most outstanding features of late medieval literature is the increasing use of the vernacular, including translation. In fourteenth-century France, two kings—John the Good and especially Charles V—utilized translations for both intellectual and political purposes. Claire Richter Sherman's book is a study of four manuscripts produced for Charles V, containing translations by Nicholas Oresme of works by Aristotle, two with the *Nicomachean Ethics* and two with the *Politics* and pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics*.

The book is divided into three parts. The first section discusses French royal patronage of vernacular translation and its political significance. This part also provides biographical information about Nicholas Oresme, demonstrates his method of translation, and convincingly argues for his central role in designing the presentation of the texts and their illustrative programs in the four manuscripts that were made for Charles V. The second part studies the illustrations that accompany the two manuscripts of the *Ethics*, while the third part analyzes the scheme of illumination for the *Politics* and *Economics*. Four appendixes give complete codicalogical descriptions of the four manuscripts, and a fifth appendix transcribes and translates Oresme's unique instructions to the reader in one copy, designated MS B, of the *Politics*.

Although Sherman concentrates on the program of illustration in these manuscripts, her book demonstrates that these illuminations were much more than just pictures accompanying the text. The illustrations were, in fact, integral to the whole enterprise of translation and served as vehicles for explaining and emphasizing concepts and definitions found in the written text. They also functioned as devices to encourage discussion about the text, and they related applications of the principles found in the *Ethics* and *Politics* to the contemporary political situation in France, especially supporting royal power and prerogatives.

What makes Sherman's arguments so compelling is the method that she consistently and rigorously utilizes of considering the manuscripts as "integrated physical structures." Recent scholarship has shown considerable interest in the history and reception of books in relation to reading publics and political agendas. For the most part, these discussions lack engagement with the evidence that the books as material artifacts contribute to these broader topics. Sherman, in contrast, situates her study within its historical context but builds her points through detailed analysis of the complete manuscripts. For example, she explicates the depiction of justice in manuscript A of the *Ethics* by analyzing its placement in the manuscript at the beginning of a gathering and preceding the chapter headings, as well as its placement on the page, including its large scale and its vertical orientation along the central axis, which accentuates the chapter number above and the text below. These features work with other visual attributes of style and iconography to emphasize the key concepts about justice and its application to royal power.

Systematically drawing evidence from the "integrated physical structure" of the manuscripts enables Sherman to bring a wide range of insights to her study of these four manuscripts. She shows how Oresme as author/translator went about devising a program of visual imagery for secular texts with no previous illustrative tradition. Comparison of textual presentation and illumination in different manuscripts of the same text and for the same patron provides the opportunity to observe changes of interpretation and emphasis that Oresme made in the text as part of the ongoing interaction with the patron, Charles V. Sherman's careful analysis of the visual evidence also enables her to demonstrate how the illustrations worked as a kind of visual language that promoted their use as cognitive and mnemonic devices. This book is a model of how studying medieval manuscripts as complete cultural artifacts can elicit significant interpretative ideas that transcend the boundaries of the individual manuscripts themselves.

KAREN GOULD
Austin, Texas

JESSE M. GELLRICH. *Discourse and Dominion in the Fourteenth Century: Oral Contexts of Writing in Philosophy, Politics, and Poetry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 304. $39.50.

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The "discourse" in Jesse M. Gellrich's title refers to what he calls "the two tongues of oral and written" (p. 25). These, he states, are ordinarily "conflicting forces" (p. 20); in the Middle Ages, however, their real conflict was "occluded" (a word that appears many times in this book) by a theory of "mental language and its expression in speaking and writing" that does not "entertain the possibility of an opposition or conflict between spoken and written" (p. 21). This theory produced "the mythology of the 'lettered voice'" (p. 25), a myth that gave rise to "a *discourse* which resists and even denies the significance of" the natural opposition of the oral and the written (p. 119). This medieval "discourse," because it is based on the denial of a presumed fact (namely, that oral and written phenomena are completely different and in conflict), is fundamentally false ("occluded"), and this basic misapprehension, maintained by Augustinian theology and the discipline of medieval rhetoric, lies at the heart of the confusions and nostalgias of fourteenth-century society.

Language is for Gellrich just another word for power, and this is where the "dominion" of his title comes in. Oral and written languages are said by some modern language theorists to have "domains"; the word "domain" is a linguistic cousin to the word "dominion"; and therefore "domain" (as in "location") deconstructs into the notion of "dominion" (as in "rule"). This is why political power struggles, such as those of monarch and magnates in the reign of Richard II, are "metalinguistically" the unacknowledged, unnoticed, but still extant conflicts between the oral and written domains of discourse. As Gellrich says of Richard and his courtiers: "if they remain judged by th[eir] historical blindness, they should be exonerated by it, too, once we acknowledge the occlusion at the core of medieval literacy which led them into it in the first place" (p. 189). An unkind reader will ask at this point whose historical blindness is really on display.

The book's title is misleadingly broad, for its subject matter is entirely English. Gellrich traces the conflicts of oral and written discourse, unrecognized by the actors, in chapters on William of Ockham, John Wyclif, the chroniclers of Edward III and his son Edward, the Black Prince, selected events from the reign of Richard II, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and Geoffrey Chaucer's "The Knight's Tale." There is little specific analysis of evidence and no matters new to scholarship; the texts are rigorously fitted to the theory. What seems most at stake for Gellrich is to keep intact the dominion of his strong version of a universal account of human history as an opposition between orality and writing, even when such conflict appears, on the evidence adduced here, to be nonexistent.

Readers who are keen on watching a scholar pristinely ride his theory around the obstacle course of often treacherous and unyielding evidence may be rapt by this performance. Those whose intellectual instincts lie with the less pure, and who are troubled when what seems to be contradictory evidence is explained away as mere historical false consciousness, may choose to spend their time with another book: perhaps the ideologically weak, but to my mind intellectually more compelling, analyses of Brian Stock (*The Implications of Literacy* [1983] and *Listening for the Text* [1990]) or Michael Clanchy (*From Memory to Written Record* [rev. 1993]).

MARY CARRUTHERS
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BERNARD S. BACHRACH. *The Anatomy of a Little War: A Diplomatic and Military History of the Gundovald Affair (568–586)*. (History and Welfare.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1994. Pp. xx, 283. $49.85.

The Gundovald affair is one of the best known and most complex episodes in the history of sixth-century Gaul. In this book, Bernard S. Bachrach offers a more detailed reconstruction and interpretation than any previously attempted. Like others he locates the episode firmly within the foreign policy of the Byzantine emperors Justin II, Tiberius II, and Maurice, all of whom exploited Gundovald, a supposed son of the Merovingian king Chlothar I. The narrative of the affair is anything but simple: numerous parties with conflicting interests were involved. Our chief source, Gregory of Tours, tells the tale obliquely, in part at least out of a desire to protect certain protagonists. Although Bachrach identifies the evidential problems, he does not make the tale any more intelligible in the telling. Instead he opens up possibility after possibility. Some of his hypotheses are plausible or at least thought-provoking; others have less merit.

Unfortunately, it is not always easy to tell from Bachrach's account what is firmly based on the sources and what is not. For example, his reconstruction of the early history of Gundovald, supposedly kept at Sigibert's court as co-ruler, has no evidential support at all: the sources say only that he was tonsured and sent to Cologne. The chronology of Gundovald's escape to Italy is pure guesswork. More significantly, Bachrach claims that the so-called Nogent Accords, which are central to his interpretation, included plans for Gundovald; but there is nothing to suggest that the agreement made between Chilperic and the advisers of Childebert at Nogent ever mentioned the prince. Gregory of Tours refers simply to a planned deposition of Guntram, and the intended division of his kingdom between Chilperic and Childebert. There is no reason to connect this with Fredegar's statement that bishops Syagrius of Autun and Flavius of Chalon plotted to depose Guntram and elevate Gundovald in his place. As for the notion that Gundovald was meant to have the old Burgundian kingdom, this is contradicted by the fact that some of that kingdom (i.e. Viviers and Avignon) belonged to Austrasia. Nor is there any evidence that Chilperic planned to murder Guntram in collaboration with the Byzantines.

In general, Bachrach sees policies where Gregory of

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Tours appears to be describing plots and unofficial schemes. If everything was as official as he suggests, one wonders why Childebert had to be enlightened by his uncle about the policies of his own kingdom. As for the plot to murder Chilperic, Bachrach associates so many people with it that one is left to ask, who was not involved? The greatest concession to conspiracy theory comes, however, when Bachrach argues that the Byzantine secret service must have murdered Cleph, because there is no evidence that it did, and the lack of evidence is the sign of a successful secret service (pp. 27 and 191, n. 143). Bachrach overinterprets his evidence throughout, discovering grand schemes at every opportunity. In so doing, however, he makes the inconsistencies less intelligible.

The dust jacket of this book describes it as meticulous and imaginative. It is certainly imaginative. Unfortunately it is not meticulous. Footnotes (e.g. n. 112 on p. 208), fallaciously ascribe ideas to modern authors. Other footnotes are repetitive (e.g. nn. 71 and 73 on p. 220) and suggest that the book was put together in too much of a rush. Some points are not thought through. We are told that Guntram was regarded as central to any Italian policy, because he controlled the Alpine passes (pp. 39, 41); only later is the accessibility of the Brenner and other eastern passes to the Austrasian kingdom recognized (pp. 85 and 224–25, n. 99). Such weaknesses are a great pity. Bachrach does have interesting suggestions to make, and his observations on the sophistication of Merovingian warfare are important. Nevertheless, since it requires a detailed knowledge of the sources to determine what among his arguments is reliable, what plausible and what improbable or downright inaccurate, this is not a book that can safely be put into the hands of a student.

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Stephen P. Bensch. *Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1096–1291*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 26.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 457. $64.95.

This book covers the centuries that saw the transformation of Barcelona from a small settlement of about 1,500 people on the frontier between Christian and Muslim Spain into a major Mediterranean trading city with a population of some 40,000. Stephen P. Bensch corrects the usual Italian focus of urban history. He shows that the close and generally harmonious relations between the counts of Barcelona (from 1137 also rulers of Aragon) and their city should not be seen as a deviation from the Italian pattern but as a development of crucial importance for the thirteenth and later centuries. In Barcelona, the involvement of burghers in city administration worked together with the growth of comital authority. Bensch does not gloss over the obstacles the count-kings encountered along the way, especially in the 1040s, when the traditional order inherited from Carolingian times almost broke down.

The economic development of Barcelona was as troubled as its political history. Earlier studies—one thinks especially of those by Pierre Bonnassie and José E. Ruiz Doménec—illuminated the eleventh century. Pursuing his research beyond 1100, Bensch is able to show that during the first half of the twelfth century Barcelona underwent a prolonged economic crisis.

A central theme of the book is the rise of the urban patriciate that was to dominate Barcelona down to the eighteenth century. The origins of this group are not easy to determine but it seems that most of the families who eventually constituted the patriciate rose to power after 1140 from relatively humble origins. Bensch argues persuasively for "substantial genealogical continuity between [these] twelfth-century *prohoms*' (*probi homines*) and the members of the magistracy established in 1249–1274 (p. 179). Once in power, patricians often continued to trade, and they were not strangers to aristocratic culture. Ramon Lull (1232–1316) was not the only patrician familiar with arms and with troubadour poetry. Patricians took care to work with the royal authorities. In the thirteenth century, Barcelona "continued to function as a political organ within the enlarged body of the Crown of Aragon, not an independent merchant–republic" such as Genoa or Venice (p. 325).

It is impossible to comment here on all aspects of this book. At times one may feel lost in the accumulation of facts based on the thousands of documents consulted in Barcelona archives. Their significance is well brought out, however, by case studies of individuals and families, such as Bernat Ramon "the Rich" and his descendants (pp. 152–159); the Adarrós, who rose through their manipulation of credit transactions (pp. 203–206); or Guillem Durfort, who "catapulted to the upper reaches of urban society" (p. 211) through the control he established over the finances of King Pere I (1196–1213). The last case is typical of the way Barcelona's patricians grew in importance through their association with the reigning dynasty as it created a Catalan navy, protected shipping, and proceeded to conquer Majorca and then (in 1282) Sicily. Bensch's study of the expansion of Barcelona's trade through the Mediterranean completes a study that explores in a new and original way the internal history of a major European city.

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Matthias Thumser. *Rom und der römische Adel in der späten Stauferzeit*. (Bibliothek des Deutschen historischen instituts in Rom, number 81.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 1995. Pp. x, 425.

In keeping with the high standards of the Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, Matthias Thumser has produced a fine piece of work. Noting the discovery of new sources and the development of new methodology

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since the comprehensive writings of the legendary Ferdinand Gregorovius, Thumser saw the necessity of treating individual aspects of Roman medieval history. He chose the late Staufen period, 1191–1268, because it was a turning point in the history of Italy at a time of social revitalization. Families such as the Orsini, Conti, Annibaldi, and later the Savelli and Colonna replaced the old families as leaders of the Senate and the commune.

Thumser divides his study into sections dealing with the structure of the nobility, genealogical and prosopographical sketches of forty-two families, the genesis of the nobility as a social unit, political events in Rome, and the main political principles of the nobility. He focuses on three forces of power: the nobility, the papacy, and the empire. Sources from the commune are scanty, but he skillfully utilizes those from religious institutions, noble archives, papal registers, foreign descriptions of Rome, and various chronicles. He concludes his study with an appendix of five documents, a chronological list of Roman senators from 1191–1268, lists of the leading spiritual and secular administrators and of stem families, an extensive bibliography, an index, and a map of Rome from ca. 1300.

Thumser first sketches the background for his study. Describing Rome in the high middle ages, he grapples with the concept of "nobility" and charts the rise of the Senate. He expresses few perplexities. For example, he does not probe the explanation for the origin of the Senate as Innocent II's refusal to destroy Tivoli in 1143. Deeper causes may lie in the papal schism of 1130–1138 and in Innocent's return to Rome after years spent in exile while his opponent, Anaclet II, reigned. It might be significant that Jordan Pierleoni, Anaclet's brother, became *patricius* and the leader of the Senate while his brothers remained aloof. Further, while maintaining (p. 222) that it is a well-known fact of medieval Italy that the nobility lived in Rome but held possessions in the countryside, Thumser does not cite evidence indicating that the Pierleoni held property outside of Rome. How does one account for this aberration? Did, perhaps, the family's Jewish origins make such ownership more difficult?

Thumser's strength is that he ushers us smoothly through this formative period with impressive control of the sources, charting the conflicts between the emperors—mainly Frederick II—and such powerful popes as Innocent III, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV and describing how the new nobility in the Senate participated in these disputes. We do not learn much about how the nobles related to one another in Rome, but we have a vivid picture of the constantly changing alliances and explanations for the changes. We observe the polarizing of the nobility between the papal Guelfs and the imperial Ghibellines between 1252–1268 after their formation in the forties. We witness Charles of Anjou's annihilation of Frederick II's successors. Finally, Thumser presents us with a summary of the Senate's objectives: independence from the pope; control of territory around Rome; and the reinstatement of Roman world domination. He points out that only when the pope was absent from Rome did the nobility have any hope for achieving these goals. But he also notes that the nobles were caught in a dilemma, for the reality was that they were dependent upon the papacy for their material well being.

Those interested in the subjects that Thumser addresses will find this lively study indispensable.

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GÉRARD SIVÉRY. *Louis VIII: Le Lion*. Paris: Fayard. 1995. Pp. 473. 150 fr.

Since 1976, Gérard Sivéry has made important contributions to our understanding of the economy and society of late medieval France, and, most recently, the characters and achievements of the kingdom's rulers during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries: Philip Augustus, Blanche of Castille, Saint Louis, and Marguerite of Provence. Sivéry now turns his considerable talents to the brief reign of Louis VIII, son of Philip Augustus, husband of Blanche of Castille, and father of Saint Louis. This "roi des douze cents jours," as Sivéry terms him, came to the throne in July 1223, when he was almost thirty-six, and died shortly after his thirty-ninth birthday in November 1226. In 1896, Charles-Edmond Petit-Dutaillis published a meticulously documented study of Louis VIII and his reign, but since then Louis has received little attention. Despite the interest of his activities as prince, his accomplishments as king, and his personality, he has been overshadowed by his longer-lived father and son. Building on Petit-Dutaillis's work and demonstrating impressive familiarity with the contemporary sources and subsequent scholarship, Sivéry has sympathetically and persuasively recreated the character of the king and the milieu in which he lived.

Sivéry writes with verve and and a certain flamboyance. He grippingly recounts Louis's military campaigns (and particularly his abortive quest for the throne of England in 1216–1217). He offers convincing appraisals of the rhetorically complex writings of such encomiasts, critics, and chroniclers as Gilles of Paris, Gilles le Breton, and Nicolas of Bray. His sensitive attention to context results in original, nuanced explanations of Louis's deferred knighting, his father's decision not to have him crowned before his death, and propagandists' manipulation of Louis's blood ties, through his mother, to Charlemagne. The weakest parts of the book seem to me to be Sivéry's analyses, first, of Louis's failed invasion of England and, second, of the policies he pursued as king, partly because such topics are not as amenable as battle scenes to the dramatic narration that is Sivéry's forte. In his consideration of Louis's governmental policies, Sivéry's touch seems less sure when he abandons the concrete in pursuit of generalizations. The opposition he suggests between a "modèle féodal" and a "modèle royal"

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of government is far less enlightening regarding the ambitions and motivations of Philip Augustus, Louis VIII, and their subjects than are his insightful comments on the kings' adroit handling of those they governed. Sivéry's attempts to decide whether or not Louis VIII wanted to introduce into France a "régime des assemblées" seem equally off the mark (pp. 290–93, 406–7). The fact is that Louis summoned large-scale assemblies with unprecedented frequency (although less often than Sivéry, following Petit-Dutaillis, suggests). He did so for complex reasons that Gavin I. Langmuir brilliantly explored in his "Concilia and Capetian Assemblies, 1179–1230" (*Album Helen Maud Cam: Studies Presented to the International Commissions for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions* [1961], pp. 17–63), one of the few works related to his topic to escape Sivéry's net.

The few typographical errors are most bothersome in the brief but adequate notes. Two maps illustrate Louis's campaigns in England and France; the three genealogical tables (the second of which should have been placed on or near p. 138) are also useful. The index is full, but regrettably limited to names of persons and places.

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JOHN CARMI PARSONS. *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 364. $49.95.

Although John Carmi Parsons originally intended to write a biography of Eleanor of Castile (1241–1290), the first wife of King Edward I of England, the book that resulted is a study of image and reality.

The most well-known image of Eleanor was first promulgated by chroniclers of the fourteenth century. It reached its apex, however, with Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest* (1840–1848), which portrayed Eleanor as a "virtuous woman" who "won the love and goodwill of her subjects" (quoted by Parsons, p. 2). A contrasting image emerges from chronicles and letters that were contemporary to Eleanor. These portray her as an unpopular foreigner whose hunger for land and willingness to profit from Jewish usury earned the ill will of her subjects.

Parsons tends to agree with the second image, but his own picture is much more nuanced. Eleanor was indeed the first English queen to pursue landholdings actively, but her actions were motivated by changes in the financing of the queen's household, and they were probably encouraged by the king, into whose demesne the queen's lands would eventually fall. Eleanor's father-in-law, King Henry III, decided that the queen would be financially responsible for her own housekeeping when she was not residing at the king's court. He provided his queen (Eleanor of Provence) with the means to support herself at those times by granting her control over certain noble wardships, which were to provide an income of £1000 per year. Since wardships (the incomes of minor orphans) were by their very nature an unstable source of income, Eleanor of Castile's turn to landholdings, through crown grants and her own transactions, was a logical development.

Some of the lands that came into Eleanor's possession were indeed derived from debts owed to Jewish moneylenders, but Parsons suggests that the king himself may have encouraged Eleanor's pursuit of these debts. Moreover, nobles who had pledged their lands to Jewish moneylenders were better off if their debts passed into Eleanor's hands, since she tended to reduce the size of their debts. Still, there was a ruthless side to the queen's need for money. Her local administrators applied every kind of pressure in their efforts to enhance Eleanor's landed income, and the queen's immunities left the victims of those actions with no legal recourse.

Parsons places his discussion of Eleanor in the broadest possible context, with the result that the book provides extremely informative discussions of the history of, among other things, queens' coronation rituals, their role in royal administration, and the queen's household.

Unfortunately, Parsons directs his prose to a narrow audience of specialists. The narrative sections are hard to follow; foreign and technical terms, forms of dating, events, and offices are introduced without explanation. There is evidence, moreover, of careless editing: in the third genealogy, for instance, Eleanor's half brother is identified as Alfonso IX of Léon rather than Alfonso X of Castile, and a number of articles that appear in the short-title footnotes are omitted from the bibliography, leaving the reader with no means of locating the titles.

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MODERN EUROPE

ANTONI MĄCZAK. *Travel in Early Modern Europe*. Translated by URSULA PHILLIPS. Cambridge, Mass.: Polity. 1995. Pp. x, 357.

"You should keep your things in your room under lock and key," wrote Giacomo Fantuzzi, who traveled across Europe in the early seventeenth century and therefore had some experience with inns and their insecurities. "If you are in a room, which has leather wall-coverings or is decorated with large pictures, you must make doubly sure there are no hidden doors or windows behind them, through which someone could get into your room" (p. 62). Antoni Mączak's book, now translated into English from the original Polish edition (1978), studies the travelers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose accounts, observations, and advice contributed to the consolidation of conventional paths and patterns of travel around the

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continent. The danger of hidden doors in a room at an inn was only a single concern in the context of more likely dangers encountered on the road. The traveler known as the Anonymous Pole of 1595 was seized by Italian bandits in an unsurprising ambush: "They shook me all over, including my bundle and jerkin, so violently I was lucky to get away alive; but God's grace was my guardian, because I had eighty Hungarian gold coins sewn into the soles of the linen socks I was wearing, and on top of these I had my worn-out shoes and linen stockings, where it was hard to imagine they'd look" (p. 161). Mączak has marshaled the sources with magnificent erudition to provide a vivid and comprehensive account of the circumstances and attitudes that conditioned early modern travel.

The book's consideration of material history concerning inns, roads, and carriages, which constituted the infrastructure of travel, offers scholarship on the model of Fernand Braudel. Like Braudel, Mączak brilliantly builds upon these material aspects a more general economic history of travel, analyzing the growth of service industries, the use of bills of exchange (in addition to coins in the socks), and the speculative insurance by which travelers took odds and bet on their own chances of returning home alive. Mączak further considers the ways in which the expense of travel reflected varying levels of early modern economic development. He synthesizes a variety of travelers' perspectives—English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Polish—in order to discover an early modern cultural geography by which the map of Europe was colored according to perceived variations in wealth, manners, cleanliness, laziness, or inebriation. The model of Norbert Elias's *History of Manners* (1939) seems also to inform Mączak's account of travelers, who had not only to adapt to foreign manners, but also to participate in the "traveling community" according to its own code of manners. Mączak makes fascinating use of multilingual phrasebooks for travelers in order to study such issues as sharing a bed in an inn: "Shall we lie together?" "I love to lie alone." "I love to have a bedfellow." "You are an ill bedfellow." "You do nothing but kick about." "You have got my pillow" (p. 38). Mączak explores the complex social context of the traveler who lived in an awkward relation to both foreign populations and fellow travelers.

In a marvelous analysis of travelers and relics, Mączak considers the range of responses, from the Protestant traveler who watched Catholics kissing relics in France, "at which I could not contein my selfe from laughing," to the Catholic traveler in Prague who reverently observed "the complete body of a nun, who had died thirty years ago after a very pious life, and whom they were now feeding as she sat there" (pp. 223, 227). Between the extremes of laughter and reverence, Mączak cites the perplexity of the Anonymous Pole of 1595 when a priest in Malta showed him "the right hand of John the Baptist, very fresh, as though it had just been cut off." The traveler was also given "a piece of the saint's nose to kiss," and "part of St. Ursula's head (which was odd, because I had already seen her whole head in Cologne and touched it with my unworthy lips)" (pp. 229–30). The piety of the traveler could be honestly troubled by multiple encounters with the body parts of the same saints. The Protestant Agrippa d'Aubignè explicitly linked travel to incredulity and disenchantment: "The things I encountered on my travels as well as my reading of these writings taught me not to take the relics of saints seriously, for I saw sixteen heads of St Peter, eighteen of St Paul" (p. 231). John Calvin was also able to draw the indicated conclusions. Mączak discusses this material on relics as a clear case of the ways in which travel functioned to challenge early modern pieties and prejudices. He is sensitive to the ways in which the experience of travel was often filtered through the traveler's cultural preconceptions, and he frequently cites Fynes Moryson and Michel de Montaigne as remarkable exceptions. Indeed, Mączak dedicates his book to Moryson, across the centuries, and also remarks upon the ways in which the experience of early modern travel differs from and resembles the experience of travel today. This is an important book of superb scholarship and sharp insight, which will be very welcome in English translation for early modern historians.

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RICHARD H. GROVE. *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860*. (Studies in Environment and History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 540. $64.95.

An intellectual history this massive really deserves an essay rather than a review, so selectivity will unfortunately be required here. Richard H. Grove sets out to do nothing less than "recount some of the main milestones in the intellectual development of the global environmental consciousness which emerged in the context of European colonial expansion between 1660 and 1860" (p. 474). Using dashes of physiocracy, literature, Utopianism, Romanticism, and medical theory, and mixing them in a broth of the world system analyses of Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein, Grove attempts to prove that Western environmentalism owes a huge debt to the experience of the colonial powers' interaction with their indigenous subjects and their lands. It is to his great credit that in a large measure he succeeds.

Grove begins his study by focusing on island colonies. As he notes, both scientists and writers of the times (Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is put to particularly good use here) perceived these arenas as little Edens; as such, their preservation became an instrumental part of early scientific studies of islands such as St. Helena, Mauritius, and St. Vincent. Within these confines, there arose a group of intellectuals that

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began to pave the way for Western environmentalism. Of particular interest is the remarkable Pierre Poivre. "Commissaire-intendant" of Mauritius from 1767 to 1772, Poivre first became interested in forest and water regulation during an extensive visit to China and Vietnam. A confirmed physiocrat, he had an anti-urban bias and saw trees as a metaphor for nations. At a time of heightened nationalism and racism, Poivre was anti-slavery and questioned the assumed superiority of European philosophy and peoples. It was due to his influence that, in 1769, rules were enacted on Mauritius for mountain reserves, reforestation of denuded area, and the prevention of silting of rivers and estuaries.

In his dealing with island environmentalism, Grove is at his most persuasive. As he argues, "one could say that environmentalism was, to a great extent, born out of a marriage between physiocracy and the mid-eighteenth century French obsession with the island as the speculative and Utopian location for the atavistic 'discovery' of idyllic societies" (p. 223). It is a compelling intellectual exercise.

From the Edenic islands, Grove then turns to India, arguing that the environmental experiments and practices laid out in the islands found their global structure in colonial South Asia. In his dealings with India, however, I find Grove on less firm ground. His chapters detailing the growth of European intellectual environmentalism in South Asia seem to me to epitomize those weaknesses that may be found in his work. I would put these in two categories. The first is in his use of the term "environmentalism." I am not at all certain what his definition is. If it is merely a synonym for "conservation," then I suppose a case could be made for calling some British officials in India "environmentalists." However, theirs was far from the romantic notion that he has portrayed in the island colonies. Indeed, any sense of ecological sustenance in India was clearly carried out with a view to capital. Rarely, I would argue, has there been such an apt example of intentional commodification of nature as that found in colonial India. As such, while water control and reforestation may have been imperial goals, they were goals only insomuch as they would allow for advanced ship-building, irrigation, and the like. An appropriate example is the botanist Dr. Francis Hamilton Buchanan, whom Grove mentions fairly often. Buchanan did indeed advocate replanting trees in Bengal, but what he suggested was that sacred fruit groves should be desiccated and replaced with hard woods such as teak. If this is environmentalism, then Georgia Pacific should be allied with the Sierra Club!

The second weakness I find will justifiably leave me open to the criticism of accusing Grove of not writing the book I would have wanted him to write. This aspect has to do with the lack of evidence of the effect of these philosophers' ideas at the local level. Although the title of the book suggests that this will be an issue in the monograph, Grove later notes that the impact of environmental experimentation and attempted change is "largely beyond the scope of this book" (p. 381). Nonetheless, to analyze the ideas of a few sympathetic individuals hardly begins to tell the story of the vast environmental degradation caused by the British in India; indeed, Grove's inferences may even lead the novice to conclude that these philosophers and scientists were effective in their protection of India's ecosystems. As in so many other aspects of colonial rule, there were always a few characters who were sympathetic toward the injustices faced by subjugated people and their lands. That they were almost always ignored strikes me as more telling than the fact that they had some innovative ideas.

In the final analysis, these complaints have little to do with the intent or the importance of this book. Grove has set out to write a traditional, primarily European-oriented, intellectual history of the roots of Western environmentalism. He has taken up an enormous challenge. To criticize a few weaknesses is to compliment him for his attempt here at grand theory. This is a volume that will prove to be one of the mainstays of the small but growing encyclopedia of global environmental history.

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THOMAS N. BURG. *"Sieches Volk macht siechen Staat": Arzt, Stand und Staat im 19. Jahrhundert*. Vienna: Praesens. 1994. Pp. 150. $25.00.

This volume is a valuable contribution to the still youthful field of the history of medicine in Europe. While there is a definite empirical content to this book, it makes a more indelible mark by discussing rather boldly the changing social attitudes toward medicine, health, and doctors that took place during the nineteenth century and by interpreting those changes editorially.

Predicating this work, to some degree, on the studies of modern medicine done by such poignant and critical observers as Ivan Illich, Michel Foucault, and Thomas Szasz, Thomas N. Burg's commentary is often insightful and only sometimes beyond the norm. Burg rightly sees the Enlightenment as the great turning point in Western medicine. The way that it extolled science led first to physiology and how the body functioned and then to pathology and how the body malfunctioned. This new epistemology meant, in turn, that Europe would give up its centuries-long fatalism in the face of infectious diseases and instead try to conquer them. This process was abetted by the emergence of general hospitals, which congregated the sick and diagnosed illnesses as never before. It was further aided by investigative laboratories, which probed disease by studying cadavers and then by the discovery that animals suffered from diseases similar to those that afflicted human beings. Meanwhile, the coming of epidemiology and the scientific use of statistics made

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Europeans acutely aware of the morbidity and mortality.

In the wake of the new scientific medicine, cultural attitudes, as Burg nicely points out, were transformed. Evidently spurred on by a capitalism that badly needed healthy and productive workers, the medicalization of life began in nineteenth-century Europe. Illness was accordingly stigmatized as being against the best interests of society. Simultaneously, doctors took on the role of cultural heroes. According to Burg, as health became a vaunted middle-class value, doctors became the controllers of the path to a healthful and energetic existence. Thus, their power over society grew proportionately.

In response to this transformation in cultural attitudes, central governments in Europe now appreciated the debilitating consequences that pronounced morbidity and early mortality were having on their economies. For example, the new policies of the Austrian Imperial government were occasioned by changing attitudes. As early as the 1770s, the government in Vienna actively promoted better sanitation. Provincial governments were steadily compelled to report infectious diseases scrupulously. By 1850, sanitation and health had become the responsibility of the Minister of the Interior, who was concurrently promoting the creation of local medical councils. Clearly, diseases, morbidity, and mortality were no longer escaping the watchful eye of government.

Burg's rather exact discussion of events and new attitudes leading up to Europe's increasingly healthy society is periodically interrupted by some daring explanations that sometimes appear to challenge the warrant of the facts. For example, he apparently assumes at one juncture that not only did Europe's new industrial society need more efficiency, but that doctors were now fast becoming policemen in pursuit of that goal. He also seems to agree that central governments in the nineteenth century needed to husband their human resources and that, since physicians were now making people more productive, doctors were playing a major political as well as social role. Beyond this, Burg evidently concurs that in a society growing more liberal, doctors were going against the democratic grain by exercising more unchecked authority.

There are definitely two parts to this volume. Burg devotes most space to explaining how new cultural attitudes came about and less space to being provocative. The book is worth reading for both reasons.

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CLAUDENA M. SKRAN. *Refugees in Inter-War Europe: The Emergence of a Regime*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 324.

Readers of the *AHR* may not be familiar with something called "regime theory," but after reading this book they may well become convinced, as I have been, that such an approach can enrich an understanding of assistance to refugees in interwar Europe. What is understood as a "regime" is simple enough: "the formal or informal arrangements created by states to deal with a particular issue" (p. 7)—specifically, sets of principles, standards, rules, and formal institutions that evolve over time. International relations specialists have given much thought to how such regimes work, and although some of their conclusions may seem banal or self-evident to historians, their focus can promote historical understanding and encourage useful comparisons. Between the world wars, Claudena M. Skran argues, refugee assistance constituted such a regime. Seen from this perspective, refugee aid was not only more substantial and significant than is generally understood, but it also helped shape global assistance to refugees today. "Did the regime matter?" Skran asks at the end of her book. She makes a strong case that it did indeed.

The contrary view, widely held, is much more negative and derives from the weakness of the League of Nations in the 1930s and the unwillingness of the international community to respond adequately to the flight of European Jews (or to receive those who might have fled but lacked a place to go). Yet this undoubted failure of refugee assistance is not the whole story. At the beginning of the period, newly fashioned international institutions helped manage the flow and encourage the settlement of close to two million refugees from Greece, Turkey, and Bulgaria: an unprecedented "unmixing of populations," as Lord Curzon said, ultimately caused by the collapse of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires. Much of this meliorative work is associated with the Norwegian polar explorer Fridtjof Nansen, who championed the cause of over one million Russian refugees within the framework of the League of Nations and who helped construct the principles, norms, and institutions to deal with them, and then with others, during the 1920s. Unquestionably, the refugee regime made a difference in these situations. During the 1930s, world depression, a rising tide of xenophobia, the ruthlessness of the Nazis, and the growing divergence between humanitarian rhetoric and the perceived self-interest of governments all undermined the refugee regime. In 1939 it ceased working altogether.

Skran tells this story persuasively, if not colorfully or elegantly. Her approach involves some repetition as she covers the same historical ground while examining different attributes of the refugee regime. Occasionally, "regime analysis" prompts bloodless conclusions. For example: "The failure of either France or Britain to play a leadership role in refugee affairs was due, in part, to the fact that neither government made refugees its top priority" (p. 281). The most valuable sections of her book reflect Skran's research in League of Nations archives and unpublished reports—material unused, to my knowledge, in any other studies of this subject. Overall, Skran's approach rehabilitates the

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refugee work of an understudied era, recalls unappreciated pioneers, and reminds us of pathbreaking efforts on behalf of millions of wanderers, hundreds of thousands of whom had better lives because of the processes studied here.

MICHAEL R. MARRUS
University of Toronto

NEAL WOOD. *Foundations of Political Economy: Some Early Tudor Views on State and Society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. x, 319. $50.00.

The impact of humanism and reform on early Tudor England are two staples of the literature that have recently been disrupted and problematized in a number of ways. Detailed contextual work by Tom Mayer on Thomas Starkey and broader interpretative essays by John Guy and Alistair Fox on humanism and by David Starkey on the fifteenth-century roots of reform have done much to complicate the traditional picture. Into the cacophony comes this book by Neal Wood, a work dedicated to the propositions that the early and middle sixteenth century saw the emergence both of something called the modern state and of nascent capitalism and that much of the work of early Tudor reformers can be read as responses to and commentary upon those developments. In the process something that Wood calls political economy—a conception of the functions of the state as primarily economic in nature, a way of meeting economic and social changes in ways that preserved the interests and integrity of the social whole—emerged.

In making this case Wood rounds up the usual suspects: John Fortescue, Edmund Dudley, Thomas More, Thomas Starkey, "the commonwealth men," and Thomas Smith. His book rather inconclusively contrasts and compares these thinkers' use of keywords like state, *respublica*, commonality, and policy for telltale signs of modern notions of the state. Their concern with things economic are detailed, and their various notions of the sort of polity appropriate to those economic ends are outlined. The result is a series of alternately banal and anachronistic discussions, in which, for instance, we are told that in *Utopia* Thomas More was not advocating democracy, and that the commonwealth men were Christian moralists obsessed with the destructive effects of covetousness, while Thomas Smith took a much more secular and tough-minded approach to the problem of inflation. Points are awarded for the anticipation of tenets and tendencies exhibited by later thinkers like John Locke and William Petty and in the modernity stakes Smith achieves the highest marks.

This book is strewn with offhand judgments and peculiar ranking exercises in which, for instance, we are told that the Tudor thinkers under discussion, for all their anticipation of fully developed modern notions of the state or the economy, cannot be ranked either with truly great thinkers like Plato or Karl Marx, nor even with theorists of the second order like Cicero or Niccolò Machiavelli (p. 236). Similarly, for all their conservatism and moral absolutism, the commonwealth men are patted on the head "for the courage and determination they displayed in their outspoken social protest" (p. 189). In short, there is nothing here to interest or surprise readers familiar with the literature on these thinkers, and there is much to dismay historians suspicious of Wood's version of the early sixteenth century as the cradle of capitalism and the modern state. What have emerged in some of the recent work cited at the start of this review are rather more complicated texts than Wood's interpretative procedures and core assumptions would allow.

PETER LAKE
Princeton University

FELICITY HEAL and CLIVE HOLMES. *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 473. Cloth $45.00, paper $17.95.

Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes have written a lively and readable synthesis to which their own research output has contributed. Their study of the English and Welsh gentry encompasses the period on which the famous debate about the "rise of the gentry" has focused, and it also absorbs recent work on the social and religious fabric of the family in gentry society. Scholars of early modern England should buy this book. That said, bibliophiles should beware of pages and plates of an unacceptably faint imprint. That fascinating word "jeremiad" is overused by Heal and Holmes. There is some repetition, for example of the same quotation on pages 205 and 209. There are inevitably problems with the compression of detail in a work of this nature: some mix-ups in the confusing complexities of the genealogy of the Lowther family do not affect the argument (index and pp. 87, 117, 121–123, 329). Such observations barely detract from an excellent text, supported by useful endnotes and a thematic bibliography.

The book is "about the experience of being a gentleman or gentlewoman" (p. ix), not a contribution to the historiography of the English Civil War or to the debate about the county community. The introduction attempts to define the gentry, posing questions familiar to scholars acquainted with the arguments between R. H. Tawney and Hugh Trevor-Roper; unsurprisingly, Heal and Holmes offer no new answers. Early in the book, they are most aware of the possibility of regional differences in gentry society; in later chapters, they rather lose this question. The discussion of identity expressed by lineage, which also takes the reader into the history of the family, benefits from studies of tombs and paintings. The emergence around 1660 of the strict settlement marked the triumph of the nuclear family over broader kin networks, they argue, citing

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the preference for close female heirs over distant male relatives. The significance of kinship was at the same time weakened by scholarly gentry who demonstrated the inaccuracy of many elaborate claims of lineage. The need to establish long lineages may have been forced on the Tudor gentry by the prevailing economic instability. Heal and Holmes posit that their later Stuart successors, enjoying a more stable society, could accept more social mobility.

The chapter on income deals well with the agricultural exploitation of the estate and with landlord/tenant issues; properties leased from the church are dealt with in chapter nine. I wonder about Heal and Holmes's categorization of the law, the church, trade, court and officeholding, and moneylending as "alternative" sources of income (p. 120). Surely for those gentry who participated, these were sources of income additional rather than alternative to their quintessential landed income. Mining, industry, and urban development might be seen as alternatives to the agricultural exploitation of their land. It is difficult to accommodate the wide range of gentry taste in one chapter on expenditure, although the reader is treated to tasty morsels on the cost of keeping a mistress or playing music. Both chapters on gentry finances, but especially that on spending, place economic activity in a political context. Heal and Holmes's optimistic view of the economic state of the gentry at the end of the seventeenth century depends largely on their access to the developing financial infrastructure that came to their rescue.

A central issue in Heal and Holmes's discussion of civility and sociability is the decay of rural hospitality in the seventeenth century and the rise of London in the calendar of the gentry. The role of the metropolis in gentry education, alongside that of the urban universities, is also pertinent here, as is the evolution of the gentry's "commonwealth" political ideology, discussed earlier in the book. Transmuted from the central government's own rhetoric, commonwealth thinking had distanced many gentry from the royal court in London by the outbreak of war in 1642. It is only possible to raise the question as to why, by 1700, the English gentry were not as completely urbanized as their French counterparts, especially because the legal, administrative, and social pull of London was by no means new in the seventeenth century.

Heal and Holmes conclude with a portrayal of gentry/church relationships as power politics that is balanced by studies of individual beliefs. Two points stand out. One is their portrayal of the dissolution of the monasteries, and the gentry's benefit from it, as the consequence of the increasing domination of lay gentry in church affairs, especially of monastic orders, from the early sixteenth century. The other is the reminder that, after the Restoration, personal piety had not been eclipsed along with the strident prewar godliness that political revolution had discredited.

C. B. Phillips
Manchester University

M. J. Braddick. *Parliamentary Taxation in Seventeenth-Century England: Local Administration and Response*. (Studies in History, number 70.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, for the Royal Historical Society, London. 1994. Pp. 353. $63.00.

The conflict between center and locality in early Stuart England has become a staple (if somewhat jaded) subject of debate among political historians, and the financial innovations of the 1690s have been credited, despite the obvious tautology, with creating a "fiscal state." Fiscal administration has, however, been somewhat neglected, even though the demands of war forced successive administrations to increase the tax burden and made untenable the ancient distinction between ordinary and extraordinary revenue.

This well-researched contribution to the debate focuses on the collection of direct taxes in Cheshire and Norfolk up to 1670. M. J. Braddick argues convincingly that high levels of direct taxation date from the 1640s and that a centralized state was compatible with and, indeed, dependent on effective local government. The tax base was extended through existing machinery, and disputes over collection occurred primarily within the locality, not between center and locality. The receipts from the subsidy remained low, not because collection was difficult but because taxpayers could minimize their liability through evasion and obstruction. The quota system (always used for the fifteenth and tenth and introduced for the subsidy from mid-century) was preferred because the yield could be accurately predicted. Parliament compensated for under-assessment by simply increasing the number of subsidies.

Why did the English on the whole not resist what was a heavy burden of taxation? Braddick argues plausibly that Parliament legitimized taxation and that quotas, combined with local valuation and mediation, quieted opposition. Inequalities between regions remained a problem, and there was some leakage of revenue to intermediaries. But local collectors did try to be equitable and allow for inability to pay. In contrast, the excise and the hearth tax provoked riots because the excise (raised at the point of production) was farmed and collected by brokers introduced by the central government. When power was diffused between the center and the localities and when crown and gentry acted in partnership, taxation could be raised without military force. A participatory government could credibly claim the right to tax and faced evasion rather than opposition.

This is not the whole story. Land certainly was the primary taxable asset until 1714 and possibly, Braddick suggests, until the 1770s. But the poll tax was regressive, and the hearth tax, an alternative to the land tax that was introduced because it did not involve assessment of personal wealth, had to be abandoned. Indirect taxes, like the excise, became increasingly important after 1660, and they were imposed from the center and collected by professionals.

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The book is densely packed and sometimes repetitive; non-specialists may feel at times that they are swimming through molasses. But the exchequer records are not for the fainthearted, and the most committed linguistic materialist would balk at describing this as a fictional discourse. Braddick offers a knowledgeable and lucid description of the intricacies of fiscal administration without losing sight of his main argument.

RICHARD GRASSBY
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SHARON ACHINSTEIN. *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*. (Literature in History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 272. $35.00.

When the Long Parliament set about to close down offices of the English crown in 1641, it all but eliminated government control of public printing. The result was an outpouring of publications unprecedented in English history—books, pamphlets, newsbooks, speeches, sermons, and broadsheets—much of it airing the political and religious controversies of the time. Sharon Achinstein argues that the writers of the period, while they were advocating one position or the other, deemed it necessary to educate their audience, unaccustomed to such wide public discourse, in how to read it. They sought to produce a discerning "revolutionary reader," able "to become a kind of jury in deciding matters" (p. 103).

Achinstein's book is certainly an important study, recording a watershed moment in the evolution of democratic society, one in which the will of the people, as opposed to the narrow concerns of the nobility, was acknowledged as a deciding factor in political affairs; she examines that moment with clear exposition, exhaustive scholarship, and sharp intelligence. She observes that, despite the various licensing acts passed during the period, "writers of the English Revolution wrote under conditions very like those of a free press, at least until 1655" (p. 24), when Oliver Cromwell directed that the laws be more strictly enforced. She then surveys the various rhetorical strategies employed by advocates, to create John Lilburne's ideal of a "readership as a national jury" (p. 57), educated to render judgment on public affairs. The Royalist position in the debate, she explains, was somewhat awkward. Committed to the position that public debate of national affairs impinged upon the prerogatives of the king, they had to engage in the pamphlet war while deploring it, which they did by comparing the explosion of contentious printing to the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel. John Cleveland, she suggests, "would have dreamed of a day when there would be no public debate" (p. 92).

Achinstein cites John Milton as a writer who, like others, sought to educate revolutionary readers, encouraging them in *Areopagitica* (1644) to active judgment on public affairs and warning them in *Eikonoklastes* (1649) of the deceptions of those who represent Charles I as a Christian martyr. Milton composed *Paradise Lost* (1667; 1674) under the restraints of post-Restoration censorship, but he persisted, Achinstein argues, in efforts to educate "the fit reader" (p. 177). She dwells almost exclusively on the first two and last two books of the poem, the latter being a fairly straightforward example of her thesis: Michael's revelations teach Adam to see—for Achinstein, "to read"—aright.

In dealing with hell, Achinstein addresses an old question: why do Satan and his assembly of fallen angels seem to resemble so closely historic figures the poet was known to admire? She does so, however, in a new and intriguing way, proposing that in his narrative of "the great consult" Milton adopts images popular with the post-Restoration Royalist press, which pictured the Long Parliament as a "Parliament of Hell" and Cromwell as a Satanic figure (p. 180). We are not to conclude, however, that in adopting Royalist images the poet has gone over to the other side. His purpose in *Paradise Lost*, she argues, was once again to educate the revolutionary reader, this time in the proper way to interpret the allegorical method Royalist writers continued to employ in condemning the revolution. Taking a leaf from Stanley Fish's *Surprised by Sin* (1967), she finds Milton purposely leading his readers into error by seeming to engage in political allegory. He does so not, however, to dismiss the revolution, but to expose the dangers of such allegories for unwary readers and to educate them in the "special skills of reading" (p. 202) such works so that they may become "adept at detecting and resisting" Royalist propaganda (p. 222). Her argument here, it must be said, seems somewhat strained, but it has the virtue of originality.

Achinstein is at her best in her analysis of the pamphlet wars of the 1640s, and her study of that period must certainly cause historical revisionists to reexamine their position that neither side in the civil wars had a committed constituency. That might have been the case in 1641, but Achinstein argues persuasively that by the end of the decade the contending parties had gone a long way toward educating a reading public on the issues that divided the nation, marking a moment in Western history when "the will of the people" began to take on substantive meaning.

ROBERT T. FALLON
LaSalle University

MARK KNIGHTS. *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678–81*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 424. $69.95.

This closely argued book makes significant contributions to the current scholarly debate over a central issue in Restoration England, what has traditionally been called the "exclusion crisis" of 1678–1681. Drawing on extensive manuscript materials and primary printed matter, especially tracts, pamphlets and newspapers, Mark Knights confidently offers fresh analyses

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of the major issues addressed by previous scholars, notably Jonathan Scott, whose *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis 1677–1683* (1991) ignited the controversy; J. R. Jones, author of the now classic study *The First Whigs* (1961); and Tim Harris, whose *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (1987) opened up interconnections between politics and propaganda and underscored religion as the factor animating the crisis.

Dividing the book into two parts of five to six chapters each, Knights, after a useful review of the historiography of the era, focuses first on high politics in Parliament and court. Concentrating in the second part on press and propaganda, Knights dissects public opinion in London and the counties from 1679 to 1681, addressing party organization, the relationship between national and local politics, and the changes in public perceptions.

Insisting on the complexity of the crisis and suggesting the word "succession" instead of "exclusion" as a descriptive term, Knights offers a balanced interpretation comprising multiple strands only sampled here. By following the chronology of events, he demonstrates that "exclusion" was one of several options (others including limitations, divorce, and regency) for dealing with the succession of an avowed Catholic to the throne; that Parliament men embraced it reluctantly; and that the term applies only to the months from November 1680 through March 1681. Broadening the conventional analysis, Knights underscores the collapse of strong central government, the inept leadership of King Charles II, the presence of factions in Westminster and Whitehall, and the influence of local and foreign affairs. Curiously, in all this detail George Wakeman's acquittal in July 1679 as a defining moment is neglected. Contrary to Jones, Knights sees no full-blown party structures in this period, but contrary to Scott, he identifies distinct groups in Parliament. These groups were divided first along court-country lines but known as Whigs and Tories after 1681; they were held together not just by ideology (as Scott would have it) but also by informal ties, local interests, ambition, and several leaders like Denzil Holles and the Duke of Buckingham. The Earl of Shaftesbury's role is reassessed as waxing and waning, inflated by contemporary Tories and historians. In a nice turn of phrase, Knights describes the era as a "process of polarisation, not a static and uniform entity" (p. 356).

Like Scott but contrary to Jones, Knights argues that the crisis was "not a one-issue" affair of exclusion (p. 82), but included fear of popery, arbitrary government, French influence, and, above all the demise of Parliament's role in government. That these fears and divisions extended to the local level is regarded as "one of the most far-reaching effects" of the era (p. 356). They were reinforced by propaganda in the form of tracts, petitions, addresses, and elections. Dismissing Scott's equation of the 1630s and the 1678–1681 crisis, Knights contends that the memory of the past was exploited as propaganda. Finally, according to Knights, religion was not the most important factor in the crisis; constitutional demands provided the radical component, a conclusion with which students other than Harris may well disagree.

This excellent book has some flaws. A different structure integrating rather than separating politics and press would have eliminated the repetition and reinforced the thesis that politics and propaganda were inextricably connected. Excessive examples sometimes impede the narrative and betray the book's origins as a dissertation. But Knights's book may well become the standard text for the succession crisis of 1678–1681.

Lois G. Schwoerer
George Washington University

James J. Sack. *From Jacobite to Conservative: Reaction and Orthodoxy in Britain, c. 1760–1832*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 292.

Were there significant continuities between Jacobitism and expressions of political conservatism in the era of Catholic emancipation and the Reform Act of 1832? James J. Sack would like us to believe that there were, but his richly documented and vividly written account provides ample grounds for subscribing to an opposite view. Certainly, he is much too scrupulous a historian to piece together the exploded argument that a "Tory party" enjoyed even a subterranean existence in the period. He points out, for example, that those who sought to revive the term in the 1820s, in support of an "ultra" defence of the Protestant ascendancy, were obliged to repudiate the pre-1760 Tory party (tarnished as it was by Jacobite associations) in favor of the mythologies of early Whiggism. Attentive to such difficulties of nomenclature, some right-wing politicians and publications invoked the name of William Pitt the Younger as a rallying point for antireformist, robustly Protestant sentiment. Yet, as Sack demonstrates, the posthumous construction of the historical Pitt was largely an exercise in mythmaking. Pitt never repudiated mildly reformist views on a range of issues and was, at most, a lukewarm Christian.

If Pitt is an unsuitable candidate to illustrate continuities in an elusive right-wing tradition, then what of that other stalwart opponent of the French Revolution, Edmund Burke? Sack argues that Burke was more consistent in his principles than some other commentators have allowed and connects him with Samuel Johnson across an increasingly meaningless Whig-Tory divide. But, without denying Burke his proper place in the pantheon of philosophical conservatives, Sack depicts his legacy (upheld among active politicians by George Canning) as being at odds with right-wing attitudes defined by a harsh anti-Catholicism that intensified as Tory hatred of Dissenters began to diminish. From this perspective, Burke, irony of ironies, was even cast as a Jacobin.

Sack's insistence that a defence of the Anglican Church against a renewed Catholicism represented a

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culmination of right-wing sensibilities (taking precedence over attachment to monarchy) seems an arbitrary choice given the rich array of conservative attitudes that he has so painstakingly disinterred. After all, it was not a Catholic but the Evangelical William Wilberforce who achieved the status of "rightist bogey man" (p. 204), excoriated less for his antislavery crusade than for his neo-Puritanism. More convincing, albeit anticlimactic, is Sack's admission of the difficulties in identifying a consistently rightist attitude with respect to issues of national policy. Instead, the right-winger has to be recognized in the vaguer terms of "disposition," and "a certain edge or inflection in the argument" (p. 253), the targets of which shifted over time: from slave traders and imperialists in the eighteenth century, to abolitionists, other do-gooders, and political economists in the early nineteenth. This rightist sensibility, it seems, was less the inspiration for modern Toryism than a kind of ideological dyspepsia that had to be palliated before a renewed Tory party could emerge.

JOHN SAINSBURY
Brock University

JOHN SMAIL. *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660–1780*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 240. $39.95.

Recently, a number of vigorous revisionisms have suggested that the long-established orthodoxy concerning eighteenth and nineteenth-century England is not just incorrect but has actually been replaced by a new consensus. In place of earlier accounts of dramatic change, these revisionists posit continuity. Although not portraying England during the long eighteenth century as an *ancien régime*, these revisionists stress the absence of profound change until at least the last third of the nineteenth century, if then. For this group, there was no industrial revolution, no "age of reform," and no vibrant change in many social, economic, and political arenas beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century and extending across the nineteenth. Although he does not engage this revisionism directly, perhaps the most important contribution of John Smail's local history of Halifax during the century following the Restoration is the compelling evidence he presents against continuity. He demonstrates a critical change that crystallized a middle class in Yorkshire in the two decades after 1750. Not for Smail is this new notion that continuity marked England's development; in his book, Industrial Revolution always appears in uppercase, and he emphasizes the changing scale that began to transform the nation even before the accession of George III.

Arguing that currently the middle class "is little more than a caricature" (p. xiii), Smail joins R. J. Morris (*Class, Sect, and Party* [1990]), Dror Wahrman (*Imagining the Middle Class* [1995]), and others in considering this group seriously. In order to study the making of the middle class effectively, Smail believes that he must blend the empiricism of traditional economic history with the antiempiricism of the new cultural history. But to achieve such a blend is about as easy as achieving nuclear fusion in a water glass at room temperature, and he predictably fails in this task. Fortunately, this failure does not really harm the book. Instead, it leaves an intricately detailed, solidly archival study of local history occasionally marked by linguistic turns in which Smail valiantly attempts to blend matter and antimatter before turning back to the issues at hand. He brings to bear an impressive collection of evidence concerning the changing nature of the economy and society in Halifax in the second half of the century taken from quarter sessions records, wills, probate registers, letter books, ledgers, churchwardens' and bankrupts' accounts, hearth tax returns, and family histories. Smail's "The Stansfields of Halifax" in *Albion* (24: 1, 1992) presaged the book's economic argument, without the postmodernist gloss.

Smail is fatally flawed as a postmodernist because, as he admits himself, he believes in "socioeconomic reality," as the long list of his primary sources confirms (p. xiv). He is much more successful as a student of older social and cultural theories. For example, he uses Jürgen Habermas to good effect in setting up his principal argument. Thus, differences in both the public and private spheres resulted in an "emerging class consciousness" among "Halifax's merchants, manufacturers, and professionals," who set themselves "in opposition to the parish's yeomen and artisans" on the one hand, and "the landed elites" on the other in ways that drew upon their experiences in both realms (p. 163). According to Smail, local and national politics shaped the emerging consciousness of the middle class in the public sphere, but changes in the private sphere played an equally critical role as new forms of a more "orderly and exclusive" sociability differentiated the middle class from its neighbors (p. 186).

An anthropological sensibility also enriches this careful local study; on more than one occasion cockfights enter the story, although Smail wisely resists pushing that part of the story too far. He also considers the role of deference and independence in the emergence of the middle class in Halifax. After leveling charges against other historians for considering the middle class in a "studiously vague" fashion (p. 13), Smail engages in his own distinctive variety of ambiguity by discussing the "marginal or pseudo gentry" (p. 29). More interesting is his consideration of the damage done to E. P. Thompson's identification of the working class by his reliance upon an "abstract national class discourse." Smail believes that Thompson would have made a more resilient case had he been able to articulate the relationship between the national discourse and the "practical and contextualized local class discourse" (p. 231). But Smail does not follow his own advice. He limits his study to that local class discourse and leaves the larger relationship largely unexplored. The problem with such a consciously

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limited local approach, however, is the barrier it automatically raises against generalizations.

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PETER MANDLER. *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform: Whigs and Liberals, 1830–1852*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1990 Pp. xii, 307. $75.00.

The status of the Whig party in the age of reform has often been regarded as that of an anachronism. Having fulfilled their historical function as "trustees of the people" in the fortuitous circumstances of 1830–1832, the Whigs lost their *raison d'etre* and became a feckless, amateurish coterie of aristocrats, adept at high political maneuvers but little more. Their survival in the age of reform underscored the willingness of members of the middle class to leave the governance of the nation to their social superiors and perhaps the ability of at least a few Whigs to translate the aristocratic concerns for virtue and civilization into a commercial idiom.

Peter Mandler's book seeks to revise these views. Drawing on a copious range of Whig private papers, Mandler disaggregates the party into different sections or styles of governance. He shows that while some Whigs were attracted to economic liberalism, most notably those who contributed to the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, influencial Whigs at the center of the party, organized informally through Holland House, retained the Foxite tradition of acting as the trustees of the people. They did this by striving to enact social legislation that would ameliorate the conditions of the people, temper popular discontent, and avert democratic reform. In Mandler's view, the 1830s and 1840s did not see a smooth progression to economic liberalism but a continuing dialogue about the virtues of government intervention in which the aristocratic Whigs played a formidable role.

In seeking to establish a constructive, centralizing role for the Whig aristocracy, Mandler is immediately confronted with the Whig government's uneven and ambiguous record prior to 1841. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was, after all, a weak centralizing measure. Although it established a Central Commission to guide local Boards of Guardians in their management of poor relief, the thrust of the act was to eliminate "indulgent" modes of social welfare in favor of a harsher workhouse regimen designed to encourage greater self-reliance among the poor. Similarly, the Factory Act of 1833 was a compromise measure that sought to thwart the demands of factory reformers outside of Parliament by regulating only the hours of children under thirteen and establishing only a modest inspectorate to police them. Taken together with the government's authoritarian response to industrial unrest, it is no accident that such acts fueled rather than abated demands for democratic reform and did nothing to convince the unenfranchised that the Whigs were genuinely interested in addressing popular grievances.

Mandler's response to these issues is to stress the political difficulties that the Whigs encountered in framing a legislative program amenable to all interests in the party and outside of it and to point, instructively, to the fact that the New Poor Law was, in its origins at least, of liberal Tory rather than Whig inspiration. These explanations hardly strengthen his central thesis that the Whigs were constructive social reformers in a Foxite tradition. Their record to 1841 smacks of legislative drift. The only latent Foxite propensities Mandler can find come from Lord John Russell, who, as Home Secretary after 1835, was beginning to find a rapport with Benthamite civil servants about the need for greater government intervention, and who was striving, with little success, to wrest education from sectarian voluntarism in order and to fashion a national network of schools staffed by state-trained teachers.

Mandler's case rests or falls on the Whig record of 1841–1852, or more accurately 1846–1852, because Robert Peel was in power for the first six years of that period. Mandler makes a compelling case that the Foxite Whigs were far more interested in education, factory, and sanitary reform than the Tories, who remained essentially committed to laissez-faire. He shows that the reforms they enacted, most notably the Ten Hours Act of 1847 and the Public Health Act of the following year, the latter of which set up a General Board of Health with quite extensive powers to establish local boards where mortality rates were above average, were not opportunistic sorties into social legislation but the product of genuine consultation with civil servants and different interest groups, grounded in the firm conviction that such legislation would be an antidote to social unrest. Against this, he shows that the Palmerstonians within the Whig party resisted the centralizing thrust of the board and starved it of funds. He also notes Russell's increasing isolation as an advocate of legislative activism in the party, and his inability to attract a younger generation of Whigs to his style of government, even to politics *tout court*. The result was that the impetus toward Victorian centralization was brief, superseded by Lord Palmerston's saber-rattling foreign policy on the one hand and by a continuing shift away from interventionism on the other. Within two years of its passing, George Grey would modify the Ten Hours Act in the interests of millowners and press for more fiscal conservatism in government. Russell's vision of a strong central government, enacting social legislation in the public interest and paring down local impediments to change, was over almost as soon as it had begun.

Mandler's account of the shifts in the Whig party is measured and subtle, so subtle, in fact, that one wonders whether his main argument holds. Yet he does make a viable case that there were important countervailing tendencies to laissez-faire government

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in the age of reform and that the Whigs (at least some of them) deserve some credit for translating their enthusiams for regulatory government into real legislation. Certainly Russell and his allies gave civil servants like Edwin Chadwick and James Kay-Shuttleworth some political space for framing legislation with a centralizing edge, a fact that calls for a revision of the historiography of the Victorian "revolution in government" that tends to write the Whigs out of the narrative. At the same time, it would be wrong to overestimate the Whig predilection for social legislation as part of their historic mandate. After all, in the end Russell failed to educate both his party and the public to his vision of government. The dominant trend was toward laissez-faire, toward letting the economy flush out Britain's social problems. The high-water marks of Victorian centralization, such as they were, came ultimately from a combination of political will in parliament and, arguably more importantly, a good deal of pressure from without.

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NORMAN H. MURDOCH. *Origins of the Salvation Army*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 241. $32.00.

This is a curious book. Norman H. Murdoch has written widely about the American Salvation Army and its evangelical faith before turning his attention to the Army in Britain. He thus makes a useful contribution by carefully rendering the Anglo-American evangelical influences on William and Catherine Booth in mid-nineteenth century Britain. Clearly, the Booths were subjects ripe for the preaching of James Caughey and Charles Finney, two of many American evangelicals who were active in Britain's northern cities and towns. The development of the Booth's religious creeds out of New Connexion Methodism, their independence of spirit and evangelical activism, and their organization of a mission into East London to save the most degenerate souls are all presented. How the Army was formed and Booth's central role in that is also described, and this story, too, is grounded in research in Army archives. The tension in the Salvation Army between its evangelical impulse and its social welfare activity—a fact of life for the Army ever since the early 1880s—is also described. All this is done competently. Finally, Booth's autocratic governance of the Army is noted, but why Booth adopted this position is explained through undeveloped allusions and metaphors that link the Salvation Army's imperium to that of the British Army and its imperial role. The link does not work well, and not only because Murdoch does not explore how Booth was influenced by this imperial mentality. He just says Booth adopted a language of military organization, leaving the supposition that Booth got it from his surroundings, somehow.

It is a weakness of this book that Murdoch does not understand the cultural history of mid- to late-Victorian Britain very well. Worse, he provides no clue that he is familiar with even basic social welfare history. The book is too often poorly written, with vague constructions, jumbled chronologies, and even incomplete sentences. These deficiencies are at the heart of why the book is a curious, sometimes almost naive, historical study. Murdoch has energetically mined his sources to tell the story of the organization of the Salvation Army. It is knowledgeable about evangelicalism, and its account of the Army is fuller and more reliable (up to 1890) than previous, usually commissioned, histories; but it is too little else. It is a pity that, for instance, the role of women in the Army is unexplored (even Catherine Booth's role is vague), despite Murdoch's statement that women were instrumental in the Army's adoption of a philanthropic role that redefined its mission and led Booth to his most famous statement about poverty, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890). Frank Prochaska's *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (1980) might have helped him avoid his missed chance. Subjects one expects to be explored are left alone or briefly mentioned. Even some appropriate material that Murdoch has published in articles has not found its way into this volume. Devotees of the Salvation Army will profit from the book. Historians of Britain will find it less useful.

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JOEL PETER EIGEN. *Witnessing Insanity: Madness and Mad-Doctors in the English Court*. Foreword by NIGEL WALKER. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 240. $32.50.

In this remarkably erudite and exhaustively researched book, Joel Peter Eigen has established himself as the leading historian of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century English plea of insanity. For the years 1760 to 1843, Eigen examined the Old Bailey Session Papers (OBSP), pamphlets containing precise accounts of all the cases heard before London's central criminal court. While other scholars have focused on famous cases, such as those of Lord Earl Ferrers (1760), Edward Hatfield (1800), and Daniel McNaughtan (1843), Eigen, in an extraordinary undertaking, has chosen to scrutinize "tens of thousands of trials" to locate more than three hundred routine cases in which the prisoner at the bar pleaded insanity (p. 3).

Beginning with the first documented case in which a medical witness appeared for the defense, the trial of Lord Ferrers, Eigen goes on to describe the gradual evolution of medical testimony in English insanity trials. Although not directly assaulting the scholarship of Michel Foucault, Eigen demonstrates that, in England at least, the growing prominence of medical witnesses in insanity trials was "consumer-driven . . . court inspired," and definitely not the result of medical entrepreneurship or professional imperialism (p. 4). First-rate historical sociology cannot be a purely the-

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oretical enterprise, it must be based on an immersion in the primary sources. In this book, Eigen shows himself to be a meticulous historian, clearly superior to Foucault and many of his disciples.

Most of the insanity pleas at the Old Bailey were for property offenses, rather petty crimes that nonetheless carried with them the penalty of death. In his careful, discerning, and balanced analysis of the OBSP, Eigen demonstrates that the testimony of friends and relatives of the prisoner and often even of the prisoner was far more important than that of the medical witnesses. Indeed, many prisoners were acquitted without the testimony of "mad-doctors," who often merely served a legitimating function.

Until the 1800s, the common law of insanity utilized the "will to harm" in the cognitive sense: first, as the lack of understanding exemplified in the "wild beast" test; then, as the inability to distinguish "good from evil"; and, eventually, as "knowing right from wrong." Delusion played a central role in establishing total insanity. Beginning in 1812, however, the mad-doctors, encouraged by defense attorneys, began to assert that partial insanity, or a "lesion of the will," often compelled the prisoner to commit monstrous acts devoid of rhyme or reason. Many attorneys, with the assistance of the mad-doctors, were successful in arguing back the crime itself into proof of legal insanity, saving the prisoner from the gallows by his own motiveless deed. It was, of course, the public outcry to Daniel McNaughtan's acquittal by reason of insanity for the attempted assassination of prime minister Sir Robert Peel that led to the McNaughtan rules and a return to the cognitive test of "knowing right from wrong."

In the closing paragraphs of his book, Eigen speculates on the currently fashionable "abuse excuse." He argues that defendants have sought to extend traditional insanity pleas to cases that more closely resemble pleas of self-defense. With tactics similar to those employed by nineteenth-century attorneys and mad-doctors, attorneys for the modern-day "syndrome defendant" call upon clinical specialists to medicalize "fear of harm" into a temporary "lesion of the will" and thereby gain exculpation for the criminal acts of their clients.

This study represents the best scholarship we have on a critical period in the development of the plea of insanity in criminal cases. Eigen has distinguished himself as a historian.

RICHARD MORAN
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ADRIAN WOOLDRIDGE. *Measuring the Mind: Education and Psychology in England, c. 1860–c. 1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 448. $69.95.

One of the many strengths of this excellent book is the way it deftly merges the history of a profession—educational psychology—with the social, political, and cultural transformation of England from the late Victorian years to the present. Although primarily a biographically based examination of the emergence and development of psychologically grounded ideas and policies about the way children learn, Adrian Wooldridge's study is also a compelling history of the recurring debate about the relative contribution of heredity and environment (nature and nurture) to educational and social success. Central to this debate were the emergence of intelligence testing in the opening years of the twentieth century and its development in subsequent decades as an agent both of scientific assessment and of professional credibility for the often suspect field of educational psychology.

Wooldridge's fascinating analysis of the struggles, successes, rejection, and problematic revival of the role of intelligence measurement in the formulation of educational structure and curricula is set clearly in the context of shifting ideas about class, merit, and opportunity in an increasingly democratic society. Indeed, another of the more intriguing themes developed is the account of how meritocratic educational policy evolved from its eugenically based origins to challenge traditional class values of rank and privilege. Test-determined educational streaming was rejected after World War II in favor of equality of outcome in comprehensive schools, but recent years have witnessed mounting disillusionment with the results of this shift and a modest, if still contested, revival of older concepts of merit and measurement.

In tracing the history of the intersection of education with psychology through the careers of three generations of educators and psychologists, most notably Cyril Burt, Wooldridge has drawn upon an impressive range of unpublished individual and institutional manuscript sources, parliamentary papers and other official publications, the published writings of the many people who figure in his study, and an extensive list of secondary works. Burt's long career, extraordinary influence, later vilification, and at least partial vindication are central to Wooldridge's narrative. The fluctuating fortunes of Burt's reputation contribute to another of the book's key points: that the often bitter conflicts that have surrounded the history of educational reform and the use of so-called scientific measurements of ability—from the eugenics of Francis Galton and Karl Pearson through Burt and his followers to "new hereditarians" such as Hans Eysenck, Charles Murray, Richard Herrnstein, Arthur Jensen, and James Q. Wilson—perhaps tell us as much about contemporary politics and contemporary values as they do about education and science.

Wooldridge's book is therefore a very relevant, contemporary study that helps place in historical context still unresolved, often polarizing controversies about how children learn, how and what they should be taught, whether intelligence and ability is measurable, and what role schools should play in providing opportunities in a democratic society. On balance, Wooldridge seems cautiously sympathetic to the meritocratic social and educational values that predominated in the interwar years and to the possibilities of using

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psychometric testing as one of the guidelines in formulating educational policy. At the same time, he clearly regrets that current debates about these questions have become caught up in the often rabid politics of class and, increasingly, race and gender that characterize battles between the Left and the New Right. Wooldridge notes that many of the first generation of professional educational psychologists, like Burt and his followers, who believed that intelligence was innate, measurable, and correlated closely to achievement, are today viewed as right-wing reactionaries, whereas at the time they were seen as radical liberal and socialist reformers who were challenging the bastions of tradition and privilege. They saw themselves the same way and, until after World War II, persuaded the educational establishment and the government that they were right.

Wooldridge has written an engaging, richly rewarding, fair-minded book that is as valuable to social and intellectual historians as it is to historians of education.

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ROY PORTER and LESLEY HALL. *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650–1950*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 415. $35.00.

The title of this book is oddly misleading, for Roy Porter and Lesley Hall, devoted to a Foucauldian approach, state clearly in their introduction that "sex is not a natural datum awaiting discovery by doctors, scientists, and others . . . Rather, sexuality was produced by the production of knowledge about it" (p. 8). Even the subtitle leaves a false impression, because, having surveyed three centuries of writings about sex, Porter and Hall conclude that there is still no unified, uncontested body of sexual knowledge shared by contemporary British people. Despite all that has been written about the subject, it amounts to no more than disconnected ideas, "floating around at particular historical moments in a particular national context upon which individuals have drawn to make up their own 'sexual knowledge' " (p. 283).

Porter and Hall deny they are writing a history of sexual behavior, though at times the reader would not know it from the amount of social history that is included. Those looking for a story of scientific progress, the celebration of sexual liberation, or the condemnation of sexual repression will not find it here. What is available is a meticulously researched survey of the canonical works on sex from the seventeenth century to the 1950s. Porter and Hall provide a careful textual analysis of the various editions of such key works as Nicholas Venette's *Tableau de l'amour conjugal* (first translated into English in 1703) and the anonymous *Aristotle's Master-piece*, together with a splendid bibliography of the secondary literature. The book is sure to become a standard reference for all those who are interested in the complex and contradictory ideas about sex.

The authors have divided their labors, with Porter concerning himself with the pre-Victorian era and Hall bringing the story up to 1950. Porter shows that the straightforward treatment of the natural pleasures of sex at the beginning of the eighteenth century had become, by its end, anxiety ridden, replete with psychological fears as well as moral concerns. The Victorian era complicated sex still further by entangling it with issues of class, race, and gender. In the early twentieth century, things became even more problematic when, for the first time, sex was separated from procreation, only to be yoked to conjugal happiness. Even modern sexology's attempt to rescue sex from romanticism and evangelicalism and return it to the realm of the natural turned out to be full of contradictions. The fear of the unnatural, expressed through anti-masturbation crusades and generalized homophobia, continued to lurk in the background. Even today, the conjugal (homosexual as well as heterosexual) is the only safe refuge for sex.

Porter and Hall claim to be concerned with the "underlying politics of sexual knowledge" (p. 4), but their definition of the political is narrowly drawn. Early nineteenth-century socialist experiments with sexuality are left out entirely; feminism is allowed to make its appearance only in the late nineteenth century; and conservative forces, including religion, are not given appropriate weighting. Far more troubling is their refusal to deal with the social and cultural history of the sexual beings who were the subject of this deluge of discourse. Despite their repeated disavowal of the existence of objective facts of life, Porter and Hall persist in describing popular beliefs about sexuality that do not square with received knowledge as "superstition," "misinformation," and "folklore." It is here that the limits of their historical imagination stand most exposed, for the very beliefs in the magical and supernatural aspects of sex that scientific sexology thought it had exorcised are worthy of attention on their own terms. They are as much a part of this story as the published texts, and Porter and Hall have made a mistake in pretending that ideas about sex can be separated from sexual practices. When it comes to the popular cosmologies and epistemologies that have determined just what ideas will be popular at any particular time, there is still much work to be done.

JOHN R. GILLIS
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MICHAEL MASON. *The Making of Victorian Sexual Attitudes*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. 256. $29.95.

In this second part of his two-volume analysis of Victorian sexuality, Michael Mason continues the arguments of his first volume, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (1994). Victorian sexuality has been a hot

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topic in recent years, interpreted and reinterpreted in many different ways, often with current concerns shaping historical judgments. It was the children of the Victorians, including Lytton Strachey and the Bloomsbury group, who denounced their Victorian predecessors as prudes. Writing in 1966 on the eve of the sexual revolution, Steven Marcus revealed, in *The Other Victorians*, that not all Victorians were prudes. In recent years, revisionist historians such as Peter Gay, in his multi-volume *The Bourgeois Experience*, have argued that most Victorians were not sexually repressed. Now, in the age of AIDS, alarming rates of teenage pregnancy, and concern about child sexual abuse, Mason identifies what he calls "anti-sensualism" as the dominant motif in Victorian private sexual behavior and public attitudes and interprets it not as a pathological but as a popular and progressive characteristic of the society.

Having focused on behavior in *The Making of Victorian Sexuality*, Mason here traces the ideological origins of Victorian anti-sensualism. Mason argues that this sexual ethic came not from the Evangelicals but from the heirs of the Enlightenment concerned with reason and progress. Anti-sensualism was too vital, he claims in the preface, to have been driven "by the lip-service puritanism of the bourgeoisie, [or] by the asceticism of Evangelicals." Citing a wide array of liberal secular thinkers, Mason convincingly argues that their emphasis on the importance of the mind and of control of the body was crucial in shaping the ethic of anti-sensualism.

Mason's argument about rational secularism shaping Victorian morality is certainly not new. Victorian scholars have long pointed out how Utilitarianism, for example, with its emphasis on rational delayed gratification, was congruent with an emotional Evangelical concern with sexual purity. What is new in Mason's work is his argument that the Evangelicals and other religious groups in the nineteenth century were in fact "prosensual." He probably gives too much importance to fringe religious groups. For example, how relevant is it to an understanding of mainstream Victorian attitudes to show that male Wroeites (heirs of Joanna Southcott) were punished by a spanking by a naked woman who held the victim's genitals, and who perhaps masturbated them (p. 136)? His question of why sex "presses forward so persistently in the history of these popular religious movements" (p. 137) could easily be answered in terms of their sexual repression, not "pro-sensualism." Nevertheless, his arguments do successfully undermine a facile identification of Evangelicalism and prudery.

Arguing that Evangelicalism was not anti-sensual and that Protestant Christianity in general had no coherent view of human nature or social goals, Mason discounts the influence of religion in shaping Victorian society. He also argues that the ethic of rational self-control was enthusiastically proclaimed by working-class radicals such as Francis Place and was not a repressive ideology imposed by the controlling bourgeoisie. It was not until the late nineteenth century, Mason suggests, after works such as Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) loosened "the grip of the old Enlightenment-derived idea that man was categorically an intellectual being" (p. 175), that the new liberationist movement took hold. Nevertheless, he argues, the counter-liberationists, including feminists and socialists, were the progressive forces in society.

Readers of this intriguing study may resist—or be engaged by—Mason's catchy style of writing, such as his description of Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) as "the endocrine gland in the system of English nineteenth-century anti-sensualism" (p. 15). Many might also question the sweeping conclusion in his epilogue that the logic of our sexual liberation today leads to pedophilia. Praising Victorian control, he neglects the existence of child brothels in Victorian England and the perverse ways in which Victorian sexual repression and anxiety led to sexual fascination with prepubescent children. One could also question the fact that his entire discussion of sexuality, both past and present, occurs within the context of heterosexuality. Nevertheless, Mason has written a fascinating, tightly argued, densely documented, and (if it is not inappropriate to use this adjective in reference to a book on Victorian sexuality) stimulating work that provocatively challenges both conventional and revisionist views on Victorianism.

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Keith Wilson. *Channel Tunnel Visions, 1850–1945: Dreams and Nightmares*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 239. $25.00.

This history of the channel tunnel is based on British sources, emphasizing Britain's century-long struggle with the question of a channel tunnel before 1945. France and French attitudes are shown as consistently supporting the proposals and are taken for granted. Little is said about the later period or the channel becoming a reality in the 1990s. There is clearly opportunity for a sequel to cover the fifty years since 1945. It can only be hoped that story will be written with the same wide access to the archives that Keith Wilson has enjoyed. Much of the history is about British emotional attachment to the channel as a defense against every undesirable aspect of continental European life, including but not limited to foreign armies. Mentioning the 1990s, Wilson is right to say in his introduction that "the contest is far from over, even now" (p. xvi).

Wilson brings his well-known energy and capacity for detailed archival research to bear on this topic. Leaders in politics, the Foreign Office, and the military were deeply involved, including William E. Gladstone, Sir Garnet Wolseley, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Curzon, Charles Hardinge, Arthur Nicolson, Winston

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Churchill, David Lloyd George, and Maurice Hankey. Wolseley, a general, and Hankey, trained as a naval officer but for many years a power behind the scenes in the offices of the Committee of Imperial Defense and Cabinet were the leading critics of a channel tunnel.

That the tunnel was not built in the 1880s or the 1920s was the result of effective fearmongering. Its opponents appealed to fear of the unknown, fear of continental immorality, and the irrational belief that Britain's security would be much more easily breached if a tunnel existed. While documenting the story, Wilson brings to light previously obscure bits of information. For instance, among the opponents in 1907 was Lord Lansdowne, who had favored it in 1883 when he chaired a Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the tunnel. Earlier studies have only mentioned his support. We also find that France, even after signing the Entente Cordiale of 1904 and depending on British backing at the Algeciras Conference in 1906, did not drop its plans for an invasion of Britain until 1908. And, predictably, among the hare-brained schemes for building an invasion-proof tunnel was one by Winston Churchill.

This book has some problems, too. The large number of long direct quotations is daunting and would not be tolerated even in most doctoral dissertations; still, the quotations are pertinent and not readily available elsewhere. There are even more documents quoted verbatim in five of the six appendixes. The book lacks a conclusion, although scattered through it are many instances of Wilson's interpretation of events. The reader is left to pull the main ideas together without much help.

On this most timely topic, Wilson exposes his diplomatic historian's bias. The Foreign Office is never far away from the center of action, and the bibliography and notes show extensive use of public and private archives, including much on diplomacy. The real strength of this book lies in Wilson's document-based scholarship.

LYLE A. MCGEOCH
Ohio University

JEFFREY W. LEGRO. *Cooperation under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint during World War II.* (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 255. $35.00.

Primarily aimed at political scientists, this book attempts to explain why restraints on the use of types of warfare were maintained in certain instances during World War II and broke down in others. Concentrating on unrestricted submarine warfare, the bombing of civilian populations, and chemical warfare, Jeffrey W. Legro believes that the maintenance or abrogation of restraints was primarily the result of the institutional culture of the military services in Great Britain and Germany rather than either calculations of perceived benefit or the strength of arguments by the military institutions.

After first reviewing the theoretical issues, Legro argues that the events of war can best be explained by the notion that the organizational culture of the military service in each country largely prevailed over whatever preferences others might have had. He analyzes the developing concepts of the military services in Britain and Germany before the war and tries to show that these created a preference for or against restraint. There are references to the United States, Japan, and the Soviet Union, but Britain and Germany provide the primary focus. To prepare the case for his thesis, he has worked in British, German, and American archives.

Historians will certainly find some material in this book of interest. Legro makes a good case for the real story of the sinking of the *Athenia* in September 1939; his account of British disregard of their own sad experience with German submarines in World War I and their overestimation of the effectiveness of Asdic (U.S. sonar) is excellent; and his explanation of the German reluctance to use chemical weapons in *Blitzkrieg* warfare—because it would hamper rapid movement—makes good sense. He has, however, completely misread German planning by ignoring the fact that the Anglo-German Naval Treaty of 1935 was broken by the Germans in that same year; he has failed to recognize the extent to which British bombing policy was related to the invasion of neutral countries by the Germans; and he has not grasped the significance of repeated Soviet requests to the Western Allies to threaten retaliation if Germany used gas on the eastern front. There is a contradiction between his discussion of the American employment of submarines against Japanese shipping, when that had not been planned but the submarines were appropriate for such use, and his discussion of the failure of the Japanese to do the same thing when their submarines were equally appropriate and equipped with the world's best torpedoes (American torpedoes were often defective).

The evidence does not support Legro's analysis of German air warfare planning and practice. He neither recognizes that the Germans simply did not know that the Allies had no nerve gases nor understands that a leadership that believed that Germany lost World War I because it was stabbed in the back was sensitive to the impact of Allied retaliation on a home front largely unprotected against chemical warfare. The Allies were concerned about German use of gas against the invasion of 1944, but they also had control of the air, which had obvious implications for Germany.

The subject of restraint in war is of current relevance given the presence of nuclear weapons and the apparent ease with which almost any country can acquire chemical and biological weapons. The argument that the determining factor is likely to be internal to the countries engaged in war or preparation for it is worth noting.

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KEITH SAINSBURY. *Churchill and Roosevelt at War: The War They Fought and the Peace They Hoped To Make.* New York: New York University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 223. $24.95.

The title of this excellent set of essays is an appropriate play on words, a conceit many students of Anglo-American relations in World War II have followed ever since Christopher Thorne set the standard with his title, *Allies at War* (1978). Depictions of rivalry, competition, and even anger between the British and Americans that once were revisionist have become the norm. The "special relationship," so cherished and promoted by Winston Churchill, threatens to become just another story of greed, selfishness, and the pursuit of national interests. But nuance is needed.

Keith Sainsbury, who has given us a number of fine studies on World War II, including the best book on the 1943 Teheran Conference, here offers his perceptive and finely nuanced interpretation of the Churchill-Roosevelt relationship and its effect on the direction of the war. The essays examine the interaction between the two men as they related to grand strategy regarding both the Second Front and Churchill's Mediterranean approach; relations with the Soviet Union; the "unsolvable problem" of Poland and Eastern Europe; and the debate over the future of Germany. There is also a very British look at "the heavy cross of Lorraine" (Charles de Gaulle), and a brief glance at the Far East that is a bit sketchy as to British colonial and neocolonial concerns.

Some things are missing. Economics, a major source of Anglo-American discord, fails to rear its ugly head. Bretton Woods, for example, is never mentioned (although Churchill's biographer, Martin Gilbert, apparently found no references to it in Churchill's papers), nor does the war-long debate over colonialism make much more than cameo appearances. Franklin Roosevelt's thinking about a postwar international structure is given short shrift, as are Churchill's thoughts on the subject (although, for the most part, these have to be deduced from his actions). Sometimes this is because Churchill and Roosevelt postponed confronting the more troublesome postwar issues. Sometimes Sainsbury's British perspective prompts a bit of Eurocentrism. But what ties together much of what is missing is a kind of gentle geopolitical emphasis that makes ideas like American liberalism more slogans than elements of diplomacy, even though that liberalism suffused the arguments over trade, colonialism, and the postwar structure. FDR's application of Wilsonianism is, for example, reduced to a one-sentence formula.

Comments about what the book is not only place it in the appropriate historiographical context. Is it a worthwhile scholarly effort? Yes. Sainsbury knows his subject matter and makes connections and speculations that are worth pondering. He concludes that the Americans abandoned Europe-First after the invasion of North Africa and that Churchill was largely to blame when he blocked every other strategy. I would argue that the Americans never endorsed Europe-First, only Hitler-First. But either way the argument illuminates the choices available and made—choices that shaped the postwar world. Sainsbury exaggerates Roosevelt's reliance on the United Nations Organization, I would argue, but again the very discussion suggests that American thinking about the postwar structure needs reexamination.

For those who have a bit more than just a passing acquaintance with the history of high politics in World War II, this well-crafted book is well worth an evening or two. For students, graduate and undergraduate, seeking to understand the dynamics of what remains the modern era's most remarkable alliance, this book is ideal.

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KLAUS LARRES. *Politik der Illusionen: Churchill, Eisenhower und die deutsche Frage 1945–1955.* (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 35.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1995. Pp. 335. DM 92.

The subtitle of this excellent dissertation from the University of Cologne is a bit misleading. Its actual focus is Winston Churchill and his efforts, between Joseph Stalin's death in 1953 and his own reluctant departure in 1955, to crown his illustrious career with a great-power summit. His dream was to pilot Soviet and American leaders, by the sheer power of his rhetorical persuasion, to a dramatic breakthrough ending the Cold War. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the other statesman in the title, is only one of the important supporting actors in this drama, along with Anthony Eden, John Foster Dulles, Konrad Adenauer, and key figures of the British Foreign Office. Klaus Larres tells this story in more detail than anyone before, with a thorough grounding in the relevant British and American archives and in constant awareness of the interplay of the main figures in the United States, France, Germany, and the British foreign policy establishment. This permits him to argue a number of significant small revisions, for example that Adenauer's turnabout in July 1953 to advocate East-West negotiations did not really catch Washington by surprise but had been arranged behind the scenes (pp. 194–196).

That the aged Churchill's summit dreams were a "policy of illusions" in the ideological world of the Cold War is, contrary to the title, not Larres' main concern. His central thesis is rather the fundamental continuity of Churchill's diplomacy throughout his career. He finds the reasons for its failure in this period less in the illusionary nature of Churchill's goals than in the jockeying among the key personalities and ideological biases (here he clearly overestimates the influence of American propagandist C. D. Jackson). Churchill's preferred style had always been direct,

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toplevel negotiation, which he believed ideally suited his overriding goal, the defense and furtherance of the British Empire as a world power. In his and the beloved empire's declining years, this let him contemplate even a neutralized Germany to overcome the Cold War and a ban of the hydrogen bomb to save humanity—all to catapult Britannia and her most eminent statesman once more to the top of world politics. Larres builds these arguments on a conception of international relations that explicitly regards the interaction of personalities as primary, overshadowing broader political and economic interests, institutions, and even ideologies. This gives the book great narrative strength, but it also leads to more speculative conclusions about individual motivations than some readers may be comfortable with.

Ultimately, the greatest value of the book lies not in revising our view of Churchill as a Cold Warrior, as the book jacket proclaims. While Churchill's Iron Curtain speech at Fulton, Missouri, still leaves him the Cold Warrior par excellence in the popular mind, his changeability and his remarkable susceptibility to Stalin's wiles when they met in person are widely acknowledged by scholars. Larres rightly points to the conciliatory elements even in the Fulton speech. A more important contribution of the book is that it illustrates once more that the Cold War always had two sides: confrontation and an obvious need, felt on both sides of the Iron Curtain, to overcome that confrontation. While Churchill's proposals became remarkably far-reaching in his last years, most major and legions of minor statesmen pondered ways to break through the stalemate, and some form of German neutralization or nuclear-free solutions were typically parts of such conceptions. It is becoming increasingly clear that the "divided world" of the Cold War was characterized both by uncompromising confrontation and by cautious efforts to overcome the frozen positions that are basically anathema to diplomats. Thus at various points such "stalwart" Cold Warriors as Eisenhower, Dulles, Richard Nixon, Adenauer, Georges Bidault, and Charles de Gaulle, as well as the sometimes fierce Cold Warriors John F. Kennedy and Willy Brandt, sought contacts with the other side. These feelers were not aberrations of Cold War diplomacy but part of its very nature.

DIETHELM PROWE
Carleton College

ROY PORTER. *London: A Social History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 431. $29.95.

Henry James, having abandoned Boston for France, soon moved to London and stayed until his death. It was, he admitted, neither a pleasant nor an agreeable place. "It is only magnificent . . . London is on the whole the most possible form of life. It is the biggest aggregation of human life—the most complete compendium of the world . . . It is a real stroke of luck for a particular country that the capital of the human race happens to be British." Roy Porter, a native of London who grew up in a poor working-class area of south London after the war, has a similar sense of exasperated admiration and fascination for the metropolis but places greater emphasis than James on decay and despair. His social history is an elegy for loss, the loss of London's position as the capital of the human race, of the empire, of the world economy.

Porter's social history has one strong connecting thread, which runs through his rich and evocative portrayal of London's teeming life. London grew as the headquarters of the empire and as a result of commercial dynamism arising from its location as the point of exchange for goods from the New World and the East. Commerce, he argues, civilizes; it is socially redemptive, creating the largest concentration of middle-class people in the world and leading to prosperity that sustained families and communities and prevented degeneration into atomized chaos. The commercial city was cosmopolitan, stable, tolerant of other religions and races, broad-minded and patient. "Commerce absorbs and assimilates" (p. 388). Porter is, of course, a leading historian of the eighteenth century, and his hymn of praise to the "middling sort" could have been written by Daniel Defoe.

There was, however, a persistent weakness in London: the "bumble and bungle" of its government, which made the metropolis a muddle that somehow, despite itself, worked. Indeed, Porter seems to admire muddle and diffuse government for most of the book, preferring the old vestries that were attacked by the Benthamite centralizers to the grand schemes of the London County Council after 1889 or the Greater London Council (GLC) after 1965. The loose, diffuse structure of London's governance for most of its history did, after all, provide a venue for the middling sort, as aldermen in the City Corporation, freemen of the livery companies, vestrymen in the parishes, and governors of the vast range of voluntary bodies that ran the hospitals or learned societies. London, without a university until the creation of University College London in 1826, was intellectually more alert and exciting than the stuffy, provincial, establishment institutions at Oxford and Cambridge. But the loss of commercial confidence since the 1950s, with the crisis in London's industrial base, the closure of the docks, the shift of power in financial markets to foreign banks, and the growth of a new outcast London means that the weakness of the government of London has now been exposed to full view. Here is the tragedy of London: Mrs. Thatcher, rather than reforming the government of London to provide the sense of direction to face new challenges, abolished the GLC in an act of political spite and ideological commitment to the free market. The result, suggests Porter, has been a decay of the infrastructure of London compared with the massive investment in Paris; the incompetence of the deregulated City resulted in a short-term boom in the 1980s that has left major institutions weakened and

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threatened by Frankfurt as the financial hub of Europe.

Porter laments the loss of London's commercial pride, which has left it threatened by social disorder and disintegration. We have, however, been here before. London was threatened in the second quarter of the nineteenth century by a shift in trade patterns with the abandonment of mercantilism and the loss of government loan contracting; it faced a serious economic crisis from which it emerged in a new guise. This was possible because informal networks of skills and contacts allowed the city to seize new opportunities in marketing, finance, and industry. Perhaps these flexible, responsive networks still exist in advertising, in design, in music, in culture. London is not simply decaying into a sort of ruritanian branch of the heritage industry, an up-market Disneyland for prosperous tourists, as Porter sometimes suggests. It is also a center of the music industry, the base for leading architects such as Norman Foster and Richard Rodgers, and the home of fashion designers such as John Galliano. There is still room for optimism about London's capacity to adapt and survive. Meanwhile, any interested historian or educated tourist who wishes to come to London to form a personal opinion should buy Porter's wonderful evocation of this "most possible form of life."

MARTIN DAUNTON
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WILLIAM PALMER. *The Problem of Ireland in Tudor Foreign Policy, 1485–1603*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1994. Pp. 161. $53.00.

This is a useful contribution to widening the focus of historians from an English to a truly British perspective. William Palmer achieves clarity of purpose in straightforward prose. He displays command of the recent literature and has made effective use of the State Papers in the Public Record Office, London, especially the Irish papers in the classes SP 60–63, and SP 65 and also French and Spanish papers in SP 78 and SP 94.

Palmer's book goes forward by a kind of dialogue with the research on Tudor Ireland published in recent years: Nicholas P. Canny's work on the importance of colonization for English policy in Ireland; Steven Ellis's demonstration that understanding English policy in Ireland is impossible outside the context of the Tudor struggle with its other, chiefly Celtic, outliers; and Brendan Bradshaw's detailed studies of Ireland during the reign of Henry VIII and the complications of the "Cromwellian Revolution." After the 1530s, no English government seemed able or willing to commit the funds necessary to subdue the Irish once accommodation failed as a policy. England alienated both the old Anglo-Norman families of the Pale and the Irish country lords, as Ciaran Brady has emphasized for the years after 1540.

Palmer sets out to show that recent work has not given due attention to how problems of governing Ireland intruded into English consciousness and reshaped English policy toward Ireland because of the imperatives of foreign policy. Successive English regimes saw in Irish unrest challenges to the security of the English at home. Palmer's argument proceeds by attending to the shifting character of these challenges in each Tudor reign. The main emphases are found in sets of chapters given to Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, whose problems at home were always mirrored in Ireland. Among the problems they faced were threats of Scottish, French, or Spanish intervention, in league with dissident Irish lords and factions alienated by the Pale's subordination to English deputies; conflicts over land and office; the playing out of the Protestant reformation and settlement; English fomenting of rivalries among the great Irish lords; and rebellions against direct Tudor rule.

These matters framed and reframed the problem of Ireland for the Tudors, because each crisis, whatever its cause, provided opportunities for mischief by Scotland and the great continental powers, in real or feigned league with Scotland. England could not fight for long any war on more than one front, a point proven by the relationship of the rough wooing in Scotland after 1543 and the commitment in France in 1544—a demonstration riveting the attention of Elizabeth's council in the wake of the surrender of Calais. Hence the sting of the advice that the English Jesuit David Wolf gave to Philip II: "He that will win England, let him begin in Ireland." The French earlier had practiced this maxim whenever opportunity presented itself.

Palmer argues that English policy toward Ireland was greatly influenced by foreign policy considerations in each of three main phases: 1485–1534, 1534–1575, and 1575–1603 and beyond. His quarrel with earlier work, if there is one, is that after 1540 Ellis's insistence that English policy in Ireland resembled its policy toward other outliers (Cornwall, Calais, Wales, the Far North) breaks down. The key elements for Irish policy were the threat of invasion from Scotland and great power combination with Scotland. Palmer's argument, that in the face of these dangers English rulers shaped a "British policy," has marked his entry into the debate now of much interest to Tudor and early Stuart historians.

ARTHUR J. SLAVIN
University of Louisville

DONALD E. JORDAN, JR. *Land and Popular Politics in Ireland: County Mayo from the Plantation to the Land War*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 369. Cloth $69.99, paper $29.95.

Donald E. Jordan, Jr.'s useful monograph about the context and nature of the land war of 1879–1881 in county Mayo sheds light on at least four aspects of the

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agitation that "marked a decisive stage in the emergence of agrarian capitalism in Ireland" (p. 1). First and foremost, he adopts a core/periphery model of Mayo, dividing the county geographically, economically, socially, and politically into three large segments: a central corridor of fertile land best suited for cattle grazing and dominated by such large market towns as Ballina, Castlebar, and Ballinrobe, and two peripheral regions of poorer land, running on a north-south axis and comprising such parliamentary divisions as Gallen, Costello, and Clanmorris on the eastern flank and Erris, Burrishoole, Achill, and Murrisk to the west.

Second, he follows the lead of Paul Bew's *Land and the National Question in Ireland* (1978) by positing the existence of a deep "class conflict" between the small subsistence-level farmers of the west, who had no cash and little credit, and the large, prosperous capitalist farmers or grazier-shopkeepers, who could afford to defy their landlords on rent days and challenge them in the courts. Jordan shares Bew's view that the Land League's tactic of paying rent only "at the point of the bayonet" deepened divisions between large and small tenants. In this respect, Jordan rejects much of Samuel Clark's thesis in *Social Origins of the Irish Land War* (1979), about the unity of town and country or the "challenging collectivity" of the League. For Jordan the economic crisis of the late 1870s did not reduce the inherent tensions between large and small farmers and tradesmen in the towns but rather widened the gap between graziers and cottiers as well as strong farmers and laborers.

Third, Jordan credits local Fenians with playing a crucial role in mobilizing Mayo's farmers into a political force capable of challenging their landlords and Dublin Castle. Having agitated the land question during the 1870s, these radical leaders enlisted Michael Davitt's support in arranging the famous meeting at Irishtown on April 20, 1879, when tenant-right activists denounced high rents, evictions, and cattle ranching. The Fenians of Mayo thus deserve credit for launching the offensive against landlordism that resulted in the founding of the Land League of Mayo in mid-August 1879 and then the Irish National Land League in Dublin that October.

Fourth, Jordan focuses on the infighting between James Daly, owner and editor of the *Connaught Telegraph*, and the directorate of the League in Dublin. By 1880, Daly had locked antlers with his chief rival for control of the League in Mayo, the equally ambitious businessman, barrister, and grazier, John J. Louden of Westport, who leased some 7,000 acres of grazing land from Lords Lucan and Sligo. The constant sniping between these two influential men reveals much about the mixture of personality, political loyalties, vested interests, and class divisions that characterized so much of the land and national agitations.

Jordan's core/periphery model makes some sense even if it does not explain all of the political and economic divisions within the county. Drawing heavily on Daly's newspaper, the *Connaught Telegraph*, as well as the British Parliamentary Papers, Jordan explains how confrontations over rents and evictions in a time of growing distress moved the people of town and country to demand not only fair rents and an end to evictions but also the abolition of landlordism itself through a giant scheme of land purchase. For an in-depth study of the land war in Mayo, however, there are some curious omissions. How local branches of the League operated from week to week remains obscure. Although few papers have survived, the National Library of Ireland does possess a set of monthly reports from counties Kildare, Fermanagh, Galway, Mayo, Roscommon, and Tipperary that shed light on levels of activity, membership, receipts, and priorities. Something should have been said, moreover, about Fintan Lalor, whom Davitt once called "the prophet of Irish revolutionary land reform." And John Dillon, the most formidable enemy of landlordism to emerge from Ballaghadereen, does not receive his due. Also missing is an analysis of agrarian violence in Mayo, from threatening letters to shooting, arson, and cattle-houghing.

Because Jordan spurns Clark's solidarity thesis in favor of the great divide between big and small farmers, his book ends on the gloomy note that "the small western farmers were doomed to become the victims, not the victors, of 'the Land League revolution'" (p. 312). While this verdict is partly supported by the thousands of men and women who emigrated from Mayo in the 1880s, one should not forget that even small tenant farmers benefitted from the fair rent clauses of the Land Act of 1881 (as leaseholders did not) and that many found relief from the burden of unpaid rent through the Arrears Act of 1882. And Mayo's men and women could take pride in the knowledge that they, with the help of Father John O'Malley of the Neale, had given a new name to the old practice of social ostracism or exclusive dealing by "boycotting" Lord Erne's estate agent. (Eventually this word found its way into every major language in the world.)

Taking all the complexities and nuances of the land war into account, it will require someone with the narrative brilliance and historical empathy of E. P. Thompson, the rigorous empiricism of Cormac Ó Grada, James Donnelly, and William Vaughan, and the gift for analytical local history of Jordan, J. W. H. Carter, and Kevin Whelan to write the comprehensive national history of the land war that is so sorely needed. The daunting nature of the task, however, might well discourage everyone but a bold historical novelist from taking up this challenge.

L. Perry Curtis, Jr.
Brown University

Donal A. Kerr. *"A Nation of Beggars"? Priests, People, and Politics in Famine Ireland, 1846–1852*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. 370. $65.00.

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This study has a lovely nostalgic quality and gives the same sensation one encounters when, for example, opening an old cedar chest. It is not an example of history as it now is written or even of professional history as it was written a generation ago. Rather, it is a fine example of Catholic apologetics as they used to be done in the good old days before Vatican II. This was an art form all to itself.

Donal A. Kerr provides us with a lovingly detailed, almost day by day account of the interrelationships of the people whom he believes counted most in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland: the Catholic bishops and the successive heads of the United Kingdom government. Despite mention of the Famine in the book's title, the peasantry come on to the stage only as bit players when their condition has some impact on the political negotations the bishops are conducting. The material collected here is well documented and will be of interest to political historians of mid-nineteenth century England in particular.

The only disappointment is that Kerr is so engrossed in showing how his bishops prosecuted their ends in the matters of most import to them that he refuses to evaluate the social effect of their actions. In the years Kerr covers, the chief (but by no means sole) concern of the Catholic bishops was with fighting integrated education in Ireland, both at the university and at the primary level. They succeeded quite brilliantly in limiting (to nearly zero) the opportunities for Catholic and Protestant children to be educated together. Perhaps this is a good thing (the bishops certainly thought so), but one wishes that Kerr had at least examined some of the studies concerning the impact of educational segregation, even if those studies were conducted outside the narrow tramlines of his time period.

DONALD HARMAN AKENSON
Queen's University, Ontario

ALVIN JACKSON. *Colonel Edward Saunderson: Land and Loyalty in Victorian Ireland*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. vii, 276. $59.00.

Now obscure, Edward Saunderson was the founder of Irish Unionism, the leader of Ulster loyalism in the age of Charles Stewart Parnell, and was celebrated by Tories and Irish Unionist Orangemen in his own time as the hero of the opposition to Home Rule. Alvin Jackson has written more than a biography of Saunderson. He has crafted a detailed study of the complex relationships in modern British politics between one person's social and intellectual environment and that person's political values and attitudes. In the process, he has rescued a powerful figure from the past.

Family, piety, land, loyalty, and yachting are themes that pervade this book. Saunderson began his career as a Whig on the margins of Ulster, holding all-Irish, cross-class Unionist views. The "two Irelands" in his pamphlet *Two Irelands: or, Loyalty versus Treason* (1884) refers not to Ireland and Ulster but to the loyal and the treasonous. Electoral circumstances, his position as a landowner, and the logic of his own intellectual position, however, led him to a strident defense of Orange Ulsterism. His Irishness and landedness were crucial to these developments.

Although Saunderson moved with some ease at Westminster and in Conservative political circles, his Irishness left him, with good reason, with no great trust for English Tories. The electoral reforms of 1884–1885 marginalized Irish loyalists. Fear of schemes for compulsory purchase in Arthur Balfour's land reforms of 1887 deepened his suspicions. As a consequence, Saunderson dominated the Ulster Party, using it as a troublesome instrument to keep his English allies in line. Forming an independent political party, however, put Saunderson somewhat on the margins of primary political forces. Far from being aloof and phlegmatic, he was deeply engaged. If he was a Tory, he was not a Conservative; he was in Westminster yet not quite of it. As Richard Temple said of him, Saunderson was "almost like an Othello whose occupation is gone" (p. 78).

After the defeat of the second Home Rule bill, the Ulster Party's alliance with the Tories was less necessary and therefore less dependable. Instead of forging new forms of consensus within Irish Unionism, Saunderson took up the defense of landlordism against Ulster politicians who favored compulsory land purchase. Jackson's analysis of Saunderson's estate in Cavan and his management of it provides a forceful exposition of the social and economic background for this retreat to caste interest. As a result, Saunderson became a shadow of his former political self. His distaste for the industrial, mercantile Tories of Belfast, with their parasitical legal allies who had never accepted him, drove him further to the margins of political life. The Belfast group was, however, as Jackson showed in his fine, earlier book *The Ulster Party: Irish Unionists in the House of Commons 1884–1911* (1989), the wave of the future.

Jackson is particularly effective in showing how Saunderson's Irish, landed loyalism was transformed in the twentieth century into bourgeois Ulster unionism. Saunderson was capable of signal political achievements as long as his all-Irish loyalism could move in the complicated family and social associations he had in Westminster. All this was gone, and with it Saunderson's influence and power, when his vision of loyalism was displaced by demotic, sectarian Ulsterism.

WILLIAM C. LUBENOW
Richard Stockton College, New Jersey

JEAN-MARC MORICEAU. *Les fermiers de l'Ile-de-France: L'ascension d'un patronate agricole (XV^{e}–XVIII^{e})*. Paris: Fayard. 1994. Pp. 1069. 250 fr.

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The good news is that the classic French doctoral thesis is alive and well, navigating treacherous waters but elegantly negotiating methodological reefs and currents, putting in at all the ports, and bringing ample cargo with it. The bad news is that the *thèse* remains as massive as ever. Jean-Marc Moriceau's tables of contents alone take up seventeen pages. There are also 783 pages of text, 155 pages of appendixes, 53 pages of bibliography and sources, and 54 pages of index. This is definitely not bedside reading; for one thing, the book is much too heavy. But to specialists it offers rich rewards.

A *fermier*, explains François Quesnay in the *Encyclopédie*'s article of that name, "works lands owned by another." He is no mere peasant, but member of a peasant elite. Farming large estates (75 acres minimum, 150 on average by the seventeenth century, sometimes 600 acres and over), *fermiers* are yeomen and spearheads of progress. "Their riches fertilize the land, multiply the cattle, attract and settle the peasantry, make the force and prosperity of the nation." That, of course, is a physiocrat, writing in the eighteenth century.

Moriceau has shouldered the task of showing how, starting from small fourteenth-century beginnings, they got to look that way. He examines the most prosperous and advanced of their kind, the *fermiers* of the Ile-de-France, and traces the growing size of the estates they farmed, the variety of leases and their evolution from kind to cash, the snaring of credit and marketing of crops, the relations with landowners whom they gradually replaced, and the factors and strategies of their survival and success despite murderous plagues, climatic dark ages, devastating warfare, and no less wasting taxes.

Individuals go to the wall, but the class and the clans prosper and rise. Discriminating endogamy, prolific families, higher birth rates, lower death rates, enduring solidarities, and family-financed or guaranteed credit, all fuel virtuous spirals. Dynasties take shape, grow, and hive off to nearby towns or to the capital. Accounting and contracting make literacy crucial—in time, even for the women—and literacy means geographic and social mobility into church, law, tax-collecting, artisanry, trade, seignorial or royal offices that open access to *honorability* and reinforce local pre-eminence.

Those who survive the rotten weather, ruinous pillage, and crushing taxation of the seventeenth century march forward: big fish feasting on littler fish. Capital permits first survival, then agronomic improvements. The scale of estates expands and specialization and commercialization with it; dowries take off, and so does exogamy. Comforts, furnishings, equipment, investments, and cultural mimicry reflect higher social and economic standing. So do declining fertility rates, precipitous in the eighteenth century and after (p. 560). Moriceau's heroes shift from comfort to opulence; then turn into *fermiers gentilshommes*, millers, corn-chandlers, and wholesale speculators. By the eve of the Revolution, when the book ends, they stand poised to take over not only property but power too. Moriceau has given us a practical morality tale, *incontournable* for the subject, compelling reading once you take it up.

EUGEN WEBER
University of California, Los Angeles

CHARLOTTE C. WELLS. *Law and Citizenship in Early Modern France*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series 113, number 1.) Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 198. $37.50.

This useful book outlines the history of a juridical conception of "national citizenship" in France from the late Middle Ages to Napoleonic times. Charlotte C. Wells locates this conception within the framework of the evolution of absolutism and argues that French revolutionary legislation was indebted in some ways to the work of sixteenth-century jurists.

Did the word "citizen" have any specific legal meaning in early modern France? If so, what rights and responsibilities did citizens have? What did citizenship imply about their sense of shared identity and their relation to the sovereign who ruled them? Wells tackles these significant and complicated questions by circumscribing the subject and concentrating on a cluster of issues in a set of sources. Her topic is not the exposition of the nature and extent of the participation of the French people in politics but the elaboration of the characteristics and privileges that distinguished them from foreigners. Her analysis is based first and foremost on published discussions of the *droit d'aubaine* (by which the monarchy confiscated the estates of foreigners who died in France without heirs) and related matters. She has also studied cases adjudicated by the *parlements* and letters of naturalization granted by the crown.

By the sixteenth century, French kings had expanded their authority over foreigners but also granted many exemptions from the *droit d'aubaine*, commonly for economic reasons. They naturalized individuals as well as groups of people without exacting fees or imposing requirements. French jurists, meanwhile, extended the model of citizenship based on the principles of Roman law and the practices of Italian cities to the kingdom as a whole. They generally emphasized the criteria of birth or residence on French soil but, after many Protestants emigrated during the civil wars, also recognized the claims of children of French parentage born abroad. Absolutism reshaped the flexible laws and jurisprudence in several ways, by making the demonstrable choice of French identity less decisive and blood relations, religious considerations, and royal prerogatives more important in these matters. The Bourbon monarchy deliberately downplayed the traditional sense of national community, in order to promote the subordination of infantilized subjects to their

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patriarchal ruler, and eventually renounced the *droit d'aubaine* by signing reciprocal treaties with other countries.

The detailed analyses of treatises and precedents, assembled into an orderly whole, constitute the most informative sections of this study. Wells includes illuminating material about Protestants but could do much more with Jews. She discusses pamphlets published during the civil wars but otherwise makes little use of polemical literature, which would have helped her illustrate the implications of "national citizenship" more persuasively. The suggestive account of eighteenth-century developments, finally, needs to be worked out much more fully, but it would probably require another book to do so.

JEFFREY MERRICK
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HENRY C. CLARK. *La Rochefoucauld and the Language of Unmasking in Seventeenth-Century France*. Geneva: Librarie Droz. 1994. Pp. 232.

On first reading, this book seems to be an unsatisfactory treatment of a well-studied subject, namely François de La Rochefoucauld's ethical thought. On second reading, reflections on the general topic of seventeenth-century ethical thinking prompt revision of the first impression.

Despite learned attempts, the history of seventeenth-century French ethics still awaits its historian. The numerous intellectual currents and rhetorical strategies bewilder the researcher, especially if the work studied is as difficult to analyze as La Rochefoucauld's *Maxims* (1665).

Pyrrhonist argument and casuistic forms, the theories of the passions, Augustinian influence, Jesuit resonances and Jansenist sympathies, various Machiavellisms, and, last but not least, Castiglione-inspired courtly programs all seem evident in the major texts. Is not the fundamental question, however, upon what truth or action may an ethics be founded? La Rochefoucauld's first aim was to undermine the particularly Stoic claims for human ability to surmount the influence of the violent passions. He also insisted that human capacity for doing something disinterested is illusory, as is human ability to do truly good works. These views led him to emphasize the importance of strength of soul and idleness (like Montaigne) as principal agents in human action, ironic perhaps, but no less powerful. Devotional writers proposed to find God within the heart through prayer; all La Rochefoucauld found was vanity.

The possibilities for offering a biographical perspective on the *Maxims* have always been attractive. La Rochefoucauld was a great nobleman, tempestuous when young, learned and brilliant in literary circles in old age. The appearances, what things seem to be but are not at court and elsewhere, were part of life experience for La Rochefoucauld. Clark does not deepen the biographical approach by offering either new facts or interpretation of the *Maxims* from an analysis of the *Memoirs*. Once courtly masks are removed, possibilities for *honnète* conduct may still be found. Spanish influences, notably Juan Huarte and Baltasar Gracián, are also duly noted, but again the close reading and analysis to pin down just what these were, is not carried out.

The author also sets out to support the interpretation of the *Maxims* as really quite secular, as opposed to recent interpretations that have stressed St. Augustine's influence. There is little doubt that the vocabulary of self-love, and perhaps the aim, which is to show human helplessness, have Augustinian origins. In the genre the next step would be the recognition that man cannot do good without God, and that he cannot save himself. La Rochefoucauld does not, however, take these steps. The turning to the subject of death at the end is not without significance. The Stoic teaching that death can be scorned or mocked is rejected. Still, to be wise in one's own helplessness was in itself no mean accomplishment. While they might not have agreed with the *Maxims*, Montaigne, the Descartes of the *Meditations*, and Pascal might have recognized La Rochefoucauld as a friend with whom they could carry on a dialogue.

OREST RANUM
The Johns Hopkins University

ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER. *The Ceremonial City: Toulouse Observed, 1730–1780*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 203.

This is an "explication de texte" that, by invoking anthropological method, seeks to grasp the meaning of the ritual ceremonies that punctuate nearly every page of Pierre Barthès's diary, an eight-volume manuscript called "Les heures perdues" that records what Barthès took to be the most notable events occurring in Toulouse between 1738 and 1780. Robert A. Schneider's analysis is both restrained and incisive.

Barthès's text is well known to eighteenth-century historians, but, as Schneider points out, it has never before been analyzed as the rich compendium of ceremonial life that it is. Schneider wants to determine "the mobilizing potential of ceremony," (p. 8) how it enlisted participation, and, above all, how it "managed to yoke the populace's loyalties to the values [the ceremony] represented" (p. 9). Perhaps it would be impossible to answer these questions effectively, given that Barthès slavishly recounted ceremonies from the perspective of the authorities. Thanks to Schneider's considerable hermeneutic abilities, however, he still offers us a valuable interpretation of eighteenth-century ceremony that adds to our understanding of the meaning of the concept "public" in eighteenth-century France.

The specialist may become impatient with chapters that cover familiar terrain—"The City," "Justice in the Streets," "Public Devotions," and "Political Festivi-

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ties"—but Schneider is carefully preparing his ground for the final chapter, "Thinking about the Ceremonial City," where he hits his stride. Here he convincingly suggests that religious processions and political festivities were expressed through "two contrasting ceremonial idioms" (p. 179), the former recalling the past, the latter celebrating the present and heralding the future. These idioms were fundamentally different temporally and spatially, and they reveal another dimension to the elemental reordering of public life that characterized the eighteenth century. The religious procession represented the traditional world; it was ambulatory, belonged to the fixed Catholic feast and holy days and thus was rooted in the past, was performed at regular intervals, and was a "devotion that enlisted the active participation of the faithful" (p. 182). The secular festival, which celebrated the monarchy was, in contrast, "stationary, fixed in a central square, usually the Place Royale" (p. 180). It had no historical pretense but instead reveled in "the triumphant present" (p. 181), and, as evidenced by its fireworks displays, it demanded a passive devotion from hopefully awestruck spectators.

These new ceremonial forms reflect the eighteenth-century trend toward increasing emphasis on entertainment, but Barthès's diary also records the fact that secular festivals needed large arenas for display. As a result, public squares were opened up. Not only was the physical face of the city thereby dramatically altered, but the authorities unwittingly provided new venues for social interaction, indeed, space that "allowed for the freest sort of public sociability" (p. 186). Schneider thus challenges us to consider the concept of "public" in physical as well as "sociable and discursive forms" (p. 185). After all, he asserts, these "new terrains for public interaction" (p. 186) allowed for new forms of popular mobilization and political participation that, no less than discourse, "challenged the hierarchical values and closed venues of the Old Regime" (p. 185).

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ROBERT DARNTON. *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 440. $27.50.

For over twenty-five years, Robert Darnton has provided a succession of extraordinary books that reveal an overlooked stratum of political discourse. Studying these works—mostly illegal and hailing from a French Grub Street—he has suggested a political maelstrom far beyond the High Enlightenment, a movement he characterizes as thoroughly tamed long before the Revolution. Darnton's new book revisits past themes but in a more systematic way, quantitatively analyzing this underground press. In addition, Darnton gives a nuanced reading to the three most widely circulated of these illicit publications. Such textual analyses were generally absent from his earlier studies.

Also new and perhaps most important is the way Darnton carefully situates his findings against others who assess the role of ideas in the Revolution. He dismisses the conclusions of those who focus on the role of hegemonic discourses or on the permeation of the Enlightenment in the academies, legal briefs, and elsewhere. Instead he emphasizes illegal literature, which he sees as a series of libels with a potent story to tell. He no longer treats these illicit pieces as the particular efforts of frustrated Grub-Streeters or erstwhile philosophes but takes a more eclectic approach to illuminate oppositional themes. In a nutshell, Darnton argues that these books also reveal that "decadence had set in, and the monarchy had degenerated into a despotism" (p. 242) after the death of Louis XIV. This trope, repeatedly used, explains why, when presented with a choice for or against the king, the public (implicitly equated by Darnton and others as linked to the educated elite) selected revolution. Their actions reveal that illicit literature had shaped opinion. Through this evidence and reasoning Darnton has developed a model of how ideas, insinuating themselves into public opinion, actually played into politics. By looking at content and systematically counting—omissions that have been noted by reviewers of Darnton's other work—he seems to me to address past criticisms and explicitly demonstrate what he believes to be proper method. Superbly and boldly written, this book is an important statement by a very eminent scholar.

Perhaps the best parts of this work are Darnton's sensitive reconstructions of three illegal books: *Therèse philosophe* (1748), *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante* (1771), and *Anecdotes sur Mme la comtesse du Barry* (1775), substantial excerpts of which are also translated and presented in the latter third of the book. Especially well done, though it could have benefitted from more attention to the many new works both on gender and pornography, is the analysis of *Therèse philosophe*. Darnton contextualizes this voyeuristic peep into several bedrooms with an understanding of the eighteenth-century reader's perspective and a searching portrayal of the writer's techniques.

Doubtless, the most contested position in this book will be Darnton's arguments about how his approach to ideas and revolution improves upon those of his predecessors and competitors. Darnton repeatedly insists, as the most important part of his critique, on the need to understand public opinion, which according to him has been scarcely investigated. Having dismissed the claims of the scholars of discourse and the diffusion of the Enlightenment that they can provide this information, he confidently wants to link the printed word to political beliefs. Here he also takes aim at historians of culture whose interests in popular practices cannot, he claims, be equated with elite political thinking. But in asserting that he remains alone in his search for opinion, Darnton still ignores another venerable literature that conceives of itself as directly tapping public opinion, a literature that is rapidly

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expanding, particularly in the area of the media. From old studies such as Charles Aubertin, *L'Esprit public au XVIII^e siècle* (1873) to newer investigations such as Pierre Rétat, ed., *L'Attentat de Damiens* (1979), all seek public opinion, and some even use versions of his method, though without the same emphasis on illicit materials. In the final analysis, Darnton can claim that these never quite close the gap between text and views, but a paucity of sources make it likely that inference will always be necessary. Even his own effort, which shows the use of the libels by contemporaries in the revolutionary situation, can only make a logical connection but produce no smoking gun. His leap seems no less substantial than other researchers' and no more likely to discourage historians interested in discourse and other methods. Even fellow travelers in approach will hesitate at Darnton's findings, which rely on a very narrow, if important, band of evidence to explain a critical step in the Revolution.

Another matter worth noting is Darnton's particular use of the texts he specifies. For the most part, Darnton analyzes meanings outside the economic and political pressures faced by author and publisher. He derives meanings without using the context of the writing, an approach which he has done so much to stimulate and which has grown by leaps and bounds. This omission, in the synthesis of a lifetime of valuable work, remains difficult to comprehend. Nonetheless, despite these demurrers many basic issues are delineated and debated with exceptional grace and clarity; much valuable information is presented; specialists and non-specialists will profit by viewing and evaluating it.

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James L. Osen. *Royalist Political Thought during the French Revolution*. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 47.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1995. Pp. xii, 154. $55.00.

With the current dominance of political interpretation in the historiography of the French Revolution, a new study of royalist thought is appropriate and welcome. More than a generation has passed since the appearance of Paul H. Beik's *The French Revolution Seen From the Right: Social Theories in Motion, 1789–1799* (1956) and Jacques Godechot's *La Contre-Révolution: Doctrine et action, 1789–1804* (1961). More recently, works on royalist newspapers have appeared, notably Jeremy D. Popkin's *The Right-Wing Press in France, 1792–1800* (1980) and Jean-Paul Bertaud's *Les Amis du roi: Journaux et journalistes royalistes en France de 1789 à 1792* (1984). An updated study should go beyond what is written and offer fresh insights through penetrating and sophisticated analysis of royalist thought, by drawing close connections between royalist writings and actions during the Revolution, or by examining less-known writers whose commonplace ideas might reflect more common views.

James L. Osen's study focuses on supporters of absolutism, excluding those who accepted some form of constitutional monarchy. Osen incorporates in this study the arguments of royalist journalists and essayists, drawing on little-known writers as well as more familiar names such as Emile D'Antraigues, Sénac de Meilhan, Antoine Ferrand, and Antoine Rivarol. Curiously, there is no mention of Mirabeau-Tonneau or of the abbé Maury, the latter a favorite of caricaturists. This brief work does not satisfy expectations, since it does not substitute for or add to the existing corpus of knowledge. The chapters, in strict chronological order and with no thematic focus, present selected writings of the particular years in summary and quite literal form, with little incisive analysis and considerable repetition of ideas. Time and again we read of the argument that the Revolution was caused by the Enlightenment, Freemasons, Calvinists, and all sorts of enemies of God or the church. The chapter on "The Royalist Press and the Directory" offers little explanation of the political developments that called forth journalistic comments. In reiterating that the monarchy failed to court public opinion before 1789, the author overlooks recent books and articles that examine royalist and ministerial propaganda. A number of grammatical and stylistic faults mar the text; the most novel expression appears in Osen's judgment of the abbé Antoine Sabatier's (de Castres) argument that joined a view of human selfishness and evil in society to utilitarian calls for the general welfare: "So he ends up sounding something like a pussycat" (p. 71).

We may thank Osen for bringing to our attention the royalist writers' obfuscation of history by the substitution of vacuous moralizing for precise analysis and their indulgence in Manichean arguments that demonized their opponents and called for acts of "terror," bringing upon these royalists and their cherished monarchical government the "Terror" of the French Revolution. Let the current decriers of the Jacobins be aware that "terror" was a mutual responsibility.

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Albert Boime. *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after War and Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 234.

In this well-argued, well-written, and well-illustrated book, Albert Boime argues that the physical destruction and human death toll of the Franco-Prussian War and the war between the French government and the revolutionary Parisian government known as the Commune profoundly influenced two generations of French artists: the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists. Born between 1832 and 1841, the major Impressionists were mature painters by 1871. Moderate republicans, they rejected the egalitarianism of the Commune, but condemned the slaughter of its supporters during the *semaine sanglante*. The Impression-

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ists developed the style for which they are known in the aftermath of the Commune; they painted Parisian streets, gardens and parks, rivers, bridges, and train stations, erasing the destruction widely and erroneously attributed to the Commune, returning workers to their proper place (work not politics), and symbolically reclaiming the public spaces of Paris and its environs for the bourgeoisie. This symbolic erasure and reclamation was a deeply political enterprise. To late-twentieth-century Americans who are drawn to the Impressionists' paintings of the 1870s largely for their beauty and innovation, Boime's demonstration of the artists' conservative political agenda will come as a surprise.

The Impressionists' successors, children rather than mature adults in 1870–1871, reacted differently to the war and the Commune. Where the older generation "wished to restore and forget and get on with their lives," the younger Post-Impressionists "wanted to aid in the formation of a new social structure" (p. 73). They wanted to create a new, tolerant, non-competitive, egalitarian world, not to reclaim power and control for the bourgeoisie.

Boime has produced a crossover work that will speak to historians and art historians alike. He combines a masterful analysis of dozens of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings with an analysis of the period's political history. His major interest is in the Impressionists, and most of the book is devoted to them, but a lengthy epilogue is devoted to an innovative analysis of Post-Impressionist Georges Seurat's *Un Dimanche à la Grande-Jatte* (*Sunday on the Island of Grande-Jatte*).

The book challenges conventional views of Impressionist paintings and will be of obvious interest to art historians. It also will be of considerable interest to other historians, since it asserts the importance of the Paris Commune in the making of the modern world through its impact on culture. Boime devotes considerable attention to women's roles in the Commune and the Impressionists' and Post-Impressionists' representations of them (the former held patriarchal views; the latter, feminist), which feminist historians will find interesting and persuasive. Above all, this book demonstrates the impoverishment of our understanding of the past that occurs when historians and art historians ignore each other's work. By placing the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists in their historical and political context as well as in the context of art history, Boime expands and enriches our understanding of some of the world's great paintings and of the Commune's importance.

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JEFFREY WEISS. *The Popular Culture of Modern Art: Picasso, Duchamp, and Avant-Gardism*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 331. $45.00.

In this study, Jeffrey Weiss departs from the seemingly banal observation that modern art is incomprehensible to open a new optic onto the field of Parisian popular culture prior to World War I. Rather than seek to interpret the notoriously perplexing works of Pablo Picasso, Marcel Duchamp, and other avant-gardists, Weiss sets out to uncover the ignored history of the public response—in newspaper reviews, satirical cartoons, advertising, costume and stage design, haute couture, and music hall numbers—much of it hostile and parodic. This archeological approach yields a wealth of fascinating material, that is in itself one of the major contributions of the book. But Weiss also proves to be a sophisticated reader of these visual and verbal texts, taking seriously and without condescension the terms with which modern art was received by its contemporaries. His findings establish a vivid picture of a broad-based culture permeated by *blague* (irony, deceit, or mockery) and *réclame* (publicity), farce and mystification, the snobbish desire to appear to have advanced taste and the fear of being duped.

Paradoxically, Weiss finds that the Parisian avant-garde shared this spirit of *blague*, delighted in a good hoax, and participated actively in self-promotion, the propagation of confusion, and mystification. Aware of the public's mistrust and accusations of bad faith, many artists responded in kind, taking incomprehension as a theme or engaging in self-parody. The Italian futurists, led by F. T. Marinetti, deliberately employed the very techniques of *réclame* criticized in the press, often seeking confrontation with the public and notoriety as ends in themselves. Weiss describes Duchamp's withdrawal from the traditional practice of painting in favor of the cerebral selection of ready-mades and work on the *Large Glass* as a symptom of the same malaise experienced by the public. Like the disillusioned *raté*, or failed artist, which the popular press imagined many avant-gardists to be, Duchamp rejected a career as a salon-exhibiting artist and made futility and impotence the themes of his subsequent anti-art. Picasso's collages, in Weiss's analysis, are seen to participate in the satirical humor and disjunctive structure characteristic of the music hall, which was simultaneously engaged in parodying cubism. Just as music-hall jokes drew on newspaper reporting and depended on a shared knowledge of contemporary events and debates, Picasso's collages employ fragments of newspaper, advertising, and popular songs. These collages address a similarly informed insider audience, attuned to the idiomatic meanings of popular cultural materials and to their unexpected or parodic new appearance in the context of high art.

For Weiss, the cultural fabric of prewar Paris is unified by the prevalence of *blague* and mystification, parody and hoax, the search for novelty and *réclame*. He discerns an open channel between the manifestations and techniques of popular culture, especially as exemplified in the music hall, and those of the avant-garde. By leveling the hierarchy that usually obtains between the "high" art practices of the modernists and

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the "low" forms of popular culture, Weiss challenges prevailing views of their relationship, as held both by formalists such as Clement Greenberg ("Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Partisan Review* 6:5 [1939], pp. 34–49), and by revisionists such as Thomas Crow ("Modernism and Mass Culture in the Visual Arts" *Modernism and Modernity: The Vancouver Conference Papers*, ed. Benjamin H.D. Buchloh [1983], pp. 215–264), who see the avant-garde as appropriating elements of mass culture in a unidirectional manner. Without invoking his social-historical and class-based analysis, Weiss shares Umberto Eco's fascination with the narrowing gap between high and low, which Eco explains as a function of the fact that both are products of the same economic structure ("Lowbrow Highbrow, Highbrow Lowbrow," *Times Literary Supplement* [Oct. 8, 1971] pp. 1209–11). Weiss also approaches (again without addressing the content of the theories) the nihilistic vision of Jean Baudrillard, who sees in contemporary culture the collapse of difference between an original and its copy, so that in the absence of any governing or grounding term, all forms of signification become simulacral parodies of each other (*Simulations* [1983]). A victim of the rampant promotionalism and mystification of prewar Paris, the missing original term of Weiss's book would appear to be genuine (sincere, comprehensible) art.

Weiss is dismissive of those who seek to understand modern art on the basis of "theories," mentioning specifically Peter Bürger's distinction between modernism and the historical avant-garde (*Theory of the Avant-Garde* [1984]) as too abstract to illuminate the complexities of actual practice. Yet the absence of a theoretical structure has the effect of flattening the cultural field even as it gains in depth from Weiss's archival research. From the perspective of popular response, at least as described by Weiss, the work of Picasso, the futurists, and Duchamp emerge as indistinguishable in their incomprehensibility. Privileging F. T. Marinetti's manifesto "The Variety Theater" (1913), Weiss argues that it "contains all the fundamental precepts of futurism, suggesting that we might actually reinterpret the entire futurist movement as a riotous trans-European slapstick comedy in which the chief principle of modern life turns out to be a kind of chaotic hilarity" (pp. 205–207). But this ignores important aspects of futurism: its patriotic and imperialist ideals, its evacuation of humanistic subjectivity in favor of a conflation of the body with the machine, its disdain for women, and its aestheticization of violence and war. It also lifts futurism out of the political and social history of its time; by focusing on the music hall as the prototype of both popular and avant-garde culture, modern art is assimilated to entertainment. It becomes impossible to retain the utopian idea that modern art engaged in social or aesthetic critique or that it responded seriously to questions posed by the experience of modernity, including the viability of past traditions and genres, the rise of technology and techniques of mechanical reproduction, the destabilization of identity or of gender, and the search for new forms of community.

In the end, this provocative and stimulating book leaves one with a number of questions. Is the culture of *blague* only or primarily a Parisian phenomenon? Did similar attitudes condition aesthetic experience in London, Munich, Berlin, or Moscow? Could artists such as Henri Matisse, Piet Mondrian, or Wassily Kandinsky be made to fit this model? Do the romantic premises of the avant-garde's endeavor point to a split in their ranks, one group devoted to practices associated with sincerity and the other with irony and subversion? (Indeed, Weiss poses this question about Matisse but does not answer it.) Finally, what explains the pervasive humor and satire of prewar French culture? Weiss's suggestion that the disorienting rapidity of change engendered the culture of farce and bluff as well as fears of mystification and of being left behind only begins to address this issue. These are significant questions and, by renewing their urgency, Weiss has succeeded in advancing the terms of the high/low debate. This book is also beautifully written and produced, the text sprinkled with the idiomatic expressions and argot of the banquet years, its pages enlivened with many previously unpublished examples of contemporary music-hall costumes, set designs, satirical cartoons, film posters, fashion design, and advertisements. This study of the collision of modern art and its parodic other makes fascinating reading, out of which our understanding of neither the avant-garde nor the popular response to it will emerge unchanged.

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ROBERT SOUCY. *French Fascism: The Second Wave, 1933–1939*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 352. $35.00. DAVID CARROLL. *French Literary Fascism: Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and the Ideology of Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 299. $29.95.

Fascism never came to power in France. Despite this fact (and perhaps because of it), French fascism remains a hotly debated subject. Both books under review make important contributions to various aspects of this debate.

For over a quarter century scholars have feuded about both the nature and the extent of fascism in Third Republic France. One school, following the *doyen* of the history of the French Right, Réné Rémond, has traditionally insisted that French fascism was ultimately a rather marginal phenomenon. A foreign product, alien to French political traditions and finding no room among the various families on the French Right, fascism was an intellectual curiosity, attractive to but a handful of French intellectuals and political adventurers. The other school, led by the Israeli historian, Zeev Sternhell, counters that France was actually the birthplace of fascist ideology and that fascism of one stripe or another was widespread in that

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nation in the first half of the twentieth century. Most French historians of the subject have stood somewhere in between, usually closer to Rémond than to Sternhell. The debate has at times been both bitter and public, culminating in a celebrated lawsuit. Indeed, the whole issue has prompted so much partisan venom that the very real degree of consensus between the two camps has frequently gone unnoticed. Both Sternhell and Rémond, after all, agree that fascism is a radical rather than a right-wing ideology and that, as a consequence, the French Right was largely refractory to fascism. However much they may disagree about certain literary intellectuals of the 1930s, neither has the slightest doubt that the large paramilitary formations of the same period were, by virtue of being conservative, manifestly not fascist.

The most articulate as well as the most prolific dissenter from this consensus is the American historian, Robert Soucy. In four previous books he has sought to challenge the common assumptions of both Rémond and Sternhell. Soucy agrees with Sternhell that fascism was an important phenomenon in France and that its roots go well back into the nineteenth century. But he takes issue with Sternhell's contention that fascism was a radical ideology produced by dissident revolutionaries. To the contrary, argues Soucy, fascism, in France as elsewhere, was predominantly an ideology and a movement of the radical Right. True, the rhetoric of fascist theoreticians and politicians was often coated with a revolutionary veneer. But, he insists, a close reading of this rhetoric, to say nothing of a careful examination of the actual activities of fascist movements, shows that the verbal froth masked—but just barely—profoundly conservative values. Since Soucy believes fascism to be firmly anchored on the political Right, he has little patience with those who assert that mass movements like the Croix de Feu and the Jeunesses Patriotes cannot be fascist merely because they were also conservative.

Not the least of the many virtues of Soucy's latest book is that it devotes considerable space to a serious discussion of these major formations, which, despite their incontestable importance for the politics of the 1930s, have been seriously neglected. Whereas most historians of modern France (both within France and abroad) believe that to call the Croix de Feu fascist is to adopt the partisan rhetoric of the 1930s, Soucy makes a compelling case that "fascist" is precisely the right label for this mass movement. Based on his exploration of the police archives as well as a close reading of the press of the Croix de Feu (and its post-1936 successor, the Parti Social Français), Soucy argues that by any standard, the movement was every bit as fascist as the Black and Brownshirts of Italy and Germany. French fascism was not in every respect identical to German and Italian fascism, but then the latter two were not identical to one another either. If Soucy is right on this point, and an analysis as careful and judicious as his cannot be lightly dismissed, it has important consequences for our understanding of French fascism. No longer is French fascism limited to the editorial boards of literary reviews, as it largely is for Sternhell. It now includes the several million members of the Croix de Feu, which was, by a wide margin, the largest political formation in the Third Republic's history.

Although the long chapter on the Croix de Feu is the single most original aspect of the book, there is much more as well. Soucy provides a perceptive chapter on the historiography of French fascism, and detailed and illuminating discussions of minor fascist movements like the Jeunesses Patriotes, the Parti Populaire Français, the Solidarité Française and many others. It concludes with a thought-provoking discussion of fascist intellectuals like Bertrand de Jouvenel, Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, Robert Brasillach, and Louis-Fernand Céline. In short, this is an authoritative study, by far the best work yet to appear on French fascism in the 1930s.

Of course this is also a provocative work, and one that is bound to stir controversy. It is not, however, polemical. Given the passions unleashed in the ongoing debate about French fascism, with some of the nastiest shafts directed at Soucy himself, the book is remarkable for the even-handed way in which it deals with the historiographical issues. It is certainly true that it will not convince all readers. It is, nonetheless, a major work and offers a challenging interpretation that all students of fascism and all students of the Third Republic will have to confront.

Because fascism seems to be such a radical rejection of the values of western civilization and culture, it is tempting to treat the very concept of the "fascist intellectual" as oxymoronic. Yet there can be no doubt that everywhere—but above all in France—there were intellectuals who were, or at any rate thought themselves to be, the defenders of classic cultural values and who nonetheless embraced fascism. The *normalien* Thierry Maulnier wrote essays in defense of classical humanism; Lucien Rebatet was a sophisticated and cultured film, theater and music critic. Both were committed fascists. So widespread was the fascist influence among French intellectuals that some, most notably Bernard-Henri Lévy (*L'idéologie française* [1981]), have indicted the entire French intellectual tradition for being philo-fascist.

David Carroll does not go this far, but he does insist that most students of French literary fascists have been unwilling to take seriously both their politics and their literature. Some have seen their literary outpourings as essentially derivative of their fascist political preoccupations and therefore devoid of serious scholarly and intellectual interest. More typically, scholars have stressed the genuine originality of the literature while explaining—and explaining away—its fascist passions as evidence of the authors' apolitical naïveté. Witness the various attempts to rehabilitate Brasillach or to distinguish the incontestable literary innovations of Céline from their savagely anti-Semitic context. Carroll will have none of this. It was, he insists, precisely

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their theory of literature that informed their fascist politics. It was "the fascist aestheticisation or poetization of politics [which determined] how a mythic and mystifying notion of literature and culture could and did function as a model for politics and provide an aesthetic justification for some of the worst political excesses, injustices and crimes" (p. 101).

Part 1 of this book is devoted to the "fathers" of French literary fascism: Maurice Barrès, Charles Maurras, and Charles Péguy. The first two are obvious candidates for inclusion, the last far less obviously so. Péguy has always been something of a problem. The committed Dreyfusard intellectual was, paradoxically, a source of inspiration for French fascist fellow travellers, both before and after 1940. Carroll is admirably sensitive to the dangers, so familiar to students of Friedrich Nietzsche, of posthumously blaming authors for the distorted readings of their works by later generations. But he is quite convincing about Péguy's ambiguous legacy. Republican and socialist he may have been, but his socialism was not that of Jean Jaurès; still less was his republicanism that of Georges Clemenceau. Whatever the final verdict on Péguy, it is hard to deny that he left behind ample material for the intellectual sustenance of interwar fascists.

In part 2, Carroll turns to a detailed discussion of Maulnier, Rebatet, Brasillach, Céline, Drieu La Rochelle, and, in an afterward, Paul de Man. This is, of course, well-trodden ground, but Carroll manages to say something important and original about all of these figures. Of particular merit is his sensitive discussion of the long-running debate on gender and homosexuality in the fascism of men like Drieu La Rochelle. Although he stresses their common literary fascist culture, Carroll is perceptively aware of the very real differences among his chosen authors. This is the work of a literary historian, and the notes make clear that the author is well versed in the latest fashions of literary analysis. It is greatly to his credit that the arcane language usually associated with these trends is almost totally absent from this text, making for a crisp and compelling narrative. This, too, is a book that all scholars of French fascism will have to take seriously.

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W. D. HALLS. *Politics, Society, and Christianity in Vichy France*. (Berg French Studies.) Providence, R.I.: Berg. 1995. Pp. xi, 419. Cloth $69.95, paper $22.95. ROBERT ZARETSKY. *Nîmes at War: Religion, Politics, and Public Opinion in the Gard, 1938–1944*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 276. Cloth $50.00, paper $18.95.

The archbishops and bishops of the French Catholic Church—like President François Mitterrand and for not dissimilar reasons—were remarkably successful until recently at managing the memory of their activities during the German occupation: as a general rule Resistance activities were highlighted and the more embarrassing compromises downplayed, in even the most scholarly histories of the period. But this has become one of those areas in which non-French scholars have taken the lead in shedding some light on the more delicate and dark corners of the past, the exploration of which was too controversial, too professionally risky, for French scholars. W. D. Halls, already admired for his solid study of youth under the Vichy regime, has been working diligently in French and German archives in an effort to provide the first balanced study of the attitudes and activities of Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, in France during the Vichy regime and under the German yoke.

Halls is correct to point out that there is no one up-to-date work, in French or English, devoted to an overall conspectus of French Christians during this period. His book, based on extensive study of primary sources as well as the secondary literature, traces the stormy history of Catholics and Protestants from about 1938 onward, first setting Christianity in its pre-war context and then dealing with the immediate collapse of France in 1940. The church's backing of Pétain, followed by a withdrawal from overcommitment to that regime, is described, as are the tangible advantages that the church derived from it. The trauma of the treatment of the Jews, which Halls claims acted as a sort of catalyst upon the church, is described in detail and held up as a turning point in French Christian attitudes. Another section shows how Christians related to the Allies, the Germans, the Resistance, and the Vatican. A final section on the Liberation outlines "the fate of those few Christians who actively collaborated with the enemy, and the indictment drawn up against the episcopacy, not for collaborating but for the aid and comfort the Church gave, as did the majority of the French people initially, to a regime that was fatally flawed from the outset" (p. viii).

Halls, with characteristic generosity and fair-mindedness, tells us at the outset that he is "a Christian and a Protestant" and that "this may or may not be an advantage in dealing with what is primarily a history concerning Catholics." In fact, he clearly has great sympathy for and leans over backwards to give the benefit of the doubt to his subjects: if he records many memorable anecdotes of heroic Christian Resistance, there are very few of Christian collaboration or fascism, and he sometimes gives the same weight to self-justificatory memoirs (eg. Du Moulin de Laberthete's) as he does to his rich and extensive archival material. Halls' interpretation is particularly charitable when he describes STO worker priests as heroic "deportees" to Germany (rather than Christian soldiers against Communism in a European civil war) and when he devotes only one paragraph on Vichy's super-Catholic *milicien* Minister of Propaganda, Philippe Henriot, whose twice-daily broadcasts were widely listened to across France, but consecrates sixteen to the noble and inspiring, but then relatively unknown, resister Père Chaillet of Lyon's Jesuit community.

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Halls concludes that during this "very uncomfortable period for the French bishops" their "moral authority . . . had suffered because of their attitudes and their incapacity to react. Their *magisterium* had been, to say the least, defective." The Dutch and Danish Christians had been "much firmer in their opposition to the Germans." "As the sole surviving national institution after the collapse in 1940, the Church could have asserted itself more vigorously. Why it did not do so is puzzling, but part of the answer may lie in the silence of the Vatican" (p. 287).

We might also conclude from the important new evidence and documentation that Halls presents here that the French Catholic leadership did in fact assert itself vigorously—but in favor of Pétain's exclusionary measures against masons and Jews and his "affirmative action" for the pro-Catholic nationalist Right. These Catholic leaders seem a timorous, unprincipled group, understandably wary about too much public and high-profile compromise (in case the wind changed). Theirs may have proved the wisest—if not the most honorable—course. Halls shows that the church did derive certain enduring benefits from the favoritism of the Pétain regime, even if the long-term results might have disgusted many French people with the church and accelerated the secularization process.

Robert Zaretsky's study of Nîmes and the Gard is based on police and prefectural reports, official departmental documents, local secular and religious newspapers, and letters intercepted by the regime's security apparatus, much of which has only been recently opened to researchers. His book constitutes a unique, detailed, and original work insofar as it concentrates on one region just before and during the Vichy regime. Zaretsky's choice of the Gard for this narrower focus is interesting, because contrasting predispositions, mentalities, and views of Vichy can be situated in a geographical and cultural context of historic Catholic-Protestant rivalry and conflict. Inevitably Zaretsky comes to some general conclusions and even takes sides: the Catholics, or at least the Catholic hierarchy (especially Monsignor Girbeau of Nîmes), were originally and remained far more favorable to Pétain's New Order, the so-called National Revolution, than were most of the Protestants. Of course there were exceptions, and Zaretsky describes Protestant Pétainists and even Protestant collaborators, but he provides a mass of credible evidence (assuming the local publications are a good reflection of local opinion) to prove that the Vichy versus Resistance battle lines were often drawn along the lines of traditional religious conflicts.

Zaretsky provides several immediate causes for this Catholic-Protestant cleavage and for calling to mind old sectarian rivalries: some of early Vichy's inept pro-Catholic and even "clerical" rhetoric or policies irritated the Protestants and awoke painful historic antagonisms in an area with a strong collective memory of persecution and a strong tradition of hostility to French and Roman central authorities. The Gard and the Cévennes region also had some surprisingly rough and remote landscape, were losing population, and hence offered unique possibilities for long-term hiding out and for effective armed resistance.

Zaretsky also notes, after a careful weighing of primary sources and secondary literature, that "the Protestant community in France was more disturbed by anti-Semitic persecution in Germany, and its manifestations in France, and more outspoken in its condemnation, than were the Catholics" (p. 27). In a tendency which Halls demonstrates to be true of France as a whole, Zaretsky shows that after November 1942 the overwhelming majority of priests, although they continued to respect Pétain, began to withdraw their support from a regime that had become badly collaborationist (p. 249). He concludes that Charles de Gaulle notwithstanding, France was not a nation of *resistants*. Yet based on his study of the Gard it may well have been a nation of a good many *sympathisants* with the Resistance, a nation where most citizens rejected, on ideological and moral grounds and earlier than generally held, the regime of Vichy (p. 259).

Both of these excellent studies suggest that, after fifty years, scholars outside of France, at least, are working out a balanced, solid, and fair perspective on the true extent of popular disenchantment from, and French Catholic establishment sympathy for, the Vichy regime.

JOHN HELLMAN
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RICHARD VINEN. *Bourgeois Politics in France, 1945–1951*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 300. $59.95.

After years of neglect in the wake of its ignominious failure in 1958, there has been a revival of interest in the French Fourth Republic. Richard Vinen has already established his credentials on the French business community (*The Politics of French Business 1936–1946* [1991]). In this new volume, he extends his study to cover the many dimensions of the French Right in the first few years after World War II.

Because of the association of the principal political and social forces of the Right with the Vichy regime, French conservativism was discredited after the war. At the start of the Fourth Republic, many of its leaders were imprisoned for wartime crimes and collaboration. Others were barred from political life. Political groups associated with the Resistance seemed ready to impose a new social and political order on postwar France.

Vinen argues persuasively that this situation was quickly reversed. By 1951, the Right had regained public respect. Most of the effects of the postwar purge of those accused of collaboration were removed and many of Vichy's politicians were again active, even holding ministerial positions. Furthermore, the Right succeeded in dominating the political agenda in the first half of the Fourth Republic. It did so by accepting

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and furthering many of the moderate Left's policies such as economic planning and government management and regulation of the economy. The Right was thus able to assure that these policies were shaped according to the needs and interests of employers. As a result, bourgeois forces were well positioned to benefit the most from the economic boom in the *trente années glorieuses*. In addition, the Right championed European integration in a market economy and won acceptance of the position even by much of the French Left.

Vinen does not argue that bourgeois forces pursued a single strategy. Rather, he shows that there were many different and competing interpretations of policies in, as well as between, the conservative parties and bourgeois social institutions. What united them was an acceptance of the need for radical social and economic change in order to preserve their prerogatives in postwar France.

Vinen's definition of the bourgeoisie includes all the major and minor parties to the right of the socialists, the business community, local notables, the bureaucracy, and even newly enfranchised women voters. His survey of these various bourgeois forces provides valuable insights into the early years of the Fourth Republic. It is massively documented, using memoirs and personal files of the key actors, party files, and contemporary newspaper accounts. At times, however, the details and minutia of such research makes it difficult to follow Vinen's broader arguments.

Vinen's choice of class analysis as his approach to French postwar politics means that he discounts the impact of cleavages in the Right over constitutional and religious issues, divisions that most scholars regard as keys to understanding the early years of the Fourth Republic. But it does allow a thorough investigation of the strengths, divisions, and successes of bourgeois France.

FRANK L. WILSON
Purdue University

LAURENT DOUZOU. *La désobéissance: Histoire d'un mouvement et d'un journal clandestins*; Libération-Sud *(1940–1944)*. Paris: Odile Jacob. 1995. Pp. 480. 180 fr.

Laurent Douzou's study of the resistance movement, *Libération-Sud*, signals the arrival of a new generation of scholars in France who are rewriting the history of the French Resistance. After two decades of attention to the Vichy regime and the phenomenon of collaboration, in the past few years the focus of much research has shifted back toward resistance, and Douzou's work is one of the best of these recent studies. As the author notes, the absence of a serious scholarly account of *Libération-Sud*, one of the three largest resistance movements in southern France, was a significant gap in the literature, and he has remedied that oversight by writing what in many ways is a model study, both subtle and persuasive in argument and compelling in documentation. Valuing both oral and written testimony of former resisters and rich archival documentation (including departmental archives and the records of Gaullist agents who were involved with the interior resistance), Douzou reconstructs the history of *Libération-Sud* through a perceptive and nuanced discussion of the origins of the movement, an emphasis on the crucial role of top leadership (especially Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie and Pascal Copeau), and an acute sensitivity to the evolution of the movement over time.

One of the principal contributions of Douzou's study is his description of the importance of long-standing ties of syndicalism and freemasonry in the recruitment and support for the movement. Examining this aspect of the functioning of traditional "sociability" helps us to understand better how the ranks of the Resistance were filled in the countryside and on the shop floor. Douzou underlines forcefully the thesis of my book *The Politics of Resistance in France* (1976), that stereotypes of armed *maquis* notwithstanding, the Resistance in France was fundamentally a political phenomenon. He demonstrates that the leaders of *Libération-Sud* were particularly attuned to political considerations, a factor that allowed them to exert influence in national resistance organizations disproportionate to the size of their movement.

Douzou highlights the role of the interior resistance movements, particularly leaders such as d'Astier and Henri Frenay, in originating and pursuing the process of unifying the Resistance. He notes that their initiatives in this regard antedated the arrival in southern France of the Gaullist agents sent from London, who are credited by some authors with imposing unification on the undisciplined and fractious groups within France. In fact, the only slight criticism I have is that, with the laudable intention of restoring the balance lacking in some other accounts, Douzou may have gone a little too far in understating the role of Jean Moulin, one of the great national heroes of the Resistance who is almost, although not entirely, written out of the script.

After describing the fusion in 1943 of the movement with *Combat* and *Franc-Tireur* into the *Mouvements Unis de la Resistance* (MUR), Douzou addresses the frequent allegations that leading members of *Libération-Sud* had acted as "submarines" for the French Communist Party in its desire to control the Resistance for partisan political purposes, perhaps even in an attempt to take power in France at the Liberation. Following a survey of departmental and regional leaders of the movement, he concludes that possibly *Libération-Sud* could be accused of favoring "socialists, syndicalists, free masons, even Christians. The only suspicion that one could not legitimately have is precisely that they had favored [the appointment of] leaders of communist background" (p. 260). In a chapter entitled "A Movement Under the Influence?," Douzou methodically and convincingly demonstrates that "the thesis of Communist influence over either

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Libération-Sud or the MUR simply does not square with the evidence" (p. 395).

JOHN F. SWEETS
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FRANÇOIS DOSSE. *New History in France: The Triumph of the* Annales. Translated by PETER V. CONROY, JR. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 232. Cloth $32.95, paper $13.95.

The historicizing of the *Annales* began approximately twenty years ago, as the journal approached its half-century celebration and its contributors occupied key academic positions, pervaded the French media, and made the "new history" à la mode well beyond the borders of the hexagon. French and foreign admirers and critics investigated the *Annales'* "path to power" from the Third to the Fifth Republic, from the depression of 1929 to the recession of the 1970s, from the programs and struggles of Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, and Fernand Braudel to the agendas and battles of their various progeny.

In 1985, the year of Braudel's death, François Dosse, a member of the editorial board of the social-science journal *Espaces Temps*, published a searing critique of the *Annales* school entitled *L'histoire en miettes: Des 'Annales' à la 'nouvelle histoire'*; nine years later, with a blander title and more forceful subtitle, comes an English translation by Peter V. Conroy, Jr.

Paralleling the work of Traian Stoianovich, Hervè Coutau-Bégarie, André Burguière, and Olivier Dumoulin, as well as Peter Burke's more recent study, Dosse presents the conventional three stages of the *Annales'* history, from its modest Strasbourg roots to the commanding Parisian heights when it became "fixed in the seat of power, singing its own praises, and inventing its own legend" (p. 220). This is a history of intellectual and institutional *Machtpolitik*. According to Dosse, the *Annales'* unremitting goal has been "to capture the language," procedures, and prestige of history's century-old rival, the social sciences; the *Annales'* triumph has been "to steal another's garb and . . . dress up an unworthy dowager cannibal in it" (p. 3).

Among its unworthy characteristics is the *Annales'* all-purpose *"histoire-problème,"* a strategically useful alternative to a more efficient historical materialism or to the more rigorous structuralism of the social sciences. In the halcyon 1970s and 1980s, Bloch's, Febvre's, and Braudel's "global, humanizing perspective" was replaced with "deconstructed history," "history without men" [sic], and fragmented, pluralized histories (pp. 152, 159, 222). Echoing Bloch's *L'étrange défaite*, Dosse faults the *Annales* school for a "fatalism" that privileged large impersonal forces over individuals and their convictions (p. 45). The "black hole" of *Annales* history has been its "denial of the political" and the failure to link its virtuoso technique and conceptual framework with a concern for "significant events" (pp. 195, 215, 216, and 217).

Despite Dosse's foreboding, neither history nor the *Annales* has crumbled. In 1988, the journal reasserted its commitment to contemporary history; six years later, on its sixty-fifth anniversary, it expanded its editorial board, underwent its fifth name change (to *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*), and pledged its leadership in "the renewal of research in history and the social sciences" (*Annales*, Jan.-Feb. 1994).

In addition to its dated quality, this study has shortcomings. Dosse's succession of *Annalistes* are stereotypes whose ideas and human connections derive almost exclusively from considerations of French academic power, or, more recently, the media. Dosse's hyperbolic prose, intellectual-genealogical charts, table-of-contents statistical comparisons, and unremitting conspiratorial tone, accentuated by the translator, undermine his subtle political and historiographical insights. The translated text, which contains a number of infelicities and mistakes, suffers from the repetitive use of the term "*Annales* discourse," which mystifies and conflates the efforts and achievements of the diverse occupants of the *Maison des Sciences de l'Homme* as well as their near and remote predecessors.

CAROLE FINK
Ohio State University

MONA OZOUF. *Les mots des femmes: Essai sur la singularité française*. (L'esprit de la cité.) Paris: Fayard. 1995. Pp. 397. 150 fr.

This book is not so much a history as a meditation on the differences between French and American feminism. It consists of ten "portraits" of French women, most of them educated and elite, and a long chapter on "French singularity" that is actually a diatribe against American feminism. Mona Ozouf argues that, unlike strident American feminists, French women have appreciated the differences between the sexes, enjoyed amorous relations with men, and rarely experienced difference as discrimination. While they have certainly protested against stereotypes of femininity and have sought education above all as a way of gaining access to social and cultural benefits, she continues, they have understood that difference does not mean inequality. This understanding Ozouf attributes to something close to a French national character (she refers to it as a "common essence" and a "national genius") that, despite great changes from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, manifests a distinctive quality when it comes to relations between the sexes.

While the portraits are often engaging, there is not much historical depth to them. Readers will learn little about the historical contexts in which women as diverse as Madame du Deffand and Simone de Beauvoir wrote and much more about their characters. Ozouf never really tells her readers why she has selected these particular women and what exactly they are meant, collectively, to represent.

The attack on American feminism is based almost entirely on Christina Hoff Sommers's *Who Stole Feminism?* (1994). Ozouf's caricature of the typical Amer-

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ican feminist as a man-hating, lesbian prude has a great deal in common with right-wing politicians' attacks on "gender feminism;" but it shows no familiarity with decades of U.S. feminist theory and scholarship and with the complexities and differences this work reveals. Ozouf's neglect of history and of recent scholarship extends to France as well; she appears to have read neither the basic histories of French feminism nor the monographs and articles that have been produced over the past twenty years by, among others, Michelle Perrot and her students.

The book's purpose is clearly not historical but polemical. The attack on American feminism is an attack on all feminism: on a movement that refuses to accept the idea that differences between the sexes are natural and therefore immutable and that challenges the ways in which gender differences have been used to support and implement social, political, and economic hierarchies. There are, and historically have been, feminists in France who believe that the relationship between gender and power needs to be examined and changed. But Ozouf wants to rule them out of consideration, to deny their importance and influence, and to question their "Frenchness." She does this by making all feminisms synonymous with a caricature of American radical feminism.

As history this book is disappointing, particularly because it comes from an eminent historian. Its greatest value perhaps is as a source for some future historian of the politics of gender in late twentieth-century France.

JOAN WALLACH SCOTT
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BRUNO DUMONT. *Les communautés villageoises dans les pays de Dalhem et de Limbourg XVI–XVIII siècle: Genèse, structures, evolution*. (Collection Histoire, number 89.) Brussels: Crédit Communal. 1994. Pp. 627.

Bruno Dumont's important study shows how communal government evolved in part of what is now eastern Belgium during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The county of Dalhem and the duchy of Limburg were two of four small territories created in the twelfth century in the region between the Meuse and Rhine Rivers and between Liège and Aachen. During the thirteenth century, these tiny principalities passed into the control of the dukes of Brabant, eventually becoming part of the Burgundian inheritance. In early modern times they were governed from Brussels but they were physically separated from the rest of Brabant and the Spanish—later Austrian—Netherlands by the principality of Liège. Strategically located, this region became a frequent site of military encampments and maneuvers, an important element in its history.

Prior to the growth of their own administrative systems, the residents of these territories were subject to overlapping layers of authority. They were first part of the *seigneurie* (a *ban* in the local dialect), where local justice was administered by the agents of the local lord and local administration was carried out. But they were also part of the parish, a religious entity, and the hamlet, where people lived and hence formed their closest attachments.

Dumont's narrative describes the growth of a new administrative entity, the community of inhabitants. Created in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in one village after another, the new communities competed with older sources of power and loyalty, especially the nonresident agents of the lord. They began their lives as mechanisms for distributing the resources of the community and apportioning the costs of warfare and taxes. They began as councils in which nearly all propertied residents participated. Over time they gradually transformed themselves into bodies that chose an executive committee that directed the interests of the inhabitants relative to the outside world, be it lord, parish, tithe-holder, or prince.

Documenting the growth of these communities of inhabitants throughout the region and the transformation of their operation is the main contribution of this book. Dumont argues that this growth occurred elsewhere in western Europe but was encouraged in the Dalhem-Limburg region by four factors: the fact that seigneurial institutions were relatively weak owing to their late implantation and to the rise in the core of the region of a dairy-based agriculture that encouraged farmers to be independent; the growth of a protocapitalistic economy based on trade and manufacturing; the demand for well-run communities provoked by rising taxes and the frequent incursions of foreign troops seeking lodging and supplies; and the existence in the eighteenth century of a government in Brussels that sought to enlarge its power by encouraging certain kinds of local institutions. Dumont makes his case convincingly, with a wealth of archival evidence and thorough comparisons with other regions. The resulting book successfully locates a small but important crossroads region in the context of the changing patterns of local government, especially in French-speaking Europe.

MYRON P. GUTMANN
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FRANCES GOUDA. *Poverty and Political Culture: The Rhetoric of Social Welfare in the Netherlands and France, 1815–1854*. Foreword by ARJO KLAMER. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1995. Pp. xx, 275. Cloth $57.50, paper $22.95.

In this study, Frances Gouda compares French and Dutch writings on poverty and poor relief in the years between the Bourbon Restoration and the Dutch poor law of 1854. Comparative history is frequently praised but seldom practiced. Gouda is the rare author who has the linguistic skills and the scholarly background to juxtapose two very different countries. She also has the methodological sophistication to use the tools of po-

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litical economy or the insights of cultural studies when needed.

Inevitably, the scope of the project engenders some problems. Because she must cover two national histories, Gouda relies solely on secondary, published work. For similar reasons, her choice of sources is eclectic. The social "scientists" of early nineteenth-century France and the Netherlands—especially the Dutch observer Simon Vissering—provide the core of her documentary foundation. Otherwise, she relies on an assortment of utopian socialists, parliamentarians, and minor local officials. The poor themselves are not much present, and the social policies that emerged from the French and Dutch "culture" are dealt with in only two of the seven chapters. Though brief, these sections are extremely informative, and the penultimate chapter dealing with the Dutch poor law of 1854 treats a heretofore neglected subject.

Equally enlightening is chapter five, which analyzes Dutch and French responses to the English poor law of 1834. So successful is this chapter that one wonders if a comparison between England and Holland would have been more fruitful. The Dutch-French comparison produces very predictable results. The French tended to stress the containment and discipline of the poor because they had experienced the Revolution of 1789. The Dutch, who had suffered no such traumas, were much more willing to provide social insurance to the unfortunate. Because the Dutch state was highly localized, poor relief was uncoordinated. Because the French state was monolithic, poor relief was centralized. In both countries, religion played an important role, and, French anticlericalism notwithstanding, both countries made room for religious charities.

The book ends with a brief epilogue that brings the story of Dutch welfare up to the present. Gouda observes that Dutch traditions of localism and decentralization made the emergence of a full-blown welfare state unlikely. And yet, she points out, that is precisely what has occurred. The twentieth century lies beyond Gouda's scope, but we can hope that an equally able and sophisticated scholar will take up the task soon.

KATHRYN NORBERG
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DAVID KIRBY. *The Baltic World 1772–1993: Europe's Northern Periphery in an Age of Change*. New York: Longman. 1995. Pp. viii, 472.

As did its earlier companion work, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period: The Baltic World 1492–1772* (1990), the present volume merges the different histories of the lands around the Baltic Sea into a single story. Whether David Kirby will have done for the "Baltic world" what Fernand Braudel did for the "Mediterranean world" remains to be seen, but both these volumes certainly constitute an excellent start in that direction. The early modern period was somewhat easier to deal with, because until the end of the eighteenth century the story of the "Baltic world" was one of empires: Swedish, Russian, Polish, and, after a fashion, German. The aspirations of the dominant political elites produced the plot of the main story, which was largely one of territorial competition. In the nineteenth century, where the present volume picks up the tale, only one empire in the old sense remained: the Russian. But then the Baltic area witnessed the start of a seemingly irreversible process of internal differentiation. Nationalism raised the consciousness of previously subordinated and nearly invisible peoples. "National awakenings" of varying intensity stressed differences between subregions of the "Baltic world" and between peoples within each subregion. The philosophy of the *Volk* (stemming from Johann Gottfried Herder, himself a short-time resident of Riga and an admirer of eastern Baltic folksongs) was ascendant. The bottom strata of culturally layered populations (Swedes/Finns in Finland, Baltic Germans/Estonians and Latvians in the so-called "Russian Baltic provinces," Poles/Lithuanians in the old territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) now found their status wholly unacceptable and strove for cultural and, later, for political "self-determination." State-building in the twentieth century (particularly after World War I) culminated in the appearance (and, in some cases, reappearance) on the European map of the sovereign states of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Germany, all initially parliamentary democracies with monarchs or presidents as heads of state. In the interwar period, the democratic experiment faltered, and some of the Baltic states turned to "large dictators" (Adolf Hitler) and some to "little dictators" (Josef Piłsudski in Poland, Kārlis Ulmanis in Latvia, Konstantin Päts in Estonia). World War II produced what during the past half century seemed like a permanent division of the "Baltic world": Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and the eastern part of Germany became, in different ways and to different degrees, linked to the eastern superpower (the USSR); Finland fell between chairs; and the other Scandinavian states remained free to participate in the economic growth and integrationist efforts of western Europe. That division, however, turned out not to be as lasting as virtually everyone had assumed, and since 1991 the states of the "Baltic world" once again have become free to seek their own paths or to cooperate in establishing a regional identity.

In English-language historical literature on northern Europe, the term "Baltic" most often refers to the eastern littoral of the Baltic Sea—the Russian "Baltic provinces" of Estland, Livland, Kurland, and the "Baltic states" of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. "Scandinavian" serves as the group name for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (and, uneasily, Finland), while Poland, Germany, and Russia are commonly thought of as "Baltic" only incidentally, because the state interests of these larger peoples in the modern era have extended not only in the direction of their

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"Baltic" neighbors but, perhaps primarily, in other directions as well. Whether in northern Europe we in fact have a "Baltic world" or simply a collection of states (and peoples) that by geographical happenstance border on the same large body of water is thus the central question. Kirby's description argues eloquently and convincingly for the existence of a greater Baltic commonality than is normally assumed, and the present book will be central to this discussion for a long time to come.

ANDREJS PLAKANS
Iowa State University

BRUCE TOLLEY. *Pastors and Parishioners in Württemberg during the Late Reformation 1581–1621*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 198. $39.50.

Raising again the now tired question of the "success or failure" of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany, Bruce Tolley finds that the answer is ambiguous. Was lay moral life transformed by evangelical preaching? Did religious conditions improve in the parishes of Protestant territorial churches? Were things changing, and in what ways? To find answers to these questions, Tolley concentrates on two geographically and socially contrasting districts in the duchy of Württemberg during the years 1581 to 1621, taking his evidence from the protocols of visitations carried out by church officials reporting to their superiors. This research stratagem is amply justified by the quality of the sources. Each parish in the districts was visited, most often by the responsible superintendent himself; probing questions were asked of a representative sampling of office holders and lay people; and virtually complete records survive of what was reported. Tolley's book consists of his analysis of these reports.

Tolley devotes three chapters to the pastors—clearly the most important agents of the Protestant endeavor—to determine how they were recruited (at first from all segments of society, but by the end of the sixteenth century almost entirely from their own professional and social group), educated (nine to ten years of rigorous training in special schools segregated from the populace at large), and paid (levels of income varying from parish to parish, but always lagging behind inflation, meaning that ministers usually had to struggle to make ends meet). He then turns to the religious practices and attitudes of ordinary people as observed and recorded by visitation officials. Church attendance, he finds, was generally satisfactory, although Sunday afternoon catechism practice was poorly attended. When communion was avoided, this was usually because parishioners carried a grudge against their pastor or neighbors, the sacrament evidently having assumed an essentially communal significance. In outlying villages especially, people seemed to want more attention from their minister, not less. Only occasional reports surfaced of superstitious practices tainted with magic, and most of these were harmless incidents of soothsaying and charm healing; there were no reported cases of witchcraft involving demons, and very little *maleficium*.

Nor are there clear signs, Tolley argues, that the evangelical reform promoted by the church clashed with popular culture. In Württemberg as elsewhere, the effort to institutionalize reform proceeded apace. Catechism teaching, morals courts, and regular local visitations endeavored to inculcate sound sexual morals, family responsibility, good householding, Sunday observance, and the abhorrence of drunkenness and other "Epicurean" habits. There was some resistance to this, especially from the young, and widespread inattention. But Tolley finds just as much sympathy for the church's objectives, considerable "overlapping" of popular and ecclesiastical interests, and many shared values and ideals. "Cultural conflict" existed, to be sure, but so did "cultural agreement" (p. 111). There is "no evidence of a traditional folk religion at odds with the official religion of the state church" (p. 65). Even the occasional wastrel and sexual offender attended services and learned the catechism.

Tolley's portrait of Württemberg in the late Reformation is a picture of a placid and complaisant society of solid citizens and good church people. Lutheranism may not have turned them into saints, but it did make them better Christians. Much of Tolley's argument on this point, however, rests on his discovery in the sources that visitation officials often acted on complaints about delinquencies brought by parishioners against their neighbors, but this fact is surely susceptible of other explanations. More persuasive of the prevalence of confessional accord is his demonstration that the Lutheran church reached out to local elites and collaborated with them in the resolution of conflicts. To some extent, then, it seems that a harmony of interests existed between church and people. From this Tolley concludes that the pessimistic view sometimes taken of the reformers' efforts—that they were largely fruitless—is incorrect.

At least this is so for Württemberg, or more precisely for the two districts under investigation. Because this is all Tolley feels entitled to claim, he is led to the further conclusion that generalizations are pointless, that, in view of the essential localism of early modern society, we probably should not even speak of a German Reformation, only of "territorial and civic Reformations in the plural" (p. 86). This, of course, would make interpretation impossible and reduce history to antiquarianism. Local studies are fascinating because they bring out the particular, even the unique. They are useful because they enable us to identify and track common features. This is what Tolley has done, which is why his monograph is a valuable contribution to Reformation studies. It is too bad that he felt persuaded—by the "debate" about it, he says (pp. 1, 64)—to frame his interesting book as an inquiry into "success or failure."

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PETER G. WALLACE. *Communities and Conflict in Early Modern Colmar, 1575–1730.* (Studies in German Histories.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1995. Pp. xiv, 299. $55.00.

This rich account of the fascinating history of a city caught in a succession of conflicts does precisely what one expects of a local study: it takes us inside the city walls, revealing the particularities of Colmar's institutions and the turbulent lives of its inhabitants, while constantly attending to the important subject of the relationship between the city and outside political, religious, and social forces. Peter G. Wallace thus offers scholars a detailed account of the main trends in sixteenth and seventeenth-century history as seen through the prism of a city defined by its peculiarly divided status: both Catholic and Protestant, both Imperial and French.

The book is organized in a way that reflects the three great crises that Colmar experienced in the early modern period. The first part deals with the complex history of the city's embrace of the Reformation and its reception of the Counter Reformation. Though Lutheranism came relatively late to Colmar, its effect was no less severe. Indeed, in Wallace's convincing account, the ensuing religious pluralism managed to destroy the municipal harmony that once characterized the city, adding two confessional camps to the range of corporate groups that made up the body politic. Biconfessionalism survived the Counter Reformation, fragmenting even the guilds that provided the social basis for the municipal political community.

The book's second part takes us into the seventeenth century and Colmar's experience as a frontier town between France and the Empire during the Thirty Years' War. Though the city suffered from the prolonged conflict and survived with its economy "provincialized" by the loss of access to imperial lands, Colmar entered an "Indian summer" of municipal liberty at the war's end. The French, to be sure, now "protected" the city, but they did so as an intermediary power within the Empire. And though the city was more divided than ever, the very weakness of its various disputants, both religious and political, left the city in a state of relative calm and stability.

This would end in 1673, when Louis XIV took possession of the city, the discussion of which comprises the third and last part of the book. While effected with little force, the takeover was nevertheless disruptive and resented. Wallace meticulously demonstrates that virtually every facet of city life was transformed, offering a case study of absolutism at its most extreme. The king ignored or subverted local traditions, for example by favoring Catholics for promotion to the municipal magistracy, thus putting an end to the principle of confessional parity. The French language was forced upon the political community. Tax farmers usurped the task of municipal revenue collection. Citizenship, once a cherished privilege, became venal. Royal offices and corporations were imposed upon the city, most notably the *Conseil souverain*, which by its presence attracted to the city a community of migrant officers who were both aristocratic and French, "foster[ing] the gradual acculturation of the indigenous political elite" (p. 207). But the strictly royal assault was complemented by what Wallace calls a second Counter Reformation, which vigorously promoted Catholicism and widened the gap between the two confessional communities. Indeed, the French takeover refashioned social relations in at least two respects, both by fostering religious alienation and prejudice and by creating a privileged elite "before the fisc that widened the distance between rich and poor" (p. 233).

But the story of Colmar under French rule does not end on this negative note. In fact, the eighteenth-century city, though more divided, was also more prosperous, larger in population, and economically more dominant in the region than ever before. Wallace is able to demonstrate the mixed legacy of French rule because his interests are broad, going beyond the more obvious narrative line of the city's history. Indeed, throughout the book, he pays attention not only to Colmar's religious and political conflicts but to the social and economic vicissitudes of urban life as well. That the tempo of these two rarely coincided makes his task all the more difficult. Wallace's pursuit of a two-track investigation, however, rewards the reader with a nuanced account of early modern urban life which refuses to settle for a simplistic explanation of historical change. One is left with the impression that the city's fate was determined both from without and from within, although the former emerges with greater clarity. In particular, the decline of the guilds as a constitutive element of the political community predated the French conquest, thus suggesting that blame for the evisceration of municipal government cannot be ascribed to absolutism alone.

It must be said that while Wallace's book is well-researched and organized, much of the exposition tends to get bogged down in the minutiae of the material and the occasional turgidity of the writing. One reason for this is precisely Wallace's wide-lens perspective. But unlike the more prominent story of Colmar's loss of municipal liberty, the reason for documenting the social and economic realities with such a plethora of data is not always apparent. Indeed, sometimes the material seems to be presented merely because it was available in the archives. Still, any urban or economic historian would undoubtedly be interested in learning about the travails and transformations this uniquely positioned provincial center underwent in the early modern period.

ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER
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HEINZ REIF. *Die verspätete Stadt: Industrialisierung, städtischer Raum und Politik in Oberhausen 1846–1929.* Part 1, *Textband*; part 2, *Kartenband*. (Landschaftsverband Rheinland, Rheinisches Industriemuseum,

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Schriften, number 7.) Cologne: Rheinland. 1993. Pp. viii, 624; 11; 35 maps. DM 128 the set.

Heinz Reif has written a history of the process by which the industrial boomtown of Oberhausen became a city. In 1846, a station was built for the new Cologne-Minden railroad on the barren heath of Lirich and Lippern near the Emscher and Ruhr rivers. In 1929, new annexations gave the city of Oberhausen a population of nearly 200,000. Reif pays the greatest attention to the half century after 1862, when Prussian authorities put the community of Oberhausen on the map. By the eve of World War I, it was an independent city of nearly 100,000. To Reif this is a success story in urbanization, one which contradicts the concept of "the incapacity for urban development" so persuasively established in the 1970s and 1980s for the so-called "industrial villages" of the Ruhr region by Lutz Niethammer ("Die Unfähigkeit zur Stadtentwicklung," in Ulrich Engelhardt, ed., *Soziale Bewegung und politische Verfassung* [1976], pp. 432–71).

Reif uses the words *Verstädterung* and *Urbanisierung*, both of which are normally translated as "urbanization," to refer to the quantitative and qualitative aspects of urban development, respectively. Few would deny that Oberhausen experienced *Verstädterung*. The population of the area grew from about 1,000 in 1850 to over 60,000 in 1909, when annexations boosted the total by another 30,000 (p. 55 and table 5, p. 480). *Verstädterung* was the result of an industrial boom driven by the linked development of heavy industry and the railroad. The firm of Jacobi, Haniel, and Huyssen helped bring the Cologne-Minden railroad to the Emscher valley in 1846. When the rural station in Lirich/Lippern on this east-west line was chosen as the southern end of a new line to Holland in the 1850s, the once remote location became a transportation center. This in turn helped heavy industry to expand in the area. In 1873 the firm of Jacobi, Haniel, and Huyssen was reorganized as the Gutehoffnungshütte, which became one of the giants of German industry. By 1914, the firm employed about 30,000 people in and near Oberhausen (p. 55). It is this story of economic development and population growth that Reif tells first, but he also examines legal and administrative structures, social composition, the differentiation of residential districts, and voting behavior.

What will be controversial is Reif's assertion that the history of Oberhausen should be seen as a successful example of *Urbanisierung*. By this he means that the political and administrative leadership of Oberhausen—especially the mayors and high-ranking civil servants—steadily acquired the means to address local problems effectively and that, partially as a result of their leadership, urban amenities were introduced. As the title of his book suggests, Reif believes that Oberhausen deserves to be thought of as a city, although a "belated" or "delayed" one that did not follow the developmental pattern of Germany's metropolises.

This is not to suggest that Reif is uncritical of the outcomes of urbanization in Oberhausen. On the contrary, he documents the many inequalities which the city leaders took for granted, and he concludes that the planning process made inequalities more visible and systematic rather than reducing them (p. 458). Therefore he argues against the notion that the civil servants should be thought of as part of a social-liberal reform movement. If Oberhausen is an example of successful urbanization, it is of an undemocratic, bourgeois urbanization.

This is a large, well-researched book with a rich collection of tables, charts, and photographs and a separate volume of detailed maps. Even scholars who do not accept Reif's overall interpretation should find this book useful.

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KLAUS WEINHAUER. *Alltag und Arbeitskampf im Hamburger Hafen: Sozialgeschichte der Hamburger Hafenarbeiter 1914–1933*. (Sammlung Schöningh zur Geschichte und Gegenwart.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1994. Pp. 420.

The history of the Hamburg working class is, by now, among the most thoroughly researched of any in Germany. But the Wilhelmine era has profited much more than the Weimar Republic from all this scholarly attention. Klaus Weinhauer's book on Hamburg dock workers between 1914 and 1933 helps to redress the imbalance. The story he tells is not a happy one. The history of industrial struggles on the docks in the 1920s "reads like a chronicle of . . . defeats" (p. 381). Between 1919 and 1932 dockworkers engaged in no fewer than twenty strikes, not a single one of which was a complete success.

This record of failure had complex causes, including increasingly effective police intervention in strikes and technological changes that deprived certain dockworkers of the control they had previously exercised over the labor process. But certainly a pivotal factor was the concentration of power in the hands of the employers. Through their association, the Hamburg shipping companies gained complete control of the daily assignment of workers to the individual ships. They also pushed forward the "de-casualization" of the work force, which had made little significant headway before 1914. Because few Wilhelmine dockworkers had permanent jobs, the great majority had little to lose by striking at a moment's notice. Employers with cargoes that needed to be unloaded immediately were vulnerable to a sudden walkout. But in the 1920s more and more dockworkers were offered stable employment or were tied to individual employers by other means, making it more costly for many dockworkers to go on strike.

Strikes were not the whole story of industrial conflict in the Weimar Republic. Stevedores were attracted to communist trade unions, which favored confrontation over negotiation. But lightermen preferred the social democratic free-trade union strategy of using the new

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institutions created by Weimar labor law to advance workers' claims and turning to strikes only as a last resort. Strike patterns and behavior were themselves complex, ranging from uniformly disastrous attempts at general strikes to highly localized walkouts in specific branches of dockwork, which could still achieve some degree of success even as late as 1932, when most other strike action had ceased because of the Depression.

Weinhauer's study both reflects and contributes to a more general transformation of German labor history that has taken historians beyond the familiar terrain of the formal labor movement to the workplaces and neighborhoods where ordinary German workers lived their "everyday lives." His intelligent and skillful analysis of "lines of conflict in the workplace and in the labor market" shows that historians require "much more complex models" to explain differences in organizational and strike behavior (p. 394) than those based on differences in occupational skill levels or ideological divisions between Social Democrats and Communists. Weinhauer suggests that we need rather to look at the ways in which "norms and value patterns, which already shape everyday life" led workers to embrace one form of organization over another, or simply not to join any trade union. Weinhauer gives us an impressively thorough portrait of the dockworkers' lives "on the waterfront," but we get much less of a sense of how dockworkers' mentalities were influenced by everyday life away from work, in the family, and in the neighborhood.

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HANS-CHRISTOF KRAUS. *Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach: Politisches Denken und Handeln eines preussischen Altkonservativen*. (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, number 53.) In two volumes. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 546; vi, 548–999. DM 274 the set.

Although Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach (1795–1877) often figures in accounts of nineteenth-century German history, his can hardly be regarded as a familiar name among English-speaking historians. Frequently confused with his older brother Leopold, he is usually dismissed as a kind of ultraconservative Don Quixote of the Prussian reaction in the 1850s. His enemy and erstwhile protégé Otto von Bismarck denounced him as a "theoretical fanatic in politics and religion," while one recent historian has even compared him to the Ayatollah Khomeini. Above all, perhaps, Gerlach and his brother Leopold are regarded as historical losers, defenders of a Christian-corporative, legitimist, agrarian, and restorationist version of conservatism that was doomed to historical irrelevancy in an urban-industrial mass age. In fact, Gerlach essentially agreed with that assessment, though he likened himself not to Don Quixote but to Cato, the principled defender of Rome's ancient liberties, the relentless opponent of an amoral Caesarism.

In his monumental, two-volume political biography of Gerlach, Hans-Christof Kraus does not ask us to revise this historical judgment. He does ask us, though, to take Gerlach seriously, to view him as a major historical player who has to be assessed in the context of the revolutionary era in which he lived. Decisively shaped by the anti-Napoleonic liberation war of 1813–1814, by Hallerian conservatism, and by the post-1815 religious Awakening, Gerlach came to espouse an anti-revolutionary political theology as a direct challenge to the revolutionary "Godlessness" of his times. For the Christian, Gerlach argued, no real compromise with revolution was possible, because all modern revolutions rejected the primacy of divine law over human creation. At the same time, he was no Metternichean absolutist; like his brother Leopold, he implacably defended the idea of Germany's "historical" liberties and "corporative freedom" against all forms of modern "absolutism." And though he and his brother were political allies of Prussia's King Frederick William IV, Gerlach frequently rebuked that monarch for his inconstancy and his supposed "lack of principle."

In short, Gerlach was an ideologue. He was never an opportunist or a *Realpolitiker*. Thus, as Kraus rightly emphasizes, his ideas inevitably shaped his political actions. Of great significance to his political career was the shock of the revolutionary events of 1830, which demonstrated to many conservatives that 1789 had not been an aberration, and that, as Gerlach wrote in 1848, "We are facing years full of revolution." Although he was pessimistic about the chances of a conservative renewal in politics, church, and society, Gerlach mounted an unrelenting, decades-long struggle against what Friedrich Julius Stahl called the "negative forces of the age." Gerlach turned out to be a brilliantly effective polemicist and a pioneering political journalist. His early work for the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* and the *Berliner politisches Wochenblatt* set the tone for much of the rest of his journalistic career, which culminated with the establishment in 1848 of the well-known *Kreuzzeitung*. That year also witnessed Gerlach's emergence as a major political player in Berlin and Potsdam, where he was one of the members of the notorious Camarilla around Frederick William IV. Kraus demonstrates that the Camarilla's influence has been wildly exaggerated; and Gerlach himself was much more effective as a publicist and parliamentarian than as a political intriguer. Convinced that conservatives had to avail themselves of the techniques of their enemies, Gerlach and Stahl became the principal leaders of the *Kreuzzeitung* party in the Prussian parliament after 1849. There they played a critical role in that process by which conservatives adapted themselves, however reluctantly, to the new circumstances (and opportunities) of a constitutional system.

Kraus's account of these events, so critical for the

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history of modern German conservatism, is the best and most thorough that has appeared in any language. The strongest chapters of his book come toward the end, where he deals brilliantly with the causes—if not always the consequences—of the political failure of Gerlach and the conservative cause he represented. His analysis of the "complete fiasco of the politics of reaction in Prussia" (p. 699) after 1851 should encourage a rethinking of the entire history of that neglected decade. Similarly, his account of the aged Gerlach's battles with Bismarck, especially after 1866, powerfully and even movingly evokes the old man's vain struggle against a politics of amoral state interest. In the end, Gerlach believed that a renewal of traditional Prussian conservatism was impossible. Only the Catholic Center, the lifelong Protestant asserted, offered a "basis for effective opposition" to Bismarck's policies (p. 893).

Kraus's book, originally prepared as a dissertation, eminently deserves the awards it has won in Germany. In writing it, he has mined an astonishing variety of sources, as anyone who has used the holdings of the Gerlach-Archiv in Erlangen or the former Merseburg archives will realize, and the result is a work that will long remain required reading for any student of modern European conservatism. To be sure, it is not without flaws. For example, Kraus's notions of "modernization" seem a bit too simplistic and conceptually old-fashioned. And although he has written a work of nineteenth-century length and dimension, it ends rather abruptly; moreover, he quite consciously declines to reflect on Gerlach's significance (if any) for the subsequent history of German conservatism. Still, these are minor quibbles that scarcely detract from this major scholarly achievement. Kraus's exhaustive account will long serve as a fitting monument to the Prussian Cato, who adopted the original Cato's maxim as his own: "*Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni*" ("The triumphant cause pleases the gods, but Cato loves the conquered").

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TORSTEN OPPELLAND. *Reichstag und Aussenpolitik im Ersten Weltkrieg: Die deutschen Parteien und die Politik der USA 1914–1918.* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 103.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1995. Pp. 367. DM 78.

To followers of the debate over Germany's responsibility for World War I, Torsten Oppelland's book covers familiar ground: the country's aristocratic leaders, insecure and aggressive in their domestic and foreign power, pushed for war as the palliative for unresolved domestic social and political crises. He reminds us that in Germany's rush toward war its political parties "had no direct influence . . . nor can they be said to have had a foreign policy" (p. 14). During the war, however, they developed foreign policy perspectives, and Oppelland examines the parties' positions vis-à-vis America's foreign policy toward Germany.

Since 1961, Fritz Fischer and his students have painted a picture of German leadership whose war-aims fantasies reflected a fatal underestimation of their nation's limitations and their enemies' potential. Oppelland skillfully enlarges that picture, detailing the limited horizon of German party leaders, their bellicose support for their warlords, and their fatal ignorance of America's people, president, and foreign policy. Critical of parliamentary leaders for their Anglophobia in July-August 1914, he finds anti-Americanism among leading German politicians even on the Left. Thus, emboldened by the support of party leaders in the spring of 1915, the kaiser and Chancellor Theobald Bethmann Hollweg embarked on unrestricted submarine warfare, risking relations with the United States.

The key to Germany's wartime strategic blunders—particularly its use of unrestricted submarine warfare in 1915 and again in 1917—can be found in the exaggerated optimism over an impending victory against Britain in 1915, which hardened Berlin's attitude toward the United States and its policy of neutrality. "Germany has actually already won, and can no longer be defeated!" crowed Hermann Pachnicke, leader of the left-liberal faction of the Prussian parliament in May 1915 (p. 90). Pachnicke's overconfidence was echoed by the National Liberal Ernst Bassermann as he reflected in July 1915 on the first year of the war: "German submarines rule the sea" (p. 90). Growing divisions among German political parties by December 1915 did not extend to foreign policy, however; even the Social Democratic Party supported the government's policy toward the United States (p. 93). The fatal errors of 1917–1918 sprang from Germany's misunderstanding of its position in 1915. Responsibility must be laid at the feet of Germany's wartime elites and its parliamentary leaders.

For Oppelland, Germany's traditional Anglophobia magnified its equally traditional anti-Americanism. All the easier, then, was the decision in January 1917 by party leaders to support Erich Ludendorff's unrestricted submarine warfare, a decision that came as a direct rebuke to Woodrow Wilson's "Peace without Victory" speech of December 1916. All the more ironic, on the eve of the armistice in November 1918, were the once again exaggerated expectations of Germany's party leaders that Wilson's Fourteen Points would provide a basis for a peace favorable to Germany; their disappointment was "preprogrammed" (p. 336). In the end, Oppelland leaves us with an enriched view of Germany's wartime tragedy: while Germany's warlords rolled the iron dice in 1914, their fateful decision to deploy submarines in 1915 and 1917 risked bringing the United States into the war. Their policy was supported by parliamentary leaders whose ignorance of American popular opinion and strategic potential stemmed from traditonal anti-American senti-

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ment that did not change during the course of the war.

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GEORGE YANEY. *The World of the Manager: Food Administration in Berlin during World War I.* (Studies in Modern European History, number 11.) New York: Peter Lang. 1994. Pp. xv, 407. $71.95.

Recent studies of Germany's domestic plight during World War I (such as Jürgen Kocka's *Facing Total War* [1984]) have dispelled lingering notions that imperial Germany was either governed by a rational hierarchy or managed by a well-oiled bureaucracy. In his investigation of food distribution in wartime Berlin, George Yaney recounts the story of a Kafkaesque bureaucracy that, naively trusting in a short war, was burdened by a mosaic of competing and overlapping national, state, and local jurisdictions. Yet this very bewilderment, Yaney argues, although it threatened to cripple food distribution, actually promoted the evolution of managerial skill.

In the preface, Yaney emphasizes his paramount interest in the nature of management. Yet he concurrently disparages notions of a "science of management" by contending that his analysis of wartime Germany is driven by a proposition advanced in the 1930s by Thurman Arnold: "the modern compulsion to understand human life in terms of rational, mutually consistent concepts forces modern individuals to act and think irrationally" (p. xiii). By applying this intriguing philosophy to modern management, Yaney asserts that an individual only "begins to manage when he/she senses that something is going wrong" (p. 12). If we find this notion perplexing, he asserts, it is because we fail to appreciate that managers invariably confront more problems than they can resolve; therein lies their skill as managers.

Using wartime Berlin as a case study, Yaney seeks to demonstrate how flexible thinking, routine interaction, and serendipitous decision-making—as opposed to efforts at abstract, centralized planning—got German cities through an acute food shortage. Indeed, he argues that the difficulties arising from food distribution were actually more serious than the food shortage. Although one might quibble with this assertion—the severity of the food shortage, especially after the failed potato harvest of 1916, should not be understated—his insight into the inability of a centralized bureaucracy to deal with storage and transportation difficulties is perceptive. When success was achieved, he claims, it was invariably due to the superior ability of local organizations to address unanticipated emergencies and, notwithstanding mutual recrimination, to maintain a modicum of communication and cooperation.

Because Yaney's story is only superficially chronological, its complexity can be difficult to follow. At the same time, his language is occasionally casual and nonchalant; for instance, in discussing Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz's determination to build a massive battle fleet, he quips that Tirpitz "would have raised the specter of an invasion by sea monsters if he had thought that anyone would take him seriously" (p. 40). And whereas his analysis is generally based on a wealth of primary sources, he sometimes slips into undocumented assertions. At one point, for example, he claims without recourse to evidence that "[c]ountless studies of the 'revolution' of November 1918 portray Adolf Cohen [trade-union official] and his associates as fearful lackeys—tired old men quivering in habitual cowardice as they betrayed the 'revolution'" (p. 140). Finally, although his conclusions on local control are compelling, they will not find universal acceptance. By the "turnip winter" of 1916–1917, Germany's notoriously uneven food distribution was generating widespread calls for centralized control. Yet, such criticisms aside, this book rewards a careful reading by demonstrating how Germany's bureaucracy experienced an important metamorphosis during the war. In particular, by recounting the budding cooperation between Berlin's municipal officials and local labor leaders, Yaney provides valuable insight into the roots of the workers' councils that emerged in November 1918.

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Keene State College

HELMUT WALSER SMITH. *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Ideology, Politics, 1870–1914.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 271. $39.50.

The role of anti-Semitism in German history has understandably been of great interest to historians, but prejudice and antagonism between Protestants and Catholics has either been ignored or taken for granted. Helmut Walser Smith's fine book tackles the subject head on. A central theme of his work is to show the close links between German nationalists' self-identification as Protestants and the difficulties this posed for the integration of the Catholic minority into the new nation.

Much of the book is based upon the archives and literature of the Protestant League (*Evangelischer Bund*), founded in 1886 ostensibly to promote the Protestant faith but actually to propagandize against Catholicism and the Catholic Center Party; its membership rose from 100,000 in 1897 to an impressive half million by 1914. The League's leaders were drawn largely from the free-thinking professional upper middle classes who supported the National Liberal Party rather than from the devout Protestant circles associated with the Conservative Party, which frequently cooperated with the Center.

There was no equivalent organization in the opposing camp. The People's Association for Catholic Germany (*Volksverein*), although founded in 1890 as a response to the Protestant League, took a more positive line, seeking to educate and uplift the Catholic working class, and its propaganda was directed against socialism rather than Protestantism. Those Catholics

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who did engage in "disturbing the confessional peace" (p. 102) were usually rural or small town clergy who distributed crude polemical literature. Catholic educated professionals and the official Center Party generally refrained from anti-Protestant attacks.

The first third of the book explores the cultural dimensions of confessional conflict including the connection between the *Kulturkampf* and national unification. The second examines the role of religious antagonisms in national politics. The last and in many ways most interesting and original section deals with the extremely complex confessional picture in Prussia's eastern provinces where there was a mixed Polish and German population, and with the participation of German nationalists in the *Los von Rom* movement in the Austrian crown lands. In these eastern lands, language differences complicated the confessional conflict. National Center Party policies of supporting Catholic Poles clashed with the feelings and resentments of local Catholic Germans and Poles alike. Nationalist Protestant passions conflicted with official government policies of both Germany and Austria-Hungary. Numerous works have dealt with Prussia's Polish minority and the attempts of Austrian Pan-Germanists to persuade Catholics to convert to Protestantism, but Smith has performed a signal service by breaking down specialized compartments and integrating this important material into the broader history of German nationalism.

In a few places Smith's treatment of the Catholic position is a little less sure than of the Protestant. In discussing the long struggle for repeal of the law banning the Society of Jesus and related orders, he exaggerates the willingness of Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow's administration to conciliate the Center and hence overestimates the significance of the repeal of paragraph two of the law (which forbade even individual members of the order to enter Germany) in 1904. The purpose of the effort to repeal the law was hardly so that the Jesuits could "repopulate their monasteries" (p. 122), and the slight and grudging concession of the repeal of paragraph two was hardly regarded as an "important victory" for political Catholicism (p. 127) by either the Center Party or the hierarchy; rather, it was seen as humiliating tokenism. This is, however, a very minor criticism of an excellent and genuinely original contribution to the history of the Second Reich.

ELLEN L. EVANS
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THEODORE N. THOMAS. *Women against Hitler: Christian Resistance in the Third Reich*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 166. $49.95.

Theodore N. Thomas states in the introduction that most books that deal with the Protestant church struggle leave women out of the story (p. xxiii), thus implying that he will break new ground or build on the few books that have pioneered this issue. In fact, this book accomplishes neither of these goals. A half-dozen authors have taken up the question of Protestant women during the Hitler era and their role in the Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*), something Thomas does not acknowledge (p. 23). Although this book's bibliography lists works that deal with this question, Thomas does not integrate their facts, ideas, and analyses with his own.

A second major fault of Thomas's book is that it resurrects the myth, long ago exposed, that the Confessing Church was a monolith that stood unbending before the Nazis and faced them down. Thomas writes as though women of the church were all heroines in a brave and successful resistance movement: "such deeds by tens of thousands of Confessing women insured the survival of the Confessing Church and contributed to the fall of the Nazi regime" (p. 45). This assertion is ridiculous in itself, but the reasoning behind it is also flawed. Few Confessing Church members, men or women, crossed the line of resistance to save Jews or to speak out in their defense. Thus, Thomas is in the awkward position of promoting women as important leaders in a movement that really was not all that successful and certainly did not cause Adolf Hitler's downfall.

Most of Thomas's material derives from interviews. Many times the interviewees are quoted as if they could recall, after a half century, exactly what they said in a given situation. For example, a boy comes home from school and says, "Mommy, I would rather die. Just don't make me go into that school again" (p. 65). Thomas's interviewees all stood tall, and he accepts their self-adulation uncritically. The book suffers from the kind of Confessing Church triumphalism historians exposed over a decade ago.

Since most of the book is an accumulation of interviews and anecdotes, the reader comes away with little factual data. Thomas speaks loosely of death and jail terms but provides no statistics (and it would be embarrassing if he had). Much of what went on between the Confessing Church and the administration was just harassment, and much of it was tawdry to say the least. Thus, one interviewee says: "The Gestapo was in our parsonage numerous times. Usually they found [only] me at home, because my husband was somewhere in the community" (p. 54). The chatty and anecdotal format of the book makes it more suitable for students of homiletics than history.

Toward the end of the book, Thomas devotes a chapter to the question of women's ordination. The material here is laid out in a more scholarly manner. Thomas takes into consideration the various historical forces that led the last profession of masculine privilege in the church, the ministry, to fall. Unfortunately, the chapter lacks sufficient archival research to enable Thomas to be more decisive about what the precise circumstances were that led to Protestant women's demand for ordination.

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YULE F. HEIBEL. *Reconstructing the Subject: Modernist Painting in Western Germany, 1945–1950*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 207. $45.00.

Immediately after Germany's surrender in 1945, Ernst Wilhelm Nay, the painter and protagonist of Yule F. Heibel's study, queried an art dealer about Germany's aesthetic future: "What more will happen? . . . Hopefully art will now regain its freedom after these 13 evil years" (Hermann Glaser, *The Rubble Years* [1986], p. 213). Nay's art—expressionistic and abstract, yet containing colorful recognizable images—straddled the visual ideological divide between abstraction and figurative realism in Western Germany. Although Stuttgart's Willi Baumeister represented the former camp and Berlin's Karl Hofer the latter, the range of styles and attitudes about styles was more diverse than the antagonism between the two suggested at the time. What was apparent after 1945 was an immediate sense of urgency among artists, critics, art historians, and art dealers in forging a new aesthetic after the dismal years of National Socialism. But they had difficulty determining what a post-Holocaust aesthetic should contain.

Heibel explores the ideological and aesthetic debates that began soon after *Stunde Null*. She describes the artistic and critical conundrums in seeking a "rapid return of idealisms of various kinds . . . manifesting themselves most often in fantasies of synthesis" (p. 102). She invokes Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's contemporary critique of rationality (*Dialectic of Enlightenment* [1994]) in analyzing postwar German painting. One of her many conceptual points is her contention that the debates over synthesis and over the merits of abstraction versus realism (made more urgent by Cold War politics) have unduly schematized postwar Germany's cultural scene: "Expression was dangerous because it bore affinities to forbidden aspects of the recent past as well as to what generally came to be described as 'the Eastern' " (p. 104). Heibel views the postwar climate in the western zones of occupation as projecting the discredited features of the Nazi image of man onto the "other" of Soviet and German communism while simultaneously attempting to construct a metaphysically centered abstract art. She describes the varieties in abstract painting but sees much of abstract painting as exhibiting a static, unchanging quality (Nay is the exception).

The book's strength is Heibel's nuanced and interdisciplinary approach to painting. She has utilized a wide variety of primary sources and secondary works, ranging from archival material in Washington, Stuttgart, and Berlin to recent works in cultural studies and cultural theory. She eschews the "master narratives" of postwar painting for a more textured and theoretically grounded history of postwar art. The last two chapters are particularly well written and informative. Yet the volume has weaknesses common to cultural theory: opaque language when clarity could contribute to an understanding of the period; little attention to the painters' concrete conditions of postwar deprivations; and the tendency to disregard the historical differences between post–World War I artistic radicalism and post–World War II artistic timidity. Perhaps painters consciously avoided politically devisive, confrontational art, remembering the culturally conservative backlash of the late 1920s and 1930s when many of the prominent post-1945 painters were beginning their careers.

Heibel returns frequently to her central theme, analyzing what painters and critics meant by "expression" in the immediate postwar years. Her important contribution to the literature is the thesis that synthesis, optimism, and the glorification of the individual and individual freedom were aesthetic attempts to silence the "disruptive" and the "disharmonious." They served as hallmarks of post-1945 Western German painting. Heibel suggests that this conscious desire for harmony led to a stultification of German art that would last until the 1960s. Although one can readily agree that postwar German painting had little international resonance, one may nonetheless wonder whether or not the "pervasive desire for a smooth continuum and the abhorrence of rupture" (p. 143) was necessarily a negative aesthetic goal given Germany's recent past. But Heibel is to be commended for opening up new and challenging questions by framing the discussion around such issues.

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CHRISTIAN JOPPKE. *East German Dissidents and the Revolution of 1989: Social Movement in a Leninist Regime*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 277. Cloth $50.00, paper $17.50.

Characteristic of the revolutions against communist rule in Eastern Europe was the role played by opposition social movements. The Leninist party-state regimes were overthrown neither by a conspiratorial clique nor by an armed *putsch* nor yet by a leaderless crowd. In almost every case, the revolutionary agent was a social movement.

While these movements varied in size, origin, structure, goals, and actions, they did have significant common characteristics. First, they arose in tolerated interstices of the society, not in the ruling apparatus. Furthermore, they provided policy alternatives on issues that did not directly challenge the legitimacy of the regimes. Finally, although these movements may have helped reconstitute an autonomous "civil society," they opened the way for the establishment of familiar West European parliamentary and electoral institutions.

Analysts such as Timothy Garton Ash have drawn a sharp distinction between those social movements that directly challenged the political structures of communism—and of which they rather approve—and those that in their view, wished "only" to reform the system.

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This contrast provides the theme of Christian Joppke's monograph on the role of East German dissidents in the events of 1989. His conclusion is summarized in a chapter heading: "Why Was There No 'Dissidence' in East Germany?"

Because I believe that this thesis needs substantial qualification, I should state at the outset that Joppke's book is a valuable piece of careful scholarship. A reader who comes away unconvinced of the book's thesis will nevertheless have been challenged to think through the issues raised, and such a reader will have the benefit of Joppke's careful and extensive research. The strengths of this book include accounts of how the regime defeated successive oppositions, the differential effects of the Lutheran and Calvinist traditions on church support for the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the intertwined roles of opposition and Stasi (State Security Police), and how the regime was both strengthened and constrained when dealing with domestic opposition by the intra-German detente. Factual errors are extremely rare in a very detailed work; one example is whether there was a "home" and "Muscovite" split in the German party (cf. pp. 37, 64).

At the heart of Joppke's work is the unexamined assertion that no one, no matter how personally heroic, could struggle effectively for democracy without abandoning socialism. Extending this ban from regime apologists to advocates of every social alternative to Western capitalism smacks of a smug triumphalism.

Of course, Joppke is correct (if conventional) in seeing the opponents of the regime handicapped by lack of a national basis in mounting a democratic challenge to Walter Ulbricht and Erich Honecker. So far, so good: but is it also true that " . . . without national discourse no genuine opposition to Communism was possible?" (p. 202).

More important: is Joppke offering a structural explanation of why the East German opposition clung to the idea of a reformed GDR, or is he arguing that a more courageous stand by individuals could have made a difference? His treatment of the emigration movement of 1988–1990 is a good example of this confusion. Joppke faults the opposition for not politicizing the demand for emigration. The logic of this argument is, ultimately, that all GDR oppositionists should just have advocated unification with the liberal democracy of West Germany.

I would argue that Joppke underestimates the subversive power of the opposition's critique of such regime policies as its environmental disasters. The efficacy of "green opposition" in those East European countries that Joppke holds up as exemplars is, ironically, omitted here. Indeed, one might imagine from the constant and invidious comparison of the East German oppositions with their East European counterparts that Solidarity and Civic Forum were in power today.

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KEITH TRIBE. *Strategies of Economic Order: German Economic Discourse, 1750–1950*. (Ideas in Context.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 285. $54.95.

This book will disappoint the expectations created by its title and by the distinguished series ("Ideas in Context") in which it appears. Rather than presenting a sustained argument about the way Germans have thought about economics historically, Keith Tribe chooses to analyze a number of more particular problems. He self-consciously writes that he cannot speak about the decline of the so-called "Historical School," because "this is a complex process and no pretense can be made here of presenting even an overview" (p. 89). Sometimes the results are illuminating, as in the case study of cameralism or the interesting account of the origins of management education.

The later chapters are, however, particularly unsatisfying. An essay that promises an account of "Capitalism, Totalitarianism and National Socialism" is instead a heavily biographical account of Franz Neumann that tells us little about the concepts or movements of the title. After a chapter on the "genealogy of the social market economy," a final essay on "European Integration" claims to move beyond "the everyday discourse of journalists and politicians" (p. 203). Tribe instead sets up a largely untenable thesis about the National Socialist origins of postwar European integration and the mixed economy. His overall conclusion is that " 'Modernisation' can have grim consequences, and this is an important lesson to be learned from the experience of National Socialism" (p. 6). At some points Tribe nevertheless shrinks from this deduction: "It would be extravagant to label this postwar period as the construction of 'Nazism with a human face.' " But then he continues: "But there are indeed real continuities that link the social and economic policies of the later 1930s and the 1940s with those of the 1950s" (p. 240).

Inevitably, such a thesis is built on bizarre misapprehensions. Thus, Walther Funk's wartime scheme for a clearing union is described as "the first working model of a post-gold standard for multilateral clearing," and the Bretton Woods scheme was "utopian" but "ineffective" (p. 244). John Maynard Keynes, who immediately recognized that the Funk plan was attractive but could not be realized given Germany's concern with its own living standards, gave a more appropriate verdict: the Funk plan was unworkable. To realize the clearing union, foreigners would have had to be allowed to make purchases in Germany rather than to accumulate Reichsmark balances; the Nazi regime would never have permitted the necessary transfer of resources away from Germany. According to Tribe, the Allies took the "positive economic measure" of maintaining Nazi price controls after the war (p. 233), and the currency reform of 1948, which introduced the Deutsche Mark, was an irrelevance with a "symbolic status" that had been subjected to a "devastating"

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critique by Thomas Balogh (p. 219). Balogh actually predicted that the currency reform would destroy the German economic recovery.

The only way to reach this conclusion is to ignore a large swath of important historical writing. David Marsh's and Erik Hoffmeyer's more sophisticated analyses of the Funk plan are neglected. Authors who might have been consulted to substantial advantage, but were not, include: Marc Raeff, Roman Szporluk, A. J. Nicholls, Werner Abelshauser, Christoph Buchheim, Knut Borchardt, Albrecht Ritschl, Alec Cairncross, Charles Kindleberger, and Charles Maier. In short, this book manages to ignore almost all the major writing about twentieth-century German economics.

In addition, the historical figures Tribe deals with are frequently caricatured or misrepresented. One example will suffice: "[Friedrich August von] Hayek's abstractions provide no such insight: writing in the mid-1930s, he sees himself surrounded by disorder, rather than complexity, a sure sign of analytical error" (p. 208). Is it really so analytically precise to describe the collapse of the world economy and the rise of poorly performing planned autarkies as evidence of "complexity"?

The key to this muddled book is Tribe's desire to demonstrate that planned economies and market economies are not opposites but equivalent manifestations of "the rational reorganisation of societies" (p. 262). He seems to suggest that everything in the twentieth century is identical with everything else. An author who is so keen to castigate major intellectual figures for "lack of analysis and general eclecticism" (p. 79) might have been considerably more self-critical.

HAROLD JAMES
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ROBERT M. KINGDON. *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 214. Cloth $29.95, paper $14.95.

This is the first book published using the recently transcribed minutes of the Consistory, a body that oversaw morals and marital issues in Geneva. It is written by the most eminent scholar on Genevan history in the United States, who inspired the transcription and publication of the Consistory minutes. Here he uses them in conjunction with city council minutes and court proceedings. The book is a sterling example of how useful this precious source is.

After describing the institutional matrix of Geneva, Robert M. Kingdon moves step by step through a selection of divorces in Geneva, noteworthy because they set precedent for the Reformed world. In 1545, the highest legal authority in Geneva, the city council, in the first fully documented Genevan divorce, broke with medieval precedent by granting a divorce with the right to remarry. The grounds were adultery. The other basis for divorce recognized in Geneva was desertion.

In divorce cases, the city council worked in close conjunction with expert legal consultants and with the Consistory, on which sat the city's pastors and members of city councils. John Calvin's influence is apparent in advocating divorce where he thought it appropriate, especially for adultery, as in the 1557 case of Anne Le Fert, first wife of John's brother, Antoine. For divorce for desertion, as claimed in the 1559 case of the Italian nobleman, Galeazzo Caracciolo, whose wife in Italy refused to follow him, Calvin was more reticent, at least initially, to give his support.

The city council often refused to grant divorces. Both council and Consistory preferred reconciliation and pressured couples to work out differences. In cases of flagrant repeated adultery, however, the council invoked the death penalty. It drowned women and beheaded men, a frightening prospect, since, as in criminal cases, the council employed torture to obtain a confession.

Banishment for adultery was a more typical sentence, however, as with Antoine Calvin's first wife, who resisted torture and insisted she was innocent, an important revelation. Most scholars have assumed, as did Calvin, that she was guilty. Banishment meant that she lost her children, had to fight to control her dowry, and was ordered to pay ongoing expenses, perhaps for her children under Antoine's control.

The book considers the financial implications of sixteenth-century divorce, the role of servants as witnesses, the importance of social position for success in obtaining a divorce or preventing one, and the development of Geneva's position on divorce under Theodore Beza after Calvin's death. Kingdon cites the works of Cornelia Seeger, Jeffrey Watt, and Thomas Safley.

There are errors of fact. The Anabaptists seized control of Münster in 1534 not 1536 (p. 62). Nicolas Colladon was the nephew of Germain and the son of Leon, Germain's brother (pp. 27, 88). Kingdon is too quick to analyze motives, even the nature of marital relationships (pp. 67–68). He labels women as prostitutes without giving evidence of cash for sex (pp. 134–136).

Nevertheless, the book is excellent, clear, compact, and suitable for both scholars and classroom use.

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LORENZO POLIZZOTTO. *The Elect Nation: The Savonarolan Movement in Florence, 1494–1545*. (Oxford-Warburg Studies.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 488. $69.00.

Ever since the execution of Savonarola in May 1498, Florentines and Italians more generally have fought over the prophet's inheritance. This is because the principles of self-government and public morality for which he has been made to stand have been thought to be at the root of many of the decisive turns in the peninsula's subsequent history, including the present one. The first half of the sixteenth century especially

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stands out in this regard, for during that period Savonarola was seen by many across Europe as the Italian Luther struggling against a corrupt papacy, while in the Tuscan metropole itself the dead seer remained a crucial flashpoint in the battle between those who favored the republic and those who opted for the "tyranny" of the Medici.

It is a pleasure to report that the present work represents an all but definitive account of this crucial period in Florentine and European religious-political history. Lorenzo Polizzotto has read everything, in its earliest preserved form, including a great deal of archival and printed material whose existence was unknown until now. He has woven together this mass of material into nine coherent, well-written, chronologically ordered chapters that defend a simple hypothesis: that ideology and not interest was what held the Savonarolans (the whiners or *piagnoni*) together. With great insight and evidence, Polizzotto shows how the movement rooted its influence strategically in support of select charitable institutions, and how the Savonarolans worked their way into varied vectors of Florentine life.

This is a work of great learning and balanced judgment. It is also thoroughly conservative in its historiographical posture. Polizzotto rarely has anything to say about Florentine social organization and thus does not address himself either to the social bases of Savonarola's attraction (like gender or age or status) or to the recent explosion of social-historical work on the city in that period. His claim that ideology and not such social facts provided the glue of Savonarolism remains just that, a claim. In every way Polizzotto's work rests squarely on that ancient scholarly proposition that action proceeded from ideas.

But the fact is that historians rely in the first and last place upon an authoritative narration of events in their period of interest, resting on the broadest possible base of documentation, and Polizzotto provides just such a text. He furnishes us with an eminently sound and fine-grained intellectual history of Savonarolan ideas and their evolution (into their opposite!) during this crucial period. It may yet turn out that self-governance was not what Savonarolism was all about, but the author who would disprove Polizzotto's claim will rely heavily on the present monograph to make his case. This is a fine achievement.

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Angiolina Arru. *Il Servo: Storia di una carriera nel Settecento*. Bologna: Mulino. 1995. Pp. 241. L. 34,000.

The role of the servant during the 1700s in Rome differed from that of other time periods. Whereas, for example, it was primarily men who immigrated to Rome to become servants in earlier periods, the eighteenth century saw more women come to the city for servants' jobs. Other differences included the age of servants, their living conditions, and their age at first marriage.

Statistics tell us what happened but not why the changes occurred. Why did more women enter this career? Why was the age at first marriage affected? Angiolina Arru's book details the life of one servant, Antonio Guberti, and his relationship to his masters, the Rubini siblings, in order to answer such general questions. She also tries to show the long-term consequences of the master-servant relationship by examining prior and later generations. For example, for Antonio's son, "social ascendance is not so much the result of merit . . . as [learning] the functioning of the power system in the city" (p. 165). Arru is thus able to detail how the relationship between servant and master became ever more interdependent, flexible, and encompassing. The servant's role came to include the management of the masters' resources, and the servant-master relationship affected the future of the servant's family, especially that of his child.

The strength of this book is the detail regarding the many facets of the lives and relationships among the Rubinis and the Gubertis over many years. It reminds us that, however adequate social models may be, they still lack the richness and complexity of case histories. Such case histories are indispensable. On the other hand, one would want more comparisons of the particular details with the general models and aggregate statistics so that one could more easily determine whether the individual case is representative or idiosyncratic and thus whether the models are adequate. The tables and figures at the end of the book and in the introductory chapter, which do relate the specific case to the general data, give the impression of being appended rather than integrated into the text.

Arru summarizes her thesis about the master-servant relationship during the eighteenth century when she writes: "The actions of all involved exemplify choices which guarantee a mutual system of security for life, for old age, and for death . . . [and] through which redistribution of wealth and power within a city is possible" (p. 35). The Rubini-Guberti relationship supports the thesis; one would like to be more convinced that it is generally accurate.

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Milton Finley. *The Most Monstrous of Wars: The Napoleonic Guerrilla War in Southern Italy, 1806–1811*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 161. $29.95.

Between 1806 and 1811, the French fought a bloody guerrilla war in Calabria, a remote, mountainous, backward, and impoverished province of the Kingdom of Naples. Here peasant bands, their xenophobic hatred fanned by a zealous Catholic clergy, conducted what General Jean-Louis Ebenezer Reynier called "the most monstrous of wars," a conflict characterized

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by atrocities, massacres, murder, torture, looting, and reprisals.

Milton Finley calls this war "a preview of the Spanish uprising," a warning to Napoleon of things to come, and an opportunity for the British to practice the strategy they would later employ in the peninsula (p. 132). But there was a difference between Calabria and Spain. In the end, the Calabrian resistance was broken by a succession of able French commanders, above all Reynier and Charles Antoine Manhes. "By the middle of 1811," Finley writes, "the guerrilla war in Calabria was won. The French had accomplished what they would be unable to accomplish in Spain" (p. 140).

Finley describes the insurrection, triggered by the harsh requisitioning practiced by an undersupplied French and allied army combined with attempts to introduce conscription, as "a transitional war between the primitive peasant uprisings and modern guerrilla wars" (p. 144). Religious fanaticism, supported by the lower clergy, was a vital component of the Calabrian war, which, with a strong element of class hatred, was almost as hostile to Bourbon rule as to the French but was "utterly devoid of any aspect of a national uprising" (p. 135). Indeed, the performance of the *Masse*, the Calabrian popular levy, fell well short of expectations; most of the fighting, as well as the atrocities, was done by small bands, part guerrilla and part bandit. Finley argues that this has become the pattern of the small conflicts in the Middle East, in former Yugoslavia, and Latin America in the 1990s.

Perhaps so, but one might also suggest that in Calabria conventional military means were decisive in the end. The revolt flourished whenever the French and King Joachim Murat's Neapolitan troops were heavily committed to major campaigns elsewhere in 1806–1807 and in 1809, but it declined when adequate resources could be devoted to counter-insurgency operations. Equally important was the withdrawal of British support. In 1806, a small British force from Sicily gained a substantial victory at Maida over Reynier, but it did not follow up its success. As later in Spain, successive British military commanders distrusted and disliked the guerrillas, were disgusted by their conduct, and refused to support them. Admiral Sidney Smith, a believer in unconventional warfare, urged continued aid but was recalled, and by 1807 the British virtually had abandoned the Calabrians. Without this support, systematic, often brutal, French counter-insurgency reduced popular support and confined the guerrillas to endemic banditry, a condition that had always existed in Calabria.

Still, these observations do not detract from the overall value of Finley's book, which, soundly based on archival and printed sources as well as secondary works, is the first extensive, objective, and detailed treatment in English of arguably the most brutal small war fought during the Napoleonic period.

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GINO BEDANI. *Politics and Ideology in the Italian Workers' Movement: Union Development and the Changing Role of the Catholic and Communist Subcultures in Postwar Italy*. Providence, R.I.: Berg. 1995. Pp. xiii, 365.

Gino Bedani's new book on the Italian workers' movement in post-World War II Italy is welcome because it introduces a topic about which English-speaking scholars have little information. Bedani does a good job of explaining union politics and the "mechanics" of how Italian unions operate. He provides a valuable service by attaching a glossary because, given the manner in which Italian labor evolved, "there are numerous Italian terms which express ideas and practices unfamiliar to the English reader." In this section, the author gives admirable explanations of complex terms in a few words.

Although the book can profitably be read as an introduction to its subject, there are some serious problems. Bedani states that he conceived the idea for the book within the discipline of intellectual history and writes that, in Italy, "ideology has penetrated the fabric of postwar development" so that the history of Italian unions cannot be understood in isolation from the "broader context" (p. 1). These are fair statements.

Unfortunately, it is precisely in the discussion of this "context," so essential for an understanding of Italian labor, that the book fails. Examples abound, but a few may be mentioned. In discussing the breakup of the Cgil unitaria (the labor union formed immediately after the war that included the three major strands of Italian labor tradition), consideration of the corresponding breakup of the tripartite national governing coalition is also essential. Bedani states that "De Gasperi announced the expulsion of communists and socialists from the new coaliton government" (p. 41). Communists and Socialists were not expelled from the government; De Gasperi simply put together a new government without them. Whether or not one agrees with the substance of the operation, the point is that a breaking point had been reached in the long debate about the attitude of Communists and Socialists on various important issues; the same thing happened in the labor movement. In fact, at the time, Communist and Socialist leaders did not appear too unhappy, thinking that they could use their "expulsion" as a campaign issue in the upcoming elections. Demonizing De Gasperi for cutting out Communists and Socialists (who formed the Popular Front, a crucial political alliance not examined by Bedani) has become commonplace, but it is an attitude that misleads both scholars and general readers.

Similar criticisms may be made about other important issues in which failure to discuss adequately the political and ideological "context" leads to misunderstandings that simply blur our vision or tend to favor the Communist over the Catholic version of events. Among Bedani's other deficient discussions are his analysis of the genesis and accomplishments of the

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center-left (the Brodolini law, which revolutionized the workplace, goes unmentioned) and the 1983–1984 dispute over the *scala mobile*. For a book that claims to analyze the Catholic subcultlure, one looks in vain for the name of Guido Dossetti and for developments in the Christian Democratic party that crucially affected the postwar political, social, and labor situation. A glance at the bibliography, in fact, confirms the absence of valuable historical works on postwar Catholicism, socialism, the political system in general, and even communism.

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DAVID M. CROWE. *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*. New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xvi, 317. $45.00.

Since the fall of Communism in 1989, there has been a proliferation of academic works on Roma ("Gypsies"). Suddenly, Roma have become real people. Prior to that time, almost everything generally available on this, Europe's largest and most widely dispersed ethnic minority, was unscholarly at best and, at worst, presented the population in embellished terms as one of mysterious origins defined by its exotic appearance and way of life. Serious studies were not easily accessible to the ordinary public.

It has been this "exoticization" of Roma which has, in large part, hindered academic studies of the population and caused its situation not to be regarded with much seriousness by governmental, human rights, and other agencies. The appearance of David M. Crowe's book gives the lie in no uncertain terms to this popular notion of the "Gypsy" people.

Roma arrived in Europe during the second half of the thirteenth century, having left India, their ancestral homeland, some two and a half centuries earlier as a result of Muslim incursions into the subcontinent. Their entry into Europe was also due to the spread of Islam, this time into the West, and it is because of their perceived association with the Islamic conquerors that they were identified as Egyptians (hence "Gypsies"). It is here, together with the factors of race prejudice and their non-territorial status, that we must seek the beginnings of the bigotry that plagues them to this day. Nonterritoriality in particular underlies much of the discussion in Crowe's book. The outsider status of Roma is compounded by the fact that they came from Asia and speak an Asian language, through which a set of cultural values and a world view rooted in Asia are expressed. The Romani population, despite nearly eight centuries of coexistence and genetic mixing with white populations, remains in its core of direct retention a people of Indian origin in Europe, marginalized in each country it inhabits.

Crowe divides his chapters geographically, which is useful for contemporary American political scientists who tend to be concerned with events in specific countries. But Roma are a diasporic population, and their various ethnic subdivisions cross national boundaries. Thus the discussion takes on a Eurocentric perspective. Indeed, the book relies wholly upon written sources and makes no concession to any primary input from Romani spokespersons or scholars. Only gadjé (non-Roma) are thanked in the acknowledgements, for example. Nor has the author succeeded in presenting the specifically Romani point of view. Roma are talked about, not with, and were given no opportunity to speak for themselves in the preparation of the book. Despite this weakness, and it is one that characterizes practically all academic writings on Roma, Crowe is to be highly commended for emphasizing history, as the very title indicates. It is impossible to begin to understand the contemporary situation of Roma without examining its historical roots, yet writers from Eastern Europe especially, schooled in an ideology that discounted history, routinely seek to explain the situation of the Roma in wholly synchronic terms.

The book consists of a five-page introduction, which touches uncritically on theories of Romani origins, some of which have no place in serious Romanological studies, and it makes the point that, despite centuries of oppression, Roma have in some instances been able to acquire status in the larger societies, though the only example given is that of entertainers. The main part of the book consists of six chapters arranged by country (with the omission of Greece, Albania, and Poland, the last especially significant since it was here that an incipient monarchical dynasty, unique in European Romani history, began to emerge prior to World War II. The conclusion, just three and a half pages long, claims that Romani history in Europe has been a "bittersweet tale," but a perusal of the volume reveals no taste of sweetness there, merely one of unrelieved oppression. Crowe's frequent use of the terms "tribe" and "lifestyle" should be questioned; Romani social structure is not generally tribal, and it diminishes an entire way of life somewhat to call it a "style" of living. Also disconcerting is the statement that "despite the general dislike for the Roma ... there was also a grudging admiration for their special talents and skills. Their value to the boyars of Moldavia and Wallachia helped pave the way to their enserfment" (p. 236). This suggests that Roma were somehow themselves responsible for being made slaves and, furthermore, that this was somehow a good thing for them.

Despite its inevitable Euro-American perspective on Romani history, Crowe's book is remarkably thorough and compassionate and should be, along with Angus Fraser's *The Gypsies* (1992), a basic research tool in any Romanologist's library.

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IRINA LIVEZEANU. *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 340. $45.00.

This is an important book for those interested in the history of Romania and southeastern Europe, the rise of fascism during the 1920s, or the rise of nationalism in postcommunist Europe. Irina Livezeanu has worked in archives in Bucharest, Vienna, Paris, Jerusalem, and other cities, and her notes provide a detailed survey of primary and secondary sources written from a variety of national perspectives. Livezeanu uses educational policies during the 1920s—when Romanian officials and educators tried to incorporate into Greater Romania the new territories acquired after World War I—as a way to examine "nation building" and "the emergence of extreme nationalism" (p. 8).

She argues that in Romania—as in other East European countries—the rise of nationalism in the interwar years resulted from political rather than economic needs, the desire to consolidate national unification rather than expand the domestic market. Romania's territorial gains brought "opportunities for national redefinition as well as profound social and cultural crises" due not only to the "large minority populations that were more urban, more schooled, and more modern than the Romanians" but also to disunity among ethnic Romanians from the various regions. As Livezeanu points out, "rigorous ideological and political labor is essential to turn segmented populations, even if ethnically related, into politically and culturally coherent nations" (p. 5). While the Romanian state tried from Bucharest to create a sense of unity among Romanians and to improve their disadvantaged status through cultural and educational policies, this "process of nation building" brought conflicts with other ethnic groups. Romanian "political, social, and cultural discourse" was dominated by "populist nationalism," but as friction grew so did "a generalized anti-urban, populist, xenophobic, and anti-Semitic discourse" particularly among university students. Livezeanu thus has two themes: first, the use of cultural policy to incorporate the new territories and create national unity among Romanians; and second, the ways this contributed to the origins of fascism among nationalist students (pp. 6–8).

Chapter one examines the educational traditions of the Old Kingdom and the decisions made in Bucharest soon after the war to impose a centralized system of education on the new territories and "consolidate nation and state" by educating Romanian peasants (p. 48). The next three chapters focusing on Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transylvania are superb, providing detailed pictures of the very different social, cultural, and ethnic situations in each area. Not only historians but also anyone working on current issues involving Romanian relations with Ukraine, Moldova and Russia, or Hungary should read the relevant chapters here. Chapter five then examines ethnic minorities in the Old Kingdom, especially the Jews, and shows how nationalist discourse and educational policies pitted Romanian peasants and urban Jews against each other just as both were being emancipated: the peasants by land reform and universal male suffrage and the Jews by the mass naturalization imposed on Romania by the European powers after the war.

This discussion then provides the background for the remaining two chapters on the universities and the "Generation of 1922," as "the desire to fashion a truly Romanian elite" helped to quadruple the university student population between 1914 and 1930, producing an "intellectual proletariat" (as in the 1995 student strikes) when resources could not keep up with demands (pp. 246–247, 241, 235–236). Campus nationalists in the 1920s played on student dissatisfaction with overcrowding and scarce educational resources to create a radical movement of students protesting "the large number of minority students with whom they had to compete in higher education and . . . also for jobs in the elite sectors of state and private employment" (p. 246). Jewish students formed by far the largest minority in the university population, and Livezeanu uses university politics to study the convergence between mainstream and extreme Romanian nationalism and between the older and younger generations of Romanian nationalists as "the goals of the Romanian state and conservative elites . . . and those of the younger generation . . . dovetailed . . . to foster the beginnings of an important fascist movement": the Iron Guard (p. 247). Her final discussion of the failures of parliamentarism and civil society in interwar Romania provides a disquieting backdrop to current events.

MARY ELLEN FISCHER
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KEITH SWORD. *Deportation and Exile: Poles in the Soviet Union, 1939–48*. (Studies in Russia and East Europe.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London. 1994. Pp. xiii, 269. $65.00.

Keith Sword has been for some time a member of an impressive group of British scholars interested in different aspects of Poland's modern history as well as its politics and economics. He is co-author of a study of World War II Polish *émigrés* in Great Britain and has also edited and authored articles dealing with the Soviet takeover of eastern Poland after the signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact in August 1939. This is the logical extension of his previous work.

There is little doubt that Sword is a meticulous and thorough scholar, and his research in this case, as in his previous works, appears impeccable. One has to admire his ability and determination to master the Polish language, and his command of the British and Polish archival sources is impressive. On all these scores he deserves high marks.

The record shows that the Soviet occupation of

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eastern Poland, followed by mass deportations and the exile of many of its inhabitants into the distant corners of the USSR, has not attracted much attention among Western scholars. One of the reasons for the neglect may be that the whole question, including the highly publicized massacre of Polish officers in Katyn in 1940, was a major embarrassment, especially for the British, who halfway through the war were caught between the rock and the hard place, that is, between their rapidly fading loyalty to the Poles and their growing support for their Soviet allies. This had an impact on the subsequent availability of archival materials dealing with the issue, and even today, more than fifty years after the fact, occasional accusations surface that certain key British documents have been intentionally withheld from public view.

Serious studies of the Soviet takeover and the ensuing deportations only recently began to appear in the West. The best known among them is Jan T. Gross's *Revolution from Abroad* (1988), based on many of the same sources used by Sword, who, for some reason, did not list the volume in his otherwise detailed bibliography. Not surprisingly, the silence or reticence of Western scholars was not matched by their Polish counterparts. Almost from the day the first deportees managed to leave the Soviet Union for the West in 1942, countless books and articles detailing their daily life in what some called the "inhuman land" began to appear. There is also a sizeable body of literature produced in Poland prior to 1989, which deals primarily with the fate of those exiles who, for one reason or another, failed to leave the USSR and who were either drafted into the Polish communist army or were repatriated after 1945. I mention all this simply to point out that although some of the materials presented by Sword have not been previously available in English, almost all of them have been familiar to Polish readers.

I have three criticisms of the study. First, the organization and the narrative strike me as uneven. For example, I fail to see the rationale of discussing the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, which had nothing to do with the subject matter of the book, but not even mentioning the military operations against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) conducted in eastern Poland after 1945. Second, I am surprised at the absence of Soviet sources such as P. M. Kalenychenko's *Polska progressyvna emigratsiia v SRSR v roky drugoi svitovoi viiny* (1957) from the bibliography. Finally, there is the question of Soviet archives. Sword mentions their use, but they do not appear under the rubric of "Archival Materials Cited." It is my understanding that there is a very large body of materials relating to Poland in various Moscow archives and that they are being made gradually available to Western scholars. Their inclusion would have greatly enhanced this study.

Andrzej Korbonski
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Carol Belkin Stevens. *Soldiers on the Steppe: Army Reform and Social Change in Early Modern Russia*. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 240. $32.00.

During the seventeenth century, Muscovy extended its borders south toward the Black Sea as well as southwest into the Ukraine. Successive defensive lines were erected against the Crimean Tatars, new garrison towns developed, once-deserted territories peopled, and virgin steppe-lands brought under the plow. This colonization, which centered on the Belgorod-Sevsk and Izium lines, added significantly to Muscovy's strength, reinforced its hold on the eastern Ukraine, and provided the base for the expeditions mounted against the Crimea during the 1680s.

But the program was expensive. Tens of thousands of servicemen had to be raised, maintained, and equipped to the more demanding, modern standards of "new formation" that the government was introducing. Given all its other financial commitments, including the cost of fighting the Thirteen Year War against Poland-Lithuania (1654–1667), and the fact that the primitive economy yielded little cash in taxes, the state was forced to finance the operation in other ways. Thus, many members of the southern defence forces were paid partly in grain in lieu of cash and in land (*pomest'e*) in lieu of both.

Furthermore, in order to ease recruitment and encourage settlement, laws enforced elsewhere were temporarily waived in the southern frontier zone. Members of the serf-owning Muscovite elite were forbidden to acquire land in the region; fugitive serfs who enlisted there were protected rather than returned to their owners; and people were included in the ranks of hereditary servicemen who would not have made the grade elsewhere. Thus the usual distinctions between recruited and hereditary servicemen became blurred; and, since the government came to depend on the region's food production to supply campaign forces, servicemen in the region became exceptional in being required to pay dues in the form of grain in addition to carrying out their military duties. This gave rise to the social anomaly of *odnodvortsy*, hereditary servicemen too poor to maintain their status, who were eventually to sink to peasant status.

Carol Belkin Stevens's study is based on extensive research in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, particularly in the voluminous records of the Military Department (*Razriad*); and on an impressive array of printed sources. Careful translations are provided of a variety of difficult technical terms (there is an excellent glossary), and Stevens produces findings that are both valuable and interesting. We learn much about state grain collections; the mustering, allocation, and remuneration of servicemen; and the organization both of frontier defence and of logistical support for large-scale campaigns. In addition to the wealth of detail, we are shown how a vulnerable frontier region was

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transformed within a few decades into a populous agricultural region and the pivot of Moscow's southern strategy.

All this would have amply justified Stevens's labors. It is a pity, therefore, that she felt impelled to make exaggerated claims for her excellent, but essentially regional, study. The book is not about "army reform and social change in early modern Russia" as the title claims. The provinces in question were hardly "a crucible for [Muscovy's] progress" (p. 19); the anomalies already referred to, while demonstrating the government's pragmatism, hardly undermine "the common understanding of the Russian state in this period as highly centralized" (p. 163); and to suggest that southern practices "presaged the legal and military transformations . . . enacted by Peter" (p. 158) is an overstatement.

Nor is the work entirely free of error and omission. The Great Treasury (*Bol'shaia kazna*) was founded long before 1680 (p. 84), and there is no reference to the parallel experience of the Habsburgs in administering their southern frontier zone. Language is sometimes obscure or misleading. For example, weaponry is said to have been standardized when only the requirement to provide it was (p. 113).

All this said, Stevens has written an important study. She joins the ranks of a small group of North American historians, including Brian Davies and Maria Salomon Arel, who are doing so much to improve our understanding of early modern Russia.

PHILIP LONGWORTH
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CHRISTINE RUANE. *Gender, Class, and the Professionalization of Russian City Teachers, 1860–1914.* (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies, number 24.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1994. Pp. x, 258. $59.95.

Christine Ruane's book is a solid and important contribution to the growing literature on both the rise of professions in Tsarist Russia and the history of Russian education. Ruane examines the complicated interrelationship of class and gender and traces the impact of traditional social identities on the labored development of a professional ethos among Russia's city teachers.

The book stresses two fundamental themes. The first is the tension between the deep divisions among Russian teachers and their attempts to achieve professional unity. There were conflicts between men and women, city and rural teachers, and primary and secondary school teachers. Superimposed on these divisions was the ever-present issue of gender. Here Ruane is particularly insightful. She shows how the influx of women into the teaching profession after 1871 quickly led to various "discursive strategies"—developed by both the government and by male teachers—to keep them in their place. Women allegedly needed special pedagogical training to insure that their "natural" talent for nurturing did not interfere with professional pedagogical standards; they could only teach in primary grades since the more complicated technical subjects were beyond them; women teachers were "outsiders" in the villages and thus could not be as effective as men in teaching peasant children. A major symbol of the special problem women teachers faced in the profession was the "marriage ban" in St. Petersburg. For various reasons, married women were deemed unfit to teach in the city's schools. Ruane does a particularly good job in showing that the ban was not just a "liberal-conservative" issue: a major supporter of the ban turned out to be M. M. Stasiulevich, a liberal stalwart. She also traces the long campaign that led to the repeal of the ban in 1913, one of the few clear-cut victories teachers won and a result, Ruane argues, of an all too rare determination to fight for specific professional interests to the exclusion of extraneous agendas.

Ruane's second theme is the underlying conflict between emerging professional identity and older social identities, such as the intelligentsia ideal of service to the people. Teachers, Ruane argues, did not readily adopt a model of professional behavior based on self-interest and acceptance of hierarchy and implied inequality. They ignored the reality of deep differences within the profession and strove for a unity that did not exist. This hampered the development of their professional identity. In arguing this point, Ruane stresses the ultimate failures of 1905–1906; in the end, teachers achieved little, because they did not properly understand their own self-interest.

"[Teachers] . . . remained too caught up in their identity as servants for the people, as in the case of the radical teachers, or as civil servants, in the case of the conservatives. There were few teachers who were willing to argue that teachers should serve their *own* interests as members of a newly forming middle class . . . By not attempting to find a workable solution for the problem of hierarchy versus equality, the efforts of city teachers to form a unified profession remained doomed" (p. 166).

What emerged in Russia, Ruane argues, was the development of a "professional intelligentsia" rather than a "professional middle class." Teachers defined themselves by the intelligentsia ideal of service to others, eschewed a doctrine of "rational self interest," and thus did not join those "liberal parties essential to the development of liberal democracies." This is a provocative thesis and might have been discussed at greater length.

The book is a thought-provoking complement to the pathbreaking work by Ben Eklof and Scott Seregny on Russian education, although Ruane does not always agree with their conclusions. One wishes that Ruane had devoted somewhat more attention to the classroom experience and to the actual pedagogical problems that teachers debated and their impact on pro-

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fessional development. These quibbles aside, Ruane deserves credit for a very fine book.

SAMUEL D. KASSOW
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BERNICE GLATZER ROSENTHAL, editor. *Nietzsche and Soviet Culture: Ally and Adversary*. (Cambridge Studies in Russian Literature.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 421. $59.95.

Cambridge University Press's series on Russian literature includes a number of admirable volumes, among them Darra Goldstein's study of Nikolai Zabolotsky and Thomas Seifrid's book on Andrei Platonov. This collection of essays on the impact of Friedrich Nietzsche's ideas on Soviet culture adds to the distinction of the Cambridge list. In 1988, Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal, herself a specialist on Nietzsche in Russia, gathered together colleagues for a conference on Nietzsche and Soviet culture at Fordham University, and this collection is the ultimate result. The essays range far and wide in their subjects, but taken together they represent a serious scholarly examination of the important role of Nietzschean concepts in an environment that was, on the surface at least, notably hostile to those ideas and their creator.

The book is divided into four sections flanked by Rosenthal's introduction—bulging with information and outlining the book's internal logic—and a final essay by Menahem Brinker on the Hebraist Jewish writers' attitudes toward Nietzsche. In between, there are pieces by acknowledged authorities in each area: Bengt Jangfeldt, whose book on Vladimir Mayakovsky is required reading, writes on Nietzsche and the young Mayakovsky; James von Geldern, who just published (together with Richard Stites) an anthology of Soviet popular culture, discusses Nietzsche's influence on mass theater between 1917 and 1927; Edith Clowes writes about Yevgeny Zamyatin and Boris Pasternak; Clare Cavanagh about Osip Mandelstam; Gregory Freidin about Isaac Babel; Boris Groys about "nonofficial culture" of the 1930s (he is especially good on Mikhail Bulgakov); and there are half a dozen more. In other words, Rosenthal got some of the best people to write about what they know best.

Only about half the essays deal with Nietzsche's impact on specifically Soviet culture. The rest focus either on prerevolutionary culture or on proscribed or otherwise marginalized Soviet-era writers. I think this is entirely legitimate, indeed legitimated by the contents of the essays themselves. Nietzsche's impact was both concentrated and diffuse, direct and oblique. Some writers—Zamyatin, Andrei Bely, V. V. Khlebnikov—read his work, either in German or in Russian translations, and made helpful reference to *Birth of Tragedy* (1872) and *Genealogy of Morals* (1887) in letters, diaries, and essays. Others got his philosophy second- or third-hand, filtered through scholarly intermediaries like Vyacheslav Ivanov or ideological interpreters like Anatoly Lunacharsky. Nietzsche's ideas were in the air, an amalgam of often contradictory notions, and as the writers here recognize, Russian readers took what they wanted, often in a form only tenuously linked to what Nietzsche himself had in mind and for purposes ranging from aesthetic to explicitly political. (In one of the most interesting essays, Irina Paperno documents the curious concept of Aleksandr Pushkin as protean stand-in for Nietzsche, a conflation equally ludicrous in its Silver Age variant, Pushkin as Superman, and in its Stalinist version, Pushkin as fighter pilot.)

Indeed, it is to the credit of these scholars that all of them tread warily on the slippery slope of "influence," preferring to consider the reshaping of Nietzschean thought within the context of Soviet culture. Von Geldern portrays the tug of war between generations, with older intellectuals like Lunacharsky, Ivanov, and Kogan describing the classless theater of the future in Nietzschean terms, as a fusion of "Apollonian" and "Dionysian," while younger radicals rejected such a creative balance, the Proletkultists pulling for proletarian theater and the Futurists for an elite cadre of artist-creators. Von Geldern is sensitive to the ways that mass spectacles were quickly coopted by the state, the genuinely spontaneous reined in much as Vasily Chapaev, that "fiery steed of the steppes," is forced to submit to party authority.

Isabel Tirado analyzes the seemingly improbable combination of the Communist Youth (Komsomol) and Nietzsche. She pays close attention to the poetry and publicistic articles of the early 1920s in order to identify the Nietzschean attributes of the Komsomol ideal, most prominently the decisive role of (male) youth in repudiating the past. She does not overstate the role of Nietzschean thought, recognizing the dominance of Marxist-Leninism on the Komsomol's vanguardism. But her analysis of the Zarathustrian themes in *Molodaia gvardiia*, the Komsomol journal, is fascinating. So is her explanation of the tension between the Nietzschean vision of the creator-warrior, an image attractive to the young Komsomol, and its desire to be part of the collective in creating a new socialist society. As with mass theater (and so much else), the iconoclasm of the early Komsomol became less and less acceptable to the Bolsheviks as spontaneity gave way to the need for "discipline." By the late 1920s, the Nietzschean stratum of Komsomol thought had for the most part disappeared, the "radical warrior" yielding to "builders of socialism."

Readers will be drawn to individual essays by their own particular interests, but the entire volume is characterized by meticulous research and a uniformly high standard of scholarship. This book is a significant addition to Soviet cultural studies and to modern intellectual history.

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ROBERT SERVICE. *Lenin: A Political Life*. Volume 3, *The Iron Ring*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 393. $29.95.

The concluding installment of Robert Service's three-volume political biography of V. I. Lenin covers the years from the establishment of the Soviet dictatorship in 1918 to its architect's death in 1924. The book is less a treatment of problems faced by the revolutionary regime, such as might be found, for example, in Richard Pipes's recent *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime* (1993), than a detailed narrative of Lenin's major and minor political activities. Service makes good use of the abundant but topically scattered secondary materials, tracing a path indicated by Lenin's writings in his Collected Works and the Lenin Miscellany. There are also pointers from articles in the glasnost literature and material from recently opened Soviet archives.

Unlike many who have tackled this subject, Service does his best to take into account Lenin's attention to the world revolution and the politics of the Communist International. He acknowledges Lenin to be a man for whom ideas mattered, even a "glacial intellect" (p. 44), but essentially also a centrist who made frequent abrupt turns and indeed celebrated his changeability as mastery of dialectic. Although Service does not force us to discard all our previous notions, he supplies important factual detail on many matters. He closely examines, for example, the role of Lenin's personal secretaries, who, while attending him in the last stages of illness, were also deeply involved in the efforts to keep the ailing leader from damaging the chances of Joseph Stalin and Grigorii Zinoviev in their own struggle for the succession. By bringing together evidence from so many disparate sources, Service provides an indispensable reference for every student of the Russian Revolution. No one can now form an accurate idea of Lenin's political virtuosity without taking this account into consideration.

Service's narrative method is reminiscent of A. J. P. Taylor's *Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848–1918* (1954): Taylor led the reader through a familiar story by way of unfamiliar material, using obscure but striking details from minor negotiations to illuminate the way. For the reader, it was often like being taken on a tour of an historic capital without seeing the major sights. As a guide to Lenin, Service permits frequent glimpses of the big questions (the Moscow rising of the Socialist Revolutionaries, the March Action, the Trade Union Debate, Genoa and Rapallo, the red-brown orientation toward German nationalism in 1923, the German October) but no lingering. Too seldom does he look up from the lesser details of the story to take time to clinch an opinion of their meaning. As with Taylor, the effect is to dramatize the originality of his recital at the expense of illuminating the problems it reviews.

Not that it is unclear where Service stands. His distaste for the subject of the study makes it seem no less than an essay in fundamental civil apologetics. His Lenin is a fanatic and a terrorist, possessed by a "deadly intolerance" (p. 203), a "demotic Tsar" (p. 133) whose commitment to unworkable ideas, put into action by a canonically obsessed party, gave the twentieth century its basic instruction in modern dictatorship. While he concedes that this dictatorship was not actually achieved, he nevertheless calls Lenin's 1902 polemic on the organizational question, *What is to Be Done?*, its "intellectual sperm" (p. 60) and the foundation of a "Totalitarianism of intent" (p. 152). Service allows that Lenin was a brilliant man, a genuine idealist, and a decent fellow in his personal relations. But this cannot excuse his monstrous acts. Against the suggestion that Bolshevism was only an experimental chart with which the revolution was sailing in unknown waters, Service insists that Lenin's own Marxism could have shown him what would result. This interpretation marks a return to the views that held center stage forty years ago, in which the Russian socialist opponents of Bolshevism were held to have predicted its entire fate with exactitude.

Service insists that Lenin's determination and fanaticism never faltered and that there is nothing at all to the position, so zealously promoted by Nikolai Bukharin, that the leader's last months saw him reconsider his ideas about dictatorship in favor of the more moderate measures that Bukharin himself advanced in 1925–1928. Nor did any scales ever fall from Lenin's eyes in 1922 as regards the personality of Stalin. Insisting on the constancy of Lenin's "Leninism," which here means his totalitarianism, Service thus argues against the assessments of Bukharin biographer Stephen Cohen and of Moshe Lewin. He tends instead to agree more with the view presented by Leon Trotsky and by his biographer Isaac Deutscher. Lenin never rethought Bolshevism. On this account, the proponents of the "Bukharin alternative" that came forward under Gorbachev's regime of glasnost were badly deluded. The seductive vision of what was then usually called a "multifaceted" (*mnogoukladnaia*) form of Soviet society—the dearest wish of the Gorbachev reforms—could not rightly claim a "Leninist" precedent.

On the other hand, Service does not think that Stalin was Lenin's most logical heir and in fact takes the view that, although all the leaders were equally responsible for the sins of the Bolshevik enterprise, Lenin ultimately had much more in common with Trotsky, whom "he had come to prefer" (p. 285), than either Bukharin or Stalin.

Yet the extreme monistic picture of the early Bolshevik dictatorship that Service promotes, with Lenin striving single-mindedly and relentlessly for a perfect union of the party and the state, does not emerge with sufficient brightness from the evidence he presents. It seems clear, for example, that in the trade union debate of 1920, Lenin opposed Trotsky because of the latter's threat to unite the trade unions too intimately with the state. Lenin feared what he later called

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Trotsky's "excessive enthusiasm for the administrative side of the work"—his aptness for the role of dictator—even before he, Lenin, had a program and a theoretical rationale to do so. Lenin opposed Stalin for the same reason in 1922, again before he had a real case against him. In both interventions, Lenin claimed to be up against some kind of bureaucratic distortion in the proletarian state and proposed barriers, ineffectual ones to be sure, against the full exercise of its power.

Perhaps historians of the future will not be so impressed with Lenin's undoubted single-mindedness and statism as to see in him the unique hierophant of modern totalitarianism, its theorist and inventor. They may instead return to a still older view that the autonomous state of the twentieth century, in its Bolshevik, fascist, or other incarnations, was not created by any blueprint, not even Lenin's, but was really a product of the various crises and improvisations of World War I.

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SHEILA FITZPATRICK. *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village after Collectivization*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 386. $35.00.

Among American works devoted to the history of Soviet Russia, those of Sheila Fitzpatrick have played an increasingly significant role. This book is linked with two earlier titles that offer a comprehensive view of Soviet society: *The Russian Revolution* (1982) and *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia* (1992). Fitzpatrick has also played a major role in the earlier "revisionist" challenge by some American historians to what was treated as the establishment view of Russia before the disintegration of the USSR produced new visions and extensive new evidence to consider. One cannot do justice to the author in a short note, but one should remember and eventually consider the substance beneath the "tip of the iceberg" of one single study.

This book's particular interest is its attention to a massive majority of the Soviet (and Russian) population before World War II, when the Soviet state reached its peak of brutality in the collectivization of agriculture and "purge" of the 1930s. It is supported by extensive evidence, much of which is taken from archives recently opened to western historians. The book is encyclopedic in its scope: migration and legal changes, tractors and "labour units," craftsmen and "new officialdom," elections, new celebrities, and education are discussed. It is, however, more than a collection of facts large and small, for it offers a general structured picture of collectivized rural Russia. That is, indeed, the main achievement of the book and makes it unique in the available literature. For once, we have a general picture of the conditions in which the majority of Soviet people lived during a period without the understanding of which one can grasp neither the history of contemporary Russia nor the history of Europe. Let us remember that boys from these villages were to become the core of the Red Army that made its way from the outskirts of Moscow and Stalingrad to Berlin. Let us also remember that their children and grandchildren are most of contemporary Russia's population. Cultural continuities do not break simply by rural-urban migration.

Much of Fitzpatrick's work is specific. While her introductory chapter concerning dekulakization and the destruction of the most active stratum of peasant farmers has been reasonably well covered in past literature, there are many new elements: the studies of land use (size of the collective farms and their land usage, the family units of production left in operation), the membership of collective farms and organization of production within them, payment for labor and methods to make peasants work in the new farming institutions, the produce-confiscation by the state (justly referred to by the author as "second serfdom"), and the new rural marginals (individual farmers, craftsmen, and migrants). There are also studies of the human collectives related to large-scale units of production: rural authorities and the way they exercised authority, the particular place of the chairpersons of collective farms (who were formally elected by members but in fact represented state/party control over the agriculture), the surviving traditional forms of culture and daily life, the repressed religion and rapidly developing schooling that linked villages to urban life and urban powers.

In its analytical parts, the book puts to use the concepts of daily resistance of rural populations introduced in James C. Scott's momentous work, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985). Indeed, it was the real daily opposition of peasants, the way they confronted the "all powerful state," and the actual balance of these powers that eventually established the character and structure of the Soviet countryside. These were often fairly far removed from the ideas of the planners, the regulations of the state, and the propaganda dispatches of the press. The forces "from above" got their way through concentration of tractors in state-run units (while horse stock declined) and through obligatory transfer of much of the rural produce into the hands of the state (paid for but heavily underpriced). The contra-force from below achieved the definition of size and stability of family plots as well as the right to restrict its labor on the collective farms, which enabled sub-sized family units to operate (under conditions of harsh "self-exploitation," to use an expression of A. Chayanov, the main critic of Russia's collectivization, who paid with his life for it). Peasants also effectively defied the state's efforts to create "Potemkin villages" of faked rural bliss meant to exemplify the supremacy of collective farming. A considerable amount of evidence gathered in the last decade by other students of

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the field proceeds to bear out Fitzpatrick's conclusions.

One can pick quite a number of arguments with the author. For example, she gives much importance to the malice of denunciations against local bosses or neighbors and claims that a basic change occurred in the nature of such complaints: collective complaints by village communities gave way to individual, malice-driven ones in the Soviet state. Yet, with the exception of the 1902 and 1905–1907 revolutionary periods, peasant complaints to authorities and the press were mostly individual, while petitions expressed the particularities of dramatic political confrontations. Such peasant complaints were the rule rather than the exception for most European peasantries. The extent to which peasants' communal solidarity and particular vision of the world were overwhelmed by authorities seems overstated, and there is considerable evidence to prove the opposite. Be that as it may, this work marks a major step forward in the development of a rural history of Russia—a point from which to proceed, critically of course.

TEODOR SHANIN
University of Manchester

E. A. REES. *Stalinism and Soviet Rail Transport, 1928–41*. (Studies in Soviet History and Society.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham. 1995. Pp. xiv, 307.

The 1930s stand as a pivotal decade in Soviet history. In the span of just over ten years, the Soviet Union was transformed from an underdeveloped, agrarian country into an industrialized, militarily powerful state. Because of the enormous domestic and international ramifications of this process, Soviet industrialization has attracted the attention of many historians. Most scholars have focused on high politics or, more recently, the social dimensions of this transformative era. E. A. Rees chooses a different approach, examining the bureaucratic politics of Soviet industrialization.

Rees has produced a case study of one crucial institution in Soviet industry: the Commissariat of Ways of Communication, which oversaw Soviet rail transport. Rail transport was a vital component of both economic development and military mobilization. As such, it received the attention of the country's top political leaders, and the formulation of rail transport policy sparked considerable debate both in the railroad bureaucracy itself and among other branches of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Rees presents a month-by-month account of the development of rail transport policy. He recounts the speeches and decisions of policy makers and, with mountains of statistical evidence, assesses the effectiveness of the railroad system throughout the 1930s. For the first half of the decade, the railroads could not keep pace with the industrialization drive and remained a bottleneck in the Soviet economy. It was only when Lazar Kaganovich, a member of the Politburo and one of Joseph Stalin's closest lieutenants, took charge of the commissariat in 1935 that rail transport dramatically improved. Rees concludes that Kaganovich's power in the Soviet government, in addition to his administrative abilities, was crucial to the status, autonomy, and effectiveness of the railroad system.

The functioning of rail transport, however, was soon thrown into disarray once again with the onset of the purges in 1936–1938. Thousands of railroad officials and engineers were arrested and executed on charges of spying and sabotage. Rees argues that the purges cannot be disassociated from the hypercentralized Soviet administrative system that relentlessly raised production targets. The rush to industrialize at any cost led to countless policy errors and railroad accidents, mistakes subsequently labeled sabotage and punished by execution. In addition, it seems clear that Stalin instigated the purges not only to consolidate his own personal power but also to break that of entrenched institutional interests.

In his conclusion, Rees considers various conceptualizations of the Stalinist state and their validity in light of his study. He finds that the totalitarian model, with its emphasis on the ideology of Bolshevism and the Soviet leadership's drive for absolute power, underplays domestic and international constraints, institutional conflicts, and social tensions. At the same time, he rejects the institutional-pluralist approach for its failure to emphasize the Stalinist leadership's ability to set policies and mobilize institutional or social support for them. Instead, he favors a corporatist model that acknowledges the power of political leaders to determine policy but recognizes the autonomy of institutions. Even this model, Rees notes, does not describe the integration of Soviet institutions into the party-state apparatus or the internal divisions in these institutions.

Most studies of bureaucratic politics are dry by their nature, and this book is no exception. Rees recites in painstaking detail the policy debates of railroad officials and Soviet bureaucrats. His narrative is burdened further by a profusion of acronyms and statistics. Readers should therefore be forewarned that this monograph is suitable only for specialists. Nonetheless, Rees has carried out meticulous and valuable research based on Soviet archives, periodicals, and statistical publications. He has made an important contribution to our understanding of Stalinism.

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WILLIAM J. TOMPSON. *Khrushchev: A Political Life*. New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. ix, 341. $24.95.

William J. Tompson's new biography is extraordinarily useful. Because Nikita Khrushchev was involved in the major crises confronting the Soviet regime between 1929 and 1964, the book is an important contribution to our understanding of how the Soviet dictatorship

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responded to the challenges of its crucial middle decades. Although slightly older and much more prominent than most, Khrushchev was an exemplar of the leaders that the Bolshevik Revolution and Josef Stalin's early machinations produced. Different as this pattern of personal development and crises is from factors affecting post-Soviet politics, one cannot fully understand the latter without reliable knowledge of that earlier elite of "new men."

Tompson's contribution will be most appreciated as an interim assessment of the large body of new material that began to be available during the late 1980s. Although his findings usually confirm earlier hypotheses instead of presenting revelations, establishing—or rejecting—such speculation is an essential step toward reliable historiography. Some of Tompson's documentation comes from the Central Party Archives (renamed the Russian Center for Preservation and Utilization of Documents of Recent History) and the Moscow City Archives. Considerably more information is derived from memoirs and monographs published by Russians during the last seven years. The more famous examples, such as Aleksei Adzhubei's books and later versions of his father-in-law's *Khrushchev Remembers*, have been translated, but most of this genre is available only in Russian. Tompson also utilizes most recent secondary treatments in English, but more remain available only in German or French.

On the young Khrushchev, Tompson presents a straightforward behavioral interpretation with little resort to psychological theory. He correctly stresses the predominant significance of Khrushchev's background as a man of peasant and worker origins "brought forward" by the Soviet system. As late as 1931, when at thirty-six he was secretary of a major Moscow ward, Khrushchev struck listeners as "a man with a low level of basic literacy," halting in his delivery, and given to mispronunciations (p. 37). Unsurprisingly, though drawn to "practical" education, Khrushchev resented the Old Bolshevik intellectuals who became the focus of Stalin's attacks. Although Khrushchev asserted that his personal experience with foreign capitalism in the Donbass had convinced him of the validity of V. I. Lenin's *Imperialism* (1917), he paid scant attention to subtleties of Marxist-Leninist theory. In this respect, Khrushchev resembled other territorial bosses; it should be noted, though, that in 1938 Stalin dispatched Mikhail Burmystenko, son of an Old Bolshevik worker, to be Khrushchev's coadjutor in the Ukraine.

Tompson believes that Khrushchev underwent a kind of conversion during his war experiences in the field. He ceased to be an enthusiastic disciple of the dictator while admiring the remarkable qualities of the Soviet (East Slavic) people in resisting the Nazi invasion. Possibly the mysterious death of his fighter-pilot son, Leonid, contributed to Khrushchev's disenchantment. But his confidence in the USSR as a foundation for a new world order was only reinforced by war accomplishments and his brief contacts with American society. Not until his forced retirement following frustrations in efforts to attain the goals he had set during the 1961 Party Congress did Khrushchev—perhaps—begin to doubt the superiority of the Soviet system.

Since much of this new literature on Soviet political history derives from Khrushchev sympathizers, it should not be surprising if a biographer were inclined to accept Khrushchev's out-of-office attempts to "improve" his record. Tompson confirms earlier accounts of Lavrenty Beria's overthrow (1953), but passes over Khrushchev's possible manipulation of Beria to place his own man, A. I. Kirichenko, in power in Kiev. Tompson also fails to realize that at least one charge against Beria (that as a young man he had been a British agent in the Caucasus) was, apparently, a warmed-over version of an accusation directed at his predecessor, N. I. Yezhov. Tompson is much more credible in treating two other major internal crises: the "anti-Party" affair of 1957 and Khrushchev's own ouster. In both cases, Tompson emphasizes how Khrushchev's structural reforms legitimated crisis resolution by a Party Central Committee majority that eventually rebelled against his more drastic changes (like the 1962 bifurcation of the Party organization).

Tompson's discussion of foreign policy has been partially overtaken by newer documentary evidence (see especially preliminary reports in *Cold War International History Project Bulletin* on the Cuban Missile Crisis (no. 3 [1993], pp. 40–50); and on the Berlin Crisis of 1958–1962 (no. 3, pp. 59–61, and no. 4 [1994], pp. 35–39). During both crises, Khrushchev appeared more inclined to take risks than his retirement versions suggest. As a result, my own provisional conclusion is that although in some ways Khrushchev was a pioneer in Soviet domestic reform, he was far from being the congenial negotiating partner that the Western powers found in Mikhail Gorbachev a quarter century later.

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ANDRZEJ WALICKI. *Marxism and the Leap to the Kingdom of Freedom: The Rise and Fall of the Communist Utopia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 641. $65.00.

Andrzej Walicki has written a clear, intelligent, and useful review of the intellectual strategies deployed by the various keepers of the flame of Marxism. He believes that ideas affect historical actors; that the intentions of historical actors affect outcomes; and that the builders of communism intended to achieve the realm of freedom delineated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Walicki recognizes the multitude of factors that affected efforts to realize the Marxian utopia; he refuses, however, to ignore its causal role in the catastrophic career of Russian communism. Rather, he proceeds, at considerable length, to set forth the relevant ideas of Marx and Engels and to trace the ways in which revolutionaries used these

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ideas to justify their actions and policies. He also is at pains to criticize the ways in which Marxists have defended both the original doctrine and Russian communism. An author index gives some guidance to the ground covered, but the book inexplicably lacks a subject index.

Historians working in the Marxian tradition blame a variety of macrostructural forces for the warping of an initially promising October Revolution. Some Marxian historians (however odd this may seem) blame Josef Stalin personally for terminating a costly but still promising experiment. The practitioners of "revisionism" (mainly American historians) remain loosely within the Marxian tradition, although some of them do not like the Marxian label and present themselves as positivists, researchers in the relatively neglected area of social history. They focus on the "lower" levels of the system. Their tendency to render Russian communism less monstrous than their predecessors did, their eschewal of overt moral judgements, and their reduction of the body count in their assessments of Stalin's terror make some of them look like apologists for his regime.

Walicki judges all such efforts misguided. Fully aware of the rich array of Marxisms, not to speak of the different phases and tensions within the works of the founding fathers, he finds still useful a version of the totalitarian model reviled by the revisionists. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin were all responsible for totalitarianism in some fashion, the former two for providing ideas with a totalitarian tendency, and the latter two for the costly effort to realize the communist utopia. Lenin and Stalin surely drew inspiration from Marx and Engels; Lenin most certainly supplied Stalin with many of his ideas and political gadgets; and Stalin in his own brutal way undoubtedly tried to finish building the communist utopia begun by Lenin.

Granting all of this, I believe that Walicki understates the extent to which ideas can be transformed in practice. We simply cannot predict how ideologies, whether religious or secular, will be used in the game of politics. Nor can we understand some of the important outcomes of leader-centered regimes without looking at the psychology of the leaders and their ability to mobilize people for ruthless action. Walicki avers that "the ruthless logic of Leninist ideology" (p. 411) required a ruthless leader like Stalin and offers a counterfactual experiment, in which he imagines how Stalin would have ruled without communist ideology (p. 453). Very likely, Stalin would have developed different policies and identified different "enemies." But surely Walicki attributes too much to the logic of ideas and too little to the processes that permitted leaders like Stalin and Adolf Hitler to obtain dictatorial power, target victims, and exterminate millions with the complicity of millions more. In leader-centered movements, the psychologies of the leaders (which are not simply the product of logical ideas) and the motives (usually, quite varied) of their followers play crucial roles. Ideas are transformed by personalities, domesticated, and reshaped at different levels of a system to serve a variety of passions and interests.

Many different religious and secular ideologies have been used to justify mass murder. Within Christianity, those seeking scriptural justification for militancy and violence readily find it. That is not to say that ideologies are unimportant; rather, they must be weighed carefully with other factors. Walicki quite rightly concedes that utopian ideologies with totalitarian tendencies produce different results depending on who uses them and in what historical conditions. Thus, even though we can indeed identify tendencies in ideologies, we still cannot predict how they will be used. Perhaps most important of all, we cannot predict whether an ideology that justifies violence will be used to justify mass murder. The history of ideas, alas, provides very little help.

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NEAR EAST

PETER CHRISTENSEN. *The Decline of Iranshahr: Irrigation and Environments in the History of the Middle East, 500 B.C. to A.D. 1500*. Translated by STEVEN SAMPSON. Odense, Denmark, Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen. 1993. Pp. 351.

Iranshahr refers to "greater Iran," from Baghdad and Basra to Herat and Marv. Peter Christensen strives for a macro-historical overview of that region, focusing on irrigation, settlement, disease, and human-induced environmental change for the period 500 B.C.–A.D. 1500. He claims that Western historians, influenced by "Orientalism," have tended to characterize Middle Eastern history as one of retrograde social evolution and progressive decline in Islamic times. He then disposes of four old postulates regarding Middle Eastern history: the impacts of climatic change and nomadic invasions, the fatalistic theocracy of Islam (as impeding economic development and political stability), and oriental despotism, with its theses of overcentralization and resistance to innovation.

After this grand but simplistic introduction, Christensen examines the several lowland regions with large, complex networks of canal irrigation (lower Mesopotamia, Khuzistan, Sistan), contrasting them with the basin oases of the Iranian plateau, where smaller irrigation systems depended on *qanats* or stream manipulation. He argues that Sasanian overexpansion of lowland irrigation networks created ecological systems particularly vulnerable to disasters because of their fragile environments: "The strong manipulation and coercion of the environment ... caused hydrological changes, expansion of wind-blown sands, and salination" (p. 247). That in turn magnified the impacts of plague and epidemics, wartime destruction, political troubles, and administrative incompetence. By contrast, the highland regions were less severely affected by disease and experienced different

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demographic trends, with growth or decline determined by "local hydrological conditions," and the severity and frequency of natural disasters. Thus, "the societies of Iranshahr reveal particular internal dynamics which sprang precisely from the conditions of agriculture, i.e. the clash between the environment and technological limitations of agricultural production and the political demands for surplus" (p. 252).

Based on inadequate or partly antiquated archaeological data and only those Arabic and Farsi/Pahlavi sources available in translation, one major difficulty with this work is the paucity of reliable evidence and the absence of detailed regional analyses. That does not make for good "environmental history." For example, Nanette Marie Pyne's *The Impact of the Seljuq Invasion on Khuzistan* (1982) illustrates how archaeology, numismatic evidence, and written records can be used to show how this area was devastated by the Arab Conquest, only recovering about 870, with its irrigation system and towns again laid waste by the Seljuqs ca. 1015. Environmental degradation and epidemics had little to do with the course of events. In lower Mesopotamia, the immense Sasanian irrigation network of ca. 550 was structured as a lattice of intersecting canals enclosing geometric basins. This completely disappeared with the Conquest, to be replaced eventually by a different system with transverse and radial canals. But fifty-five percent of the former cultivated land remained unsettled, and, according to Robert McC. Adams's *Heartland of Cities* (1981), between 800 and 950 some eighty-five percent of the residual, Early Islamic sedentary population disappeared from the countryside. The catastrophic disjuncture of the 630s suggests fundamental social disruption, while Late Abasid permanent abandonment was a result of arbitrary increases of the land tax, destruction by war, and massive rural flight. There were also unfavorable climatic trends, namely a greater incidence of catastrophic floods, coeval with deeper waters in Lake Van. By 628 the Tigris was shifting its course westward, ponding up the Euphrates into a vast swampland until after 1300. Transverse canals were particularly susceptible to destruction or siltation by major flood events.

A second flaw of this provocative work is its poor grasp of the social and ecological variables basic to irrigation agriculture in desert settings. Great irrigation networks are fragile because they are artificial, i.e. managed systems that require much capital or labor to maintain, and exponentially more to reconstruct. The desert may return after abandonment, not because of prior modification but because of human disengagement. Critical here are land tenure and the mobilization of labor. When rent, tax, or work demands become impossible, Middle Eastern peasants have commonly abandoned their farms to enter the broad spectrum of pastoral pursuits that fill out the gap between cultivation and fully mobile, nomadic herding. Beyond the reach of the tax-collector, such pastoralists reverted to a simpler lifeway in what was a fiscal wasteland but not a deserted landscape. That is the true meaning of "decline" in irrigable, Middle Eastern environments. In Europe, "Western" mixed farming is less specialized but also less productive, and temporary abandonment does not return the land to desert, so that renewed settlement requires little community coordination or start-up investment. In other words, "Western" agrosystems are comparatively stable and not liable to catastrophic simplification. That—and not ecological impairment—is the basic difference between Europe and the Middle East in the *longue dureé* of demography and agrarian production.

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MAYA SHATZMILLER. *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World*. (Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, number 4.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1994. Pp. viii, 450. $137.25.

This study stands at the cutting edge of the economic history of the pre-modern Islamic world, and by extension, the pre-modern world. Traditionally the medieval Islamic world has been seen as a passive entrepôt devoid of manufacturing and industry and enriched only by the passage of long distance trade. Decline in that trade is seen as the corollary to economic decline. While economists have long abandoned the notion that foreign trade was the engine of economic development, that assumption is fundamental to the work of an earlier generation of historians. Maya Shatzmiller's study challenges and finally lays to rest that fundamental assumption.

Part 1 provides the theoretical framework, historical context, and analysis of the twenty-five sources used. Data is systematically culled from nineteen primary sources—eleven *hisba* manuals (market regulations), and eight literary sources, as well as six secondary studies, such as Goitein's study of the Geniza documents.

Part 2 is a comprehensive list of occupations categorized on the model of modern census takers' occupational classifications. Classification is by raw material and finished product. Degree of specialization by analyzing occupations categorized as primary (extractive, agriculture, and mining), secondary (manufacturing), and tertiary (industrial, professional, and public services). The number of occupations indicates the relative size of particular sectors and industries, and the degree of specialization indicates the distribution of labor within each sector. Analysis of labor division and distribution by economic sector is then broken down by region: Egypt, Iraq, Muslim Spain, North Africa, Syria, and Tabaristan. Time analysis is from the eighth to eleventh centuries and the twelfth to fifteenth centuries.

Shatzmiller's premise is that a reconstruction of labor across economic sectors will reflect the degree of specialization of labor within individual trades, the degree of division within sectors, and the distribution

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of labor within the economy. This, in turn, reflects the relative degree of development of the economy. The methodological premises are, first, that the number of unique occupational terms contained in the sources is indicative of the measure of specialization and division of labor within the society. Second, the number of cases of a particular occupation is a measure of the relative size of the labor force employed in that sector and activity and, therefore, a measure of the distibution of the labor force between the sectors. Hence, the study establishes a relative division of labor and a relative distribution of the labor force.

The data indicate wide regional differentiation in both the division of labor and the distribution of the labor force. Data also indicate pronounced changes by sector over time. Manufacturing's share declined from forty-four to twenty-three percent, the difference going to the expanded service sector. That manufacturing did not respond to the growing division of labor and specialization is interpreted as indicative of a sluggish economy. The lack of growth in manufacturing in the face of growth in the service sector was a pronounced weakness. The largest manufacturing sectors were textile and food processing. These were the only sectors that evidenced growth, but growth was linked to population growth, not to export trade.

The service sector was the most diversified in both periods and the only sector to grow in the later period. Growth took place within the public services with bureaucracy and military increasing threefold and educational/legal/religious sixfold. In fact, the industrial and professional service sectors actually declined. There was no decline in the productive services sector, but neither was there growth. Shatzmiller interprets the growth of the service sector as a sign of the growing sophistication of the medieval Islamic city.

Part 3 discusses social and intellectual dimensions of the division of labor along gender, ethnic, and religious lines, issues that the occupational categories do not accommodate. Chapter 6, "Ethnic Division of Labour," is primarily dependent on evidence from Spain, where ethnic minorities were a significant feature. Shatzmiller theorizes that conversion was linked to urban migration (p. 343). Surprisingly, evidence indicates that no urban sector was monopolized by a single ethnic group except religious services, which were monopolized by Arabs. While information in Chapter 7, "Women's Labour," is anecdotal, it is some of the most novel and revealing. Evidence from *fatwas* (religious legal decrees) contradicts the expected absence of women from the labor force. Legal *responsa* reveal that jurists were aware of social restraints upon women in commerce and so gave women prerogatives and legal protection to rectify their disadvantage (p. 362). "Jewish *responsa* indicate that women concealed their commercial transactions from their husbands and families," and "Jewish women went to Muslim courts, especially regarding legacies and inheritance, as they were more favorable to women than Jewish courts" (p. 364).

Chapter 8, "Theoretical Dimensions of Labour: Image and Doctrine," indicates that elites, especially in the tenth, eleventh, and fourteenth centuries, gave work spiritual value. These sources seem to have been written in response to some contemporary concern with labor.

Built on complex but explicit methodology, this study is a slow read. One senses Shatzmiller's exhaustion in the face of the sheer enormity of the data she has collected and the complexity of the methodology to which she has subjected it. The raw data presented lends itself to far greater interpretation than Shatzmiller has volunteered, leaving more than ample opportunity for subsequent research. This study shatters the notion of a stagnant medieval Islamic labor force averse to manual labor and with little female participation. The evidence indicates development of a more diversified, more productive, rationalized, and integrated labor force and a shift from agriculture to manufacturing. Historians will have to renew their investigation of the causes of economic decline in the Middle East. The distribution and degree of specialization of labor evidenced by the data contradicts the traditional assumption of a causal link between decline in trade and economic decline in the premodern Islamic world. This study will serve as the model for the history of labor in the premodern, non-western world.

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MICHAEL CHAMBERLAIN. *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350.* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 199. $54.95.

This is a short but rich and complex book. Michael Chamberlain sets ambitious goals: to reconceptualize the social and cultural patterns and institutions that historians of medieval Islam have studied in recent decades and to investigate the basis on which the social history of medieval Near Eastern societies might be written. His perspective is broad and nuanced. The book's most exciting passages view the subject through a world-historical lens, situating thirteenth and fourteenth-century Damascus in the broader framework of West Eurasian history. Few historians of the medieval Near East since Marshall Hodgson have written from such a cosmopolitan perspective. Despite the book's complexity, Chamberlain's central argument can be stated succinctly: that terms, concepts, and historiographical approaches derived from the historiography of medieval and especially early modern Europe are largely inappropriate for reconstructing the social history of the high medieval Islamic societies of the Near East; and that the household, rather than any formal political, religious, or social institutions, was the true locus of power in these societies.

Knowledge, especially religious and legal knowl-

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edge, and the social group that wielded it—the *'ulamā'*, "those who know"—have been perhaps the most thoroughly investigated subjects in the field of medieval Islamic social and cultural history. Chamberlain is critical of the work of scholars who have focused on institutions and on the system of higher education; he prefers an approach that takes account of all the varied social uses to which the cultural capital produced by the transmission of religious knowledge could be put. Although this argument is less original than Chamberlain supposes, overall his approach is refreshing.

Chamberlain's discussion of the personal relationships that formed the basis of social life and competition among the *'ulamā'* is the fullest and most specific to date. He sets out in colorful detail the poles of friendship and competition to which those relationships were tethered. Learned individuals did not so much teach as confer "benefit" on those who studied with them; relationships between teacher and pupil, or *shaykh* and disciple, were described in the language of household intimacy as "love," "companionship," and "friendship." Teaching and studying involved the transmission not only of knowledge but of *baraka* ("grace" or "blessing"), and so the act of transmission was ritualized. Reading, for example, was less a private act than a public performance. Chamberlain follows earlier scholarly discussions of these matters more closely than it might at first appear, but he also brings to them new insight and challenging questions. So, for example, drawing on the anthropological work of Jack Goody, he notes that the ritualization of reading contributed to ambiguity in the society's understanding of the apparently simple concept of the "book": "Books in Damascus were not of necessity produced as single acts of a creative autonomous will. Texts were rather enacted fortuitously in time, and could be incorporated in other texts in different ways" (p. 143). Especially intriguing is Chamberlain's insight that the competition among the *'ulamā'* for status, and for the remunerative employment in endowed religious institutions that status made possible, was structurally similar to the more violent rivalries between the primarily foreign-born military elite. This competition, although on one level a form of social strife (*fitna*), also paradoxically made the elite social groups of Damascus cohere and gave them purpose.

Because so much has been written on the subject of knowledge and its transmission, Chamberlain takes pains to distinguish his work from that of previous scholars, which sometimes leads him slightly astray. He is absolutely correct to insist on the fluidity of institutional identity, because the functions of mosques and Sufi convents overlapped with those of establishments more specifically devoted by the terms of their endowments to the transmission of knowledge (*madrasas*), as well as with the various occupations and activities that absorbed the time and attention of the learned elite. He is right to challenge the idea that the transmission of knowledge at higher levels was characterized by a formalized curriculum. Chamberlain articulates these points, many of which have been made before, with great clarity and force.

Chamberlain's line of argument, however, pushes him into problematic positions. For example, he asserts that "in all the literature for high medieval Damascus there is not a single citation that this writer has found that any young person ... enrolled in a madrasa to acquire certified mastery of law" (p. 87). It is difficult to know what to make of such a statement. If he means that *madrasas* did not issue formal certifications of competency in Islamic law, that is true, although not even George Makdisi, who perhaps conceived of Islamic education in the most formal terms, argued this. If he means simply that "the young acquired their learning—among which was their legal learning—and their distinction from individual shaykhs before and after the appearance of madrasas in the city," then he is correct, although the point had previously been settled. If he means that the *madrasas* did not impose "their own advanced legal curriculum," then again he is correct, for the *madrasas* had no curriculum. But Chamberlain implies more, and the notion that no students who attended classes in *madrasas* did so to acquire "certified mastery of law" (however that might be understood) is puzzling. Some did not, for, as Chamberlain rightly points out, individuals attended lectures and recitations for a variety of purposes, some related to education and careers, others quite removed from them. But surely one of the principal purposes for studying the law with a reputable *shaykh* was to become a judge or jurist or other recognized authority on Islamic law.

This book raises more important issues and does so more provocatively than most monographs. At its heart is a problem of monumental scope: how is it possible to reconstruct the social history of the medieval Near East? Chamberlain's principal sources are the biographical dictionaries that were one of this society's most distinctive literary productions, and his fresh approach—asking, for example, not whether anecdotes about particular scholars are true, but what they, as expressions of cultural value, can tell us about the way medieval Damascenes themselves conceived of their social relations—demonstrates that these sources can yet be mined for further treasures. He notes the relative absence of significant archival sources from this and other medieval Islamic societies. Rather than lament this condition, Chamberlain relates it to his broader point: that it was not formal institutions (such as schools, governments) that defined authority in this society so much as it was the household (*bayt*), whether of an amir or a scholar. Consequently, he argues, the absence of archives does not reflect historical accident but the "nature of state power" in the Near East: "the formal state agencies of the high medieval Middle East were rudimentary compared to those of the Ottoman empire or Sung China" (p. 17). But surely they were not "rudimentary" when compared to those of, say, Angevin France or Anglo-

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Norman England, and yet those societies produced—or rather, left to posterity—considerably more in the way of archival material.

It is an open question why, suddenly, with the Ottoman and Mughal empires, the Islamic world becomes rich in archival sources, but it seems to me that the fact that no such sources survive from the high medieval period in the Near East is not convincing evidence that these societies lacked sophisticated and powerful bureaucratic structures and traditions. Chamberlain himself is aware of the voluminous and detailed "chancery manuals," compiled for the benefit of scribes working for various government departments or for individual members of the ruling elite; those manuals, which provided models for documents relating to diverse state and private matters, were not produced for nothing. If I am right that this matter is yet unsettled, however, it should not be read as a sign that Chamberlain has in any way failed; on the contrary, it is simply another marker of his book's provocative, insightful, and engaging character.

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CARL F. PETRY. *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power.* (SUNY Series in Medieval Middle East History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 280. $19.95.

This is a companion volume to Carl F. Petry's earlier *Twilight Of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashrāf Qāytbāy and Qānsūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (1993). It covers some of the same ground over the same period but in a more thematic format.

Petry begins with a short but valuable survey of the sources and a discussion of the biases of the contemporary chroniclers upon whose writings he depends. It is truly unfortunate that this critical analysis is limited by the dearth of corroborative evidence. Petry's sensitivity to this issue is to be applauded. He nonetheless engages in highly speculative explorations into areas only thinly documented.

Petry sketches how Qāytbāy and al-Ghawrī came to power and relates some of the major machinations that were deemed necessary to secure and maintain each's sultanate. The idea is introduced here that the images of these two different personalities have not adequately been assessed because they each related to the system that placed them in power in a fundamentally different way.

Petry goes on to discuss the nature of the Mamluk state and its outlying spheres of vassalage. These edges of the Mamluk world were very important for the preservation of the core. Each, of course, was faced with challenges from the outside which would trouble Egypt, in different ways, in the short, medium, and long terms. Petry treats the Safavids of Iran and portrays the ongoing relations between Cairo and the Ottoman Turks who would ultimately end the Mamluk state after the death of al-Ghawrī at Marj Dabiq.

Petry also addresses the changes that were developing with the Europeans. As he notes, however, the most fundamental changes that would have the greatest impact on Egypt did not come into clear focus until long after the fall of the Mamluk regime. Once again, Petry's focus stays very close to the rulers in Egypt. It is their ability to confront crisis that is the essence of this study.

Petry explores the nature and workings of the military elite. He also scrutinizes the twin themes of support and subversion that determined the political workings of the Sultanate. From there he proceeds to the economic problems that Qāytbāy and al-Ghawrī faced and the nature of their respective policies to keep ahead of the difficult need versus resource ratio. Petry locks in very well to the evidence suggesting that Egypt's economy did not decline at this time. The needs of the regime grew and the nature of its policy discouraged any economically creative and innovative approaches. Circumstances drove the producers into a hoarding mode.

Petry then moves to the central issue of his study: the way these two sultans reacted to specific crises (mostly structural and financial). He characterizes Qāytbāy's style as inertial. His creativity, as far as it went, revolved around his ability to maximize the exploitation of resources in ways current to the system. Al-Ghawrī, on the other hand, appears to have been more willing to innovate and experiment. He worked, however, against an established system that was not especially inclined to change the factors grounding the political structure.

All of this is very interesting. Was it in fact possible that, had Selim not chosen to confront the Mamluks at that time, al-Ghawrī might indeed have succeeded in laying the groundwork for transition out of the feudal structures of Mamluk Egypt? Al-Ghawrī had made interesting moves in the fiscal, legal, and military spheres. Were they part of a consistent plan? Would he have been able to bring them to maturity? As Petry explicitly states, the threat of challenge from his peers was always more immediate than any outside menace.

The treatment is engagingly challenging. Most of Petry's analyses are coherent but extremely speculative relying on minimal sources sometimes without a clear context; they can be easily misunderstood.

This book is not likely to be useful for the uninformed reader. To someone with some grounding in the period it should be engaging. Still, it can be troubling to realize that one is trying to grip that which is not quite a solid substance.

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HAIM GERBER. *State, Society, and Law in Islam: Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective.* Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. 233. $19.95.

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Haim Gerber studies the law as it worked in Bursa during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Narrowly, he denies that traditional Islamic law and original legislation by the emperors were in sharp conflict. He finds, rather, that Ottoman judges usually ruled just as suggested by standard handbooks of Islamic law. When early modern conditions required institutional changes, Ottoman jurisprudents did not resort to secular, imperial legislation but developed new rules within the framework of Islamic law, such as means of lending at interest. More broadly, Gerber argues that the Ottoman empire in this period was not despotic but governed bureaucratically by predictable rules.

Gerber's knowledge of Islamic law seems weak. He continually refers to the *shari'a* as though it were a code. Gerber states that the judge is supposed to pronounce on a particular situation while a *mufti* (jurisconsult) "relates not to people and their specific dilemmas but to theoretical problems posed to him" (p. 79). This seems to be Gerber's inference from published collections of juridical opinions. Actually, it was so common for editors of published collections to remove specific details that there is an Arabic technical term for it, *tajrid*.

Gerber often cites literary evidence when his argument requires documents. For example, Islamic court procedure relies heavily on oaths from plaintiffs and defendants and gives the judge almost no investigative authority. Gerber relates that the system seems to have worked well nonetheless, for "an incredible number of defendants voluntarily admitted guilt" (p. 48). If Gerber were working with a random sample of actual criminal cases, the proportion of confessions might be surprising. In fact, Gerber's sample seems to come from a nineteenth-century printed book. More probably, it shows how nineteenth-century Ottoman readers thought the system ought to work. Whether it actually worked that way remains to be shown.

Finally, Gerber's case for the benign character of the empire continually rests on special pleading. For example, he cites eighteenth-century England as "a well-known case of a society in which law . . . was a tool in the hands of the upper class to keep the lower classes in their place" (p. 41). The Ottoman empire was completely different, says Gerber, for he has discovered no evidence that the upper class bent the law to its purposes. Yet Gerber also discusses the execution of alleged habitual offenders not for any specific capital crime but for being "fomenters of evil in the world" (p. 38, 72, 73). He says these executions express the responsiveness of officials to public opinion on the ground that they are associated with "the witness of a long line of trustworthy Muslims" (p. 73). Until we know the class status of these trustworthy Muslims, I am inclined to think that the question of class oppression remains open.

It seems very likely that the practice of Islamic law has differed over time and from place to place, and one can only encourage further attempts to demonstrate it. Gerber leaves almost everything yet to be done.

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AFRICA

CRAWFORD YOUNG. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 356. $40.00.

Crawford Young is one of the leading scholars of the non-western world. His book is a masterpiece, an inspired and rigorous work that all historians of imperialism and nationalism will find an enduring source of reference and analysis. But be forewarned. This is a work of political science and its purpose is contemporary even though the subject is historical. It is an inquiry into the causes of unending crisis, political decay, and economic disintegration in Africa in comparison with other post-colonial regions such as Southeast Asia. Some historians will not like the jargon or the fashionable language of discourse. If they persevere, however, they will find a far-ranging historical investigation enriched by precise definitions and concepts of social science drawn from Max Weber as well as Antonio Gramsci.

The quest is the mythological beast of the colonial state, referred to by earlier writers such as J. S. Furnivall as the colonial Leviathan, which possessed certain qualities of the European states. The colonial regimes, known collectively as the colonial state, were nascent sovereign units. The colonial state collected taxes and defended frontiers. Its character varied slightly from French to British, from Dutch to Portuguese to Belgian. With few exceptions, each colonial regime attempted to become fiscally self-sufficient. In the stage of military conquest, which lasted roughly up to 1914, the colonial state conscripted labor for such projects as road building and railway construction to create the basis for self-sustaining flows of revenue. In its golden years, roughly the interwar period, it extended the reach of the police and the degree of productivity while it encouraged the indispensable collaboration of indigenous soldiers, clerks, and traders, and later journalists, teachers, and lawyers. In the last stage, after World War II, the collaborators increasingly became nationalists who used western languages to define their own ambitions as well as national identities and to wrest political control from the Europeans. The legacy of the colonial state helps to explain the nature of the fifty-two sovereign successor states, including Idi Amin's Uganda, Jean Bedel Bokassa's Central African Republic, and Mobutu Sese Seko's Zaire. The historical analysis at each stage is linked by a sustained and persuasive argument.

There are two flaws. At times Young seems to assume that the colonial state was omnipotent, even totalitarian, though in fact it often revealed contradictory impulses and convulsive frustration, for example

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in Palestine. At other times he argues more persuasively that the colonial regimes brought their subjects under various degrees of military and bureaucratic control, and that they did promote profound and irrevocable social change as well as establish the structure of the modern state.

The second flaw is Young's uncritical espousal of the concept of the colonial state itself, which carries with it ideological assumptions and an implied restructuring of the past to serve the purposes of the present, notably as a scapegoat by successor regimes hoping to blame colonialism for failings of their own. This is curious because Young subjects all other ideological premises to critical scrutiny. He might have done better to have sustained Furnivall's idea of the colonial Leviathan, as does Ronald Hyam in the forthcoming *Oxford History of the British Empire*. Admittedly such a severe approach would have taken much of the fun out of the quest, which reaches its climax in the demonstration of the uniqueness of the African colonial state. The prey roams through all parts of the world, from the seventeenth century on, in its Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, British, French, and Belgian incarnations. As Young takes aim, he displays an astonishing mastery of historical sources and social theory. He captures the colonial state in its multiple personality as it reorders society, political structure, and economic production in Africa in less than a century. The post-colonial beast is still at large.

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ASIA

THOMAS A. WILSON. *Genealogy of the Way: The Construction and Uses of the Confucian Tradition in Late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 376. $49.50.

Thomas A. Wilson's objective is "to describe the strategies Confucians, beginning in the Sung, used to define what it meant to be a Ju: an authentic disciple of the Sage, Confucius" (p. 9). His premise—a correct one—is that in seeking to define true Ju status, one influential school of Confucians (the Tao School) conducted a discriminatory program in selection and exclusion from about the twelfth century A.D. on. In addition to developing a proprietary mode of discourse that Wilson calls "genealogical," these discriminating Confucians codified their views of others through such "signifying practices" (p. 2) as the Confucian "anthology" (a term for which there is no direct Chinese equivalent). Genealogical discourse and Confucian anthology are Wilson's two foci of concern, and they form the two parts of his exhaustive study.

Wilson begins part 1 by providing a historical overview of the role of genealogical discourse in the overlapping processes leading to the canonization of the eventually dominant Tao School. After preliminary consideration, he determines that the content of the state-sponsored civil service examinations was a necessary but insufficient agent of orthodoxy. Wilson instead finds enshrinement of deceased sages and worthies in the Confucian temple to have been the preeminent factor in the canonization process, thus establishing the temple as the spatial arbiter of orthodoxy. He next discusses the consistency of the language of Confucian genealogical discourse through the ages and concludes that the notion of the secrecy of truth most enabled Tao School proponents to deny "insight into the Tao to so many disciples of sages" (p. 82). Part 1 ends with an investigation of the reputed origins of a Confucian "genealogy of the Way" in earlier literature, particularly in the often-cited final section of *Mencius*. After surveying a range of putative antecedents, Wilson concludes that neither *Mencius* nor any other text roughly contemporary with it can be regarded as the source for Confucian genealogical discourse but that the influence of Buddhist precedents, as evidenced by the later appearance of similarly constructed Confucian anthologies, must have been both positive and great.

Wilson devotes the beginning of part 2 entirely to describing the formal aspects and variety of the Confucian anthology. He then employs representative anthologies to illuminate the pivotal issue of the eleventh-century "revival" of Confucianism. Assuming that it required a century or more to acquire historical coherence as a significant event, he illustrates how the Tao School leadership conflated this resurgence with its own emergence. Wilson finally demonstrates how anthologies can elucidate the contentious relationship between the rivals Chu Hsi (1130–1200) and Lu Hsiang-shan (1139–1193).

While its errors of fact are small and few, some of this book's shakily supported conjectures, being almost entirely limited to part 1, have major ramifications. I cite only one instance, which is absolutely crucial to Wilson's claim that the clearest change in the nature of Confucianism from T'ang to Sung times was "a movement from a focus on the task of explicating the Tao as recorded in the classics to a focus on using the classics to illuminate the Tao itself" (p. 151). Wilson earlier argues that Tao School members employed a new "unmediated realization of the Way" (p. 83) that was no longer dependent on either a teacher or the written canon. But apart from supplying one supportive Chu Hsi quotation, he relies for the preponderance of his evidence on the views of the modern historian of philosophy T'ang Chün-i (1909–1978). Moreover, when he later offers Chu Hsi's reference to Ch'eng Hao (1032–1085) as having "attained the untransmitted learning [of the sages] in the classics" (p. 123), one can just as easily take this period quotation as support for precisely the opposite argument.

Despite such weaknesses, this book is a thoughtful and meticulous one that exhibits many strengths. Perhaps its greatest contribution is the revealing light it casts on the seductive transparency of genealogical

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discourse. Wilson observes that "few Confucians recognized this discourse as opaque—that the Confucian tradition was not so much a lineage about which they in turn spoke genealogically, but rather was a lineage because they spoke about it genealogically" (p. 11). Such blindness is hardly limited to their time. Without Wilson's timely discernment, this opaqueness would likely continue to escape the notice of far too many scholars who now study these Confucians.

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MARK A. ALLEE. *Law and Local Society in Late Imperial China: Northern Taiwan in the Nineteenth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 347. $45.00.

Mark A. Allee's fine volume complements other recent studies (such as Kathryn Bernhardt and Philip Huang's edited volume, *Civil Law in Qing and Republican China* [1994]) that exploit Chinese legal archives for the purposes of social history and seek to revise received wisdom concerning the role of law in modern Chinese history. Allee has immersed himself in one particular set of legal records: the Dan-Xin archives, which contain the extant proceedings and deliberations of the court situated in the city of Xinzhu, Danshui subprefecture, northern Taiwan, in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The core of this volume divides neatly in two parts: detailed studies of five civil and criminal cases and an examination of the structure and process of the local court and its activities, both informed by Allee's expert reading of the Dan-Xin archives. The case studies are presented first and illustrate how the legal machinery of the state dealt with such complex conflicts as armed robbery, rent resistance, boundary disputes, kidnapping, and inheritance disputes (problems faced by legal personnel throughout China, although the Dan-Xin cases reveal certain special Taiwanese dimensions). Allee has chosen his cases for complexity as well as content and presents them in such a way as to explore the many dimensions of the cases rather than to arrive at facile generalizations.

The second half of the book examines petitions and petitioners (litigants, filers, scriveners, pettifoggers), warrants, arrests, and those who carry out arrests (yamen runners and other formal and informal members of the local court). This second section provides much more detail than is available in more general studies of local administration, and it is particularly valuable because it is based on Allee's readings of the concrete activities of the court rather than on the often idealized treatments found in magistrate's handbooks and other such sources. This section is thus useful as a reference tool in addition to its value as social history. I might add that the reader can begin with either the case studies or the more structural description of the local court, according to his or her needs or interests.

The material in this volume illustrates that even if mediation was the preferred avenue of resolution, Chinese of the late imperial era did not hesitate to seek legal recourse when other means proved unfruitful. Nor did fear of punishment prevent those implicated in legal proceedings from filing obviously fraudulent suits and countersuits. For its part, the state, if hardly "interventionist" (the initiative to begin legal proceedings came most often from private citizens), took its duties as dispenser of justice seriously. This varied, of course, with the personality and energy of particular magistrates. In this sense, Allee's findings are in accord with those of John Shepherd (*Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600–1800* [1993]), who emphasizes the positive engagement of the Qing state in the administration of the island frontier. His findings will also be useful to those engaged in research on the history of "civil society" in China, as he presents new evidence of the capacity of the Chinese state and its relations with local society in the crucial nineteenth century.

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CONSTANTINE NOMIKOS VAPORIS. *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 163.) Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 372. $55.00.

In this book, Constantine Nomikos Vaporis declares his intention "to examine Tokugawa society ... through the prism of travel and transport," with a focus on "the relationship between state and society" (p. 2). His superbly documented study is distinguished by the rich texture of his narrative, which draws not only on official documents but also in innovative ways on travel diaries and guides, travel literature, and even woodblock prints. Indeed, as a monograph on domestic travel and transport in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Japan, this book is excellent. Vaporis makes an exceptionally important contribution to our understanding of one of the most intriguing and understudied aspects of Tokugawa society.

Like its subject, Vaporis's study is distinguished by its marvelous organization: topics are addressed in a logical order and the narrative flows with exceptional precision and clarity. He meticulously examines the initial formation of the superb system of roads, bridges, and river crossings in Tokugawa Japan (1600–1868); the manner in which this system was maintained through levies on local labor and other taxes; the functions and financing of the post stations or barriers (*seki*); and the mechanics of application for and use of individual travel permits. The attention to detail is extraordinary, as when one learns what were the preferred regional souvenirs purchased by travelers for well-wishers at home (p. 224).

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It is principally in the last third of the book that Vaporis turns to the question of what one may glean from travel regarding the relationship between the state and society or, more precisely, between the state and individuals of different classes. Here the work's contribution is less clear, leaving important questions not just unanswered but unasked. Vaporis examines the relative ease with which individuals were able to obtain travel permits during the second half of the Tokugawa period. Ostensibly, these transit permits and the more flexible passports were only available to individuals who traveled for official and commercial purposes or for religious pilgrimage. Literary sources make clear, however, that by the end of the seventeenth century passports were readily available to those using the pretext of pilgrimage for recreational travel, including such purposes as sightseeing and romantic liaisons. Vaporis further indicates the extent to which the examination of such permits by barrier officials had grown increasingly lax during the eighteenth century; these factors contributed on the one hand to the emergence of a domestic travel industry and on the other hand to the secularization of pilgrimage.

It is here that one might have expected more from Vaporis. One of the more compelling questions in the study of early modern Japan concerns the aspiration of the Tokugawa state to exercise absolute control over land and individuals. This aspiration was remarkably successful during the Tokugawa period's first half century but appears to have declined during the remaining two hundred years. In various ways, such as its laissez-faire economic policies, its retreat from the enforcement of repressive religious policies and sumptuary legislation, and its broader cultural liberality after an initial outburst of ideological production, the Tokugawa state apparently came to recognize the limits of its control over what individuals thought, said, or did and relaxed its vigilance over essentially unenforceable legislation in numerous areas. This retreat on the part of the state was uneven, however, as it sought from time to time to tighten what it recognized as its lax enforcement of existing policies and legislation.

One would like to know whether the state's attitude toward individual travel followed this waxing and waning of the state's absolutist ambitions. Further, can one discern in the state's permissive policies toward travel additional evidence of the rise of a private sphere in Tokugawa society? It is unfair for me to chastise an author for not addressing questions of particular interest to myself, but it is precisely the excellence of Vaporis's documentation of travel and transport that whets one's appetite for deeper levels of analysis. Accordingly, with great admiration for what he has accomplished, I was nonetheless left with the hope that Vaporis will one day address some of these remaining questions in further work on the subject.

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KÄREN WIGEN. *The Making of a Japanese Periphery, 1750–1920.* (Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power, number 3.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 336. $62.50.

This clearly written study exemplifies the ever-greater sophistication with which scholars analyze Japan's transformation from early modernity to industrial empire. Kären Wigen focuses on the Lower Ina Valley in the southern Japanese Alps, originally a fairly autonomous economy and polity that was soon marginalized by being "incorporated into larger political and economic circuits" after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. "Yet the process of local peripheralization was deliberately managed," Wigen asserts, "to allow Japan as a whole to emerge as a new and privileged core within Asia" (p. 13).

Wigen ably employs three geographical techniques: environmental analysis, mapping spatial patterns of political and economic life, and synchronic/diachronic examination of the region as an integrated unit. By 1750, cisalpine Ina was already "subprotoindustrial": agriculturally self-supporting while also producing high value-added lacquerwares, paper goods, and silk and cotton textiles for the national market. Iida, the feudal domain in the valley center, gradually lost control over crafts and capital to surrounding rural landlords.

Although never fully secluded from overseas trade, the Japanese economy was thrown wide open to international markets after 1859, with convulsive effects on silk output and currency debasement. Starting in the 1870s, the new Meiji regime sharply curtailed local autonomy, built highways and railways that disrupted the valley's role in interregional trade, and promoted demand for Lower Ina's silk and timber, bringing outside capital and labor to the area. Female workers powered sericulture; males produced lumber and charcoal. By 1920, Lower Ina was reduced to a peripheral industrial supply zone, but the foreign exchange its cocoons and floss earned, Wigen argues, helped finance Japan's military expansion: "the rapidity of its subordination to the new nation-state actively contributed to Japan's industrial and imperial successes" (p. 21).

Amply illustrated by maps, figures, and tables, this finely crafted local history yields cogent cameos of river transport, pack-horse rivalries, enterprising wholesalers, and hapless domainal efforts to regulate trade. Consciously choosing a tack different from the regional-systems theorist G. William Skinner, Wigen documents a range of population variation for Lower Ina that "shows how misleading it can be to generalize about demographic processes across an economically diverse region" (p. 117). Despite upheavals in silk and capital markets, the valley's economy more than held its own during the early Meiji innovations, but "by 1880, outside capital had begun to insinuate itself into Shimoina's circuits of production and exchange" (p. 179). The Matsukata deflation of 1882 had surprisingly

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minor effects on class differentiation in Lower Ina; instead, the region as a whole was weakened vis-à-vis the prefectural and national capitals. Thereafter, silk and timber led precarious but peripheral prosperity into the 1920s, until the world demand for silk collapsed during the next decade.

By 1920 conversion to these two industries had sapped the valley's economy: "its environment was degraded, its export base had contracted, its population had become increasingly dependent on imported food, and even its core communities were steadily losing high-level processing to other areas" (p. 221). Much of Lower Ina's textile industry was locally owned, Wigen contends, yet paid such low wages that "the work of young women in sericulture rooms and filatures up and down the valley helped finance Japan's colonial exploits" (p. 220). This hypothesis, advanced elsewhere in greater detail by E. Patricia Tsurumi (*Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* [1990]), merits more heed than most scholars have paid it.

So absorbing is this volume that one wishes Wigen had carried the story forward to the 1990s. Its flaws are minor: farming gets relatively little attention, the roles of city banks and industrial enterprises seem a bit indistinct, and individual voices are not often heard (although episodes of local protest are brought to light). This fine work of historical geography sets a high standard of excellence for author and reader alike.

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HIMANSHU P. RAY. *The Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 234. $24.00.

Himanshu P. Ray's book is one of the first systematic attempts to understand ancient India's trade contacts with both Southwest and Southeast Asia in a single work. The author studies the early growth of Buddhism in South Asia and its relationship with these trade contacts along with the technology of ancient shipping. The time frame is roughly the third century B.C. until the fifth century A.D.

Ray has performed the valuable service of traveling to a range of museums, archaeological sites, and collections to view assemblages and interview excavators. The result is a work that blends in an admirable way a wide variety of literary references with discussions of archaeological evidence. This methodology is especially impressive in the treatment of Southeast Asia, where the author has brought together a number of recent research findings in a synthetic whole.

A major theme is the reappraisal of evidence on Roman contacts with South Asia. Ray strongly supports recent scholarship that views Arab or Hellenistic intermediaries as typical actors in commerce and the Persian Gulf as the major transshipment point at least until the beginning of the Christian era, when there was a greater possibility of direct contact with the Red Sea and Egypt. This means that a variety of artifacts, such as rouletted ware, amphorae, glass, or coins, reached India through "a complex mechanism of trade" (p. 36) that was "predominantly under private control" (p. 40). For Southeast Asia Ray's major concern is the impact of commerce during a period of "transition towards centrality" and the "establishment of highly ranked groups" amid a "shifting mosaic of chieftaincies" (p. 101). These discussions are studded with excellent references to ports (along with good maps) and trade goods.

In chapter 5, attempting to follow through on the book's subtitle, Ray links Buddhism to the symbol structures and institutional forms that accompanied commercial expansion. The chapter is required reading for anyone interested in these issues, especially the section on symbols (pp. 152–53), but Ray does not advance the argument very far. The chapter has several major structural problems, such as the difficulty of tracing Buddhist connections in Southeast Asia earlier than the fourth century, although Ray masterfully argues for trade contacts much earlier. The chapter is full of sections that divert arguments away from the thesis about maritime trade, including discussions of the Kushana and Satavahana states, the locations of Buddhist monastic sites in India, the methods of constructing monuments, Buddhist sects ("a complex issue which cannot be resolved" [p. 148]), and the social backgrounds of donors mostly at sites far from the ocean. Ray also becomes involved in the debate on why Buddhism declined in India (pp. 160–161, 196–199) without coming any closer to a definite conclusion than anyone else. In the end, we are left with intriguing but underdeveloped suggestions for the mechanism of ideological transmission that required strong political authority combined with agrarian surplus and a market economy (pp. 5, 153, 157, 161).

The chapter on early maritime archaeology assembles some good previous research on boat construction in the Indian Ocean but suffers from similar problems of divergences or repetitions, as in treatments of ports and wind patterns. It could easily have been dismantled and integrated into the earlier chapters. The conclusion also wanders into issues of the history of Deccan or Deccan Buddhism—certainly Ray's strength but hardly relevant to maritime trade—before ending with one paragraph on possible Chinese links.

The structure of this book breaks down about halfway through, but the synthetic treatment is quite valuable for scholars in the field and the bibliography is great. The last sentence says it all: "The issue, however, requires further investigation" (p. 201).

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SUNIL KUMAR SEN. *Working Class Movements in India 1885–1975*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 187. $16.95.

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Sunil Kumar Sen was an activist-cum-historian who passed away before this book was published. It is a useful primer in the field of trade union history, covering the period from the inception of the Indian National Congress to the declaration of the Emergency by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1975.

This is a survey book that deals first with the composition of the labor force and then, chronologically, with the development of trade unions, mainly by middle-class "outsiders" with worker participation. It presents a fuller account of the labor movement in Jamshedpur in a separate chapter and has a short section on women in the labor movement.

This work is not easily differentiated from quite a few other surveys of Indian trade union and labor history. Sen was a communist activist who played a role in the building of *kisan sabhas* in Bengal during 1946 and 1947. His participation in this movement enabled him to write his most original and valuable book, *Agrarian Struggle in Bengal 1946–47* (1972).

In this more recent book, Sen identifies completely with activists working for "the people" who usually turn out to be Indian communists but occasionally are of a somewhat different political persuasion (socialist or Congressman). As an activist and communist from an era (up to 1964) in which the Indian communists, at least, worked together, he is troubled by the splits, factionalism, and divisiveness among communists, socialists, and Congress members.

At the beginning of his book, Sen mentions that this work is "analytical rather than empirical." It is not at all clear what he means by this, since most of the work is simply a chronological account of strikes, issues debated, numbers of trade unions at different points in time, and membership numbers for and political affiliations of these unions. This seems to me to be a summary of empirical information about unions and the labor force.

Where Sen gets lost is in the exploration of more complicated issues that necessitate more sophisticated investigation, complex analysis, and explanation than he provides. He decries the splits and the factionalism but makes no effort to explain why they seem endemic and have severely harmed the development of a more powerful labor movement in India.

In response to the continuing and troubling communalism in India, he devotes sections of several chapters to the question of the connection between the working class and communalism. Sen decries the reactionary forces responsible for Hindu and Muslim communalism, but he gives no explanation as to why workers have been involved with communalism except to suggest that their class consciousness is insufficiently developed or that they have been misled.

Such superficial explanations are not very helpful to the student of Indian society and politics. Perhaps more limited and penetrating works like Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Rethinking Working-Class History, Bengal 1890–1940* (1989) need to be produced before more survey books.

Because Sen did not live to see his book published, I would have been happy if his publisher had made a more devoted effort to have it checked and proofread carefully. At one point (p. 122) we even learn that B. C. Roy was hostile to a strike by engineering workers in 1963 and 1964. As is well known (and noted in Sen's own glossary, p. 171), Roy died in 1962.

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K. N. O. DHARMADASA. *Language, Religion, and Ethnic Assertiveness: The Growth of Sinhalese Nationalism in Sri Lanka*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1992. Pp. 366. $49.50.

This book investigates the relationship between language and ethnic identity in a society that has had deep concerns about both. In precolonial Sri Lanka, literary activity was generally limited to Buddhist texts, and being Sinhala was associated with practicing Buddhism. When literary activity radiated into new areas of knowledge in the nineteenth century, Sinhala intellectuals looked to language use and literary form for other signs of ethnic identity and their own self-worth. With Buddhism as the focus, what is said has had implications for identity claims; with new forms of literary expression, how things are said has become just as important. As one language reformer put it in the 1930s, "Signs are appearing that Sinhala will become an uncivilized language . . . Need it be said that a people who use an uncivilized language are themselves uncivilized" (p. 274).

Two counterpoised processes have shaped the politics of language use since the British conquered the Kandyan kingdom in 1815. The first has vernacularized written Sinhala—a form markedly different from spoken Sinhala—making the written language accessible to readers other than Buddhist monks. The second process had the opposite effect, looking back to classical models of expression, preventing language change, and excluding all but the initiated. What has motivated this search for classical standards is not conservatism or scholasticism as such but a response that characterized resistance to colonial domination around the world. In the Sinhala case, this project insisted that cultural authenticity and civilized behavior not only depended on but were embodied in proper linguistic usage.

In order to trace the interplay of vernacularization and authentic usage, K. N. O. Dharmadasa turns to the best-known modern arbiters of Sinhala grammar and orthography, James D'Alwis and Munidasa Cumaratunga. The former, a nineteenth-century Sinhala Christian, had the idea that Sinhala "embodied the essence of the indigenous ethos" (p. 216); the latter, a twentieth-century reformer, went further, trying to purify Sinhala of all accretions to the island's putative original language and to create an idiom without Sanskrit, Pali, or Tamil influence. Their two lifetimes

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spanned the highest tide of British colonialism, and Dharmadasa treats their polemics as early volleys in a politics of identity that has grown violent since Independence.

Dharmadasa is at his best when he discusses usage and literary form. In this regard, chapter six's account of the impact of Christianity, school textbooks, and journalism on the evolution of literary Sinhala is a real achievement. His good work would have been better still had he taken it a step further. Guidance from Benedict Anderson on the imaginative effects created by print capitalism, Robert Darnton on the vicissitudes of the publishing business, and Kumari Jayawardena on the connection between the working-class labor movement and ethnic chauvinism would have broadened the focus from literary figures to the mechanisms by which some Sinhalas came to see a connection between language and identity. As it is, Dharmadasa has written a book on vernacularization that pays little attention to the mechanisms by which language and literature get down to the people.

Dharmadasa is not at his best when he speaks of ethnic identity, for here he depends on many of the nationalist assumptions he means to analyze. In characterizing the politics of language use, he exploits a single formula: events are traced back to a psychological need or a "historical consciousness" and those mental states cashed out at the level of the ethnic group. He writes, for example: "Here we see the linking together of anti-Christian and anti-imperial feeling with the antipathy to the Moors along with the age-old antagonism to the Tamils" (p. 139); "traces of primordialism still lingered in the psychological make-up of these leaders" (p. 230); and "there was a deep-seated fear in the Sinhala historical consciousness that the Sinhala people should be vigilant . . . with regard to the . . . numerical strength of the Indians" (p. 282). The problem is not just the unsubstantiated character of these assertions or their psychologism but their way of overriding the processes that linked the politics of language to particular kinds of Sinhalas under particular circumstances.

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N. G. BUTLIN. *Forming a Colonial Economy: Australia 1810–1850.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 263.

This posthumously published volume fits in with earlier works by N. G. Butlin, including *Economics and the Dreamtime* (1993); *Australian National Accounts 1788–1983* (1985); *Investment in Australian Economic Development 1861–1900* (1964); *Australian Domestic Product, Investment and Foreign Borrowing 1861–1938/39* (1962). Here Butlin covers the period from 1810, two decades after the British began colonizing eastern Australia as a convict depot, to 1850, a year before colonial economic development took a frenetic turn with the discovery of gold.

How and why did the early Australian economy take the shape it did? Central to Butlin's analysis is the "synergism" of an imported British market economy with colonial natural resource conditions. Institutions, policies, practices, and attitudes of Australian colonists largely replicated those of Britain. At the same time, the formation of the Australian economy was influenced by the Colonial Office, the local colonial officials and private sector, and conflict with the Aboriginal population over natural resources. As outlined by Butlin, Australia's economic achievements between 1810 and 1840 included establishing a reasonably flexible market economy, a relatively complex structure of economic activities, a substantial export capacity, and an ability to attract private British capital while maintaining an extremely high rate of economic expansion.

In terms of finance, Britian and the colonies were largely at odds. While the home government constantly tried to exercise fiscal restraints, it was in the interest of colonists to try and push as much of the expense of settlement as possible onto the British Treasury. Colonial officials used various budgetary tactics for tapping the British purse, such as rewarding official services with British-subsidized convict labor and employing convict public servants. Early colonial governors were invariably chastised by British administrators for their profligate spending. Colonial financial obligations and revenues quickly escalated from about 1810. Tensions over the transfer from British to colonial public funding continued, however, until the gold rushes of the 1850s ensured the colonies' rapid development.

Butlin sees Australian economic development as marked by exploitation of natural resources on the one hand and burgeoning urban activity on the other. Early development was manifest in expanding argiculture, pastoralism, marine harvests, timber-getting, and mining. From the beginning of European occupation, however, there was a heavy urban concentration and growth of activity that, according to Butlin, was at least as important as the development of natural resources. Most of those arriving in Australia were from cities and were predisposed to urban life. By 1810, Sydney was already a thriving hub of manufacturing, craft enterprises, and retailing.

Butlin's analysis suggests that the 1820s in particular was a transitional decade in Australia's economic development. Convicts were increasingly diverted from public to private employment. The governor's colonial authority became less autocratic. Economic decision-making was progressively taken out of the hands of both British and colonial officials. Britain reduced its fiscal commitment to Australia, while private investment increased. Banking facilities spread throughout the colonies and a monetized system replaced the earlier barter economy. The boundaries of colonial settlement were greatly expanded. There was a new emphasis on the production of fine wool for export,

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although it was not until after 1840 that wool became the leading export earner.

The book is noteworthy for its demographic work as well as its tracing of economic change. Butlin scrutinizes the supply of convicts to Australia, who, with ex-convicts, supplied the majority of the labor force until the mid-1830s. From that time they were quickly displaced by "free" immigrants. Indeed, Butlin notes that the distinction between convict transportation and assisted migration was often shadowy. He suggests an area for future research might be whether assisted migration often acted as a type of informal criminal transportation. In any case, both sources supplied highly skilled human capital. Over half of the convicts were recorded as having "industrial" skills, while the convict labor market showed surprising flexibility.

As Butlin freely acknowledges, many of the questions raised in this volume cannot be resolved with any statistical precision. The book relies heavily on "guesstimates." The final chapter begins an examination of Australia's first large-scale economic downturn in the 1840s, but regrettably the author died before its completion. This volume is perhaps most original for its foray into the largely unexplored topics of early public finance in Australia and the effect of British fiscal policies. It adds appreciably to the corpus of Butlin's work.

MICHAEL STURMA
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W. G. MCMINN. *Nationalism and Federalism in Australia*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. vi, 317. $32.00.

As Australia debates whether to embrace a republic by the year 2000, historians and political scientists have begun producing a plethora of stimulating and engrossing studies dealing with questions of nationalism, patriotism, federation, and imperialism. W. G. McMinn's book is a further offering in what is fast becoming one of the most productive areas of Australian historiography.

McMinn is especially well placed to participate in this debate. His *Constitutional History of Australia* (1979) continues to be widely used and appreciated and provides the underpinnings for the current study, in which he traces the development of nationalism and federalism in Australia.

In general terms, the book is a stimulating and provocative look at the concept of an Australian nation. McMinn traces the origins of the burgeoning tide of national sentiment that resulted in the federation of the six Australian colonies into the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901. More interestingly, however, he also investigates the strong forces present within the six colonies that inhibited and restricted the move toward federation. Australian history often tends to be read backward: because federation did take place in 1901 and because the new nation underwent its baptism of blood on the beaches of Gallipoli and in the trenches of the Western Front, historians sometimes assume the inevitability of the nation-building and federation processes.

It is one of the real strengths of McMinn's splendid work that he gives full weight to what he calls "Centrifugal Forces" in his account of nineteenth-century political processes in the Australian colonies. He builds into his story a full treatment of the regional loyalties and local patriotisms that militated against the development of any form of unitary government.

In addition to the forces of local particularism, McMinn points to the imperial federation movement that aspired, or perhaps conspired, to knit the separate Australian colonies into a federation with Britain as a force that deliberately ran counter to the nascent Australian nationalism embodied in the slogan of Edmund Barton: "a nation for a continent, and a continent for a nation" (p. 1). It is a great pity that publishing schedules made it impossible for McMinn to have the benefit of reading Luke Trainor's *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism* (1994), which covers the pan-Anglo-Saxon nationalism embraced by the imperial federationists and its impact on colonial recognition that a sense of ethnic Australian identity was emerging in the final years of the nineteenth century. Trainor and McMinn complement one another, and the two monographs together make up a complete account of the political and constitutional issues under debate at the time the two referendums on federation were put to the Australian people.

As with any study covering more than two hundred years, there are small errors and repetitions of old outdated orthodoxies. One example is McMinn's repetition of the rumor that it was Matthew Flinders who "coined" the designation Australia (p. 6). Actually, Australia was coined by Alexander Dalrymple in the eighteenth century, and McMinn's speculations concerning the effect of "Flinders' poetic name" on Governor Lachlan Macquarie are of little consequence. Similarly, it was in 1688 that William Dampier visited the coast of Western Australia and described the Aborigines as "the miserablest people in the world," not 1697.

By and large, however, the book succeeds in making accessible the historical background to the current debate over the republic and discusses the concepts of nationalism, federalism, and republicanism in a way that questions the inevitability of a republican outcome and also the future of nationalism within a multi-cultural society. The tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces, so ably demonstrated by McMinn, continues to plague Australia and renders this fine book both timely and thought provoking.

F. G. CLARKE
Macquarie University

ROGER C. THOMPSON. *Religion in Australia: A History*. (Australian Retrospectives.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 165. $29.95.

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Until recently, the history of religion and churches in Australia has not been well served. Sometimes it has been despised. Real history is widely assumed to be about power (political, economic, social, ideological, and cultural), although some of the more secularly sentimental wish to see it also as about the myth-focused birth of national identity. Some excellent specialist religious histories (biographical, thematic, institutional) have appeared, but in the mainstream of Australian scholarship religion's impact is seen as negligible. There are, however, some religious histories of impressive range. For instance, the influence of Catholicism on the Australian Irish has been closely studied by Patrick O'Farrell, and Ian Breward has recently written a solid institutional history of the major Australian churches. Roger C. Thompson's study, though brief, is, in concept, more ambitious than either. His subject is not churches in Australia as such, but a wider category: religion. His formal definition of religion is unhelpful: a fixed relation between humans and some impressively transcendent entity, perhaps described as "God." If such a relation had a history, it would not be accessible to ordinary historians. What Thompson usually means in practice, however, is more manageable: religious beliefs and practices as these find sociocultural expression.

This means that, in principle, he is as much interested in the laity and religious movements among them as in clerical agendas prescribed from pulpits and platforms or in solemn assemblies. Since his work is, as he says, not primary research but synthesized from extant publications, he has, however, a standing problem: getting behind this institutional focus to religious outlooks and patterns as a whole.

The story Thompson sketches begins with the arrival, with the First Fleet, of an Anglican ascendancy whose role was to help sustain law and civic morality in the convict settlement. The ensuing pattern was for the religious history of the continent to move onto a kind of three-lane track. On the first track—that of social conservatism—moved first Anglicans, then Anglicans and other Protestants, and eventually and until recently, Anglicans, other Protestants, and Catholics. A religio-civic ascendancy thus found a progressively broader base. On the second track moved Christian "radicals," whose grasp of true Christian principles was impliedly firmer than that of the religio-civic conservatives but who, largely on that account, were marginalized in churches and state. Their story tend to be told as one of prophets receiving less honor than they deserved. On the third track moved heterogeneous others, often working class and, in recent years, mostly of no religion or no Christian religion, about whose religious outlooks (except, to an extent, those of Aborigines) Thompson says relatively little. As a narrative framework this works tidily, but the crucial question of method, which Thompson does not address, is how far it does so by replicating the categories of the largely denominationally focused secondary sources on which he relies.

The tyranny of the view from the pulpit is not to be escaped so easily.

Richard Ely
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UNITED STATES

Robert S. Tilton. *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture, number 83.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 251. Cloth $59.95, paper $17.95.

Pocahontas is a name that evokes a response in every American. For many, she represents the early and short-lived hope of a benign relationship between European colonists and American natives. Pocahontas, favorite daughter of the "Great Emperor" Powhatan, appears in the early Jamestown record as the one who reached across cultural boundaries to help and protect the colonists; ultimately, so the story goes, she crossed from her own culture and became the Christian Englishwoman Rebecca Rolfe. In many ways, her story resonates with the multicultural issues of our times, as it has stirred previous generations struggling with their own concerns.

Robert S. Tilton seeks to illuminate the ways in which Pocahontas's story was appropriated and reshaped in antebellum America. The record offers two focal points with very different valences. One is Pocahontas's famous intervention in the ceremony that Captain John Smith thought was his intended execution. She was then a child of about eleven, and her act could be seen as an exhibition of pure courage. The other is Pocahontas's marriage to John Rolfe, and the son, Thomas, who lived on to begin an important line of descendants after her tragic early death. As Tilton demonstrates, the two foci command quite different rhetorical strategies.

The Rolfe family was the more important focus in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a period in which, according to Tilton, the dream of an amalgamated American nation seemed realistic. Families proudly proclaimed descent from Pocahontas, who was universally described by the adjective "amiable." This use of the Pocahontas story begins with Virginians such as Robert Beverley and William Byrd II, who envisioned a "quiet genocide" through incorporation (p. 25). By highlighting the failure of founding generations to follow up on the precedent, Tilton argues, these writers could shift the blame for conflict back on their predecessors.

In the early nineteenth century, according to Tilton, Americans gave up any thought of amalgamation and instead turned to Indian removal to the newly acquired lands beyond the Mississippi River. Intermarriage was reformulated as miscegenation, imparting a very different valence to the John Rolfe-Pocahontas marriage. Now the story of the Indian princess's "rescue" of the English captain took center stage. Both Smith and

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Pocahontas could now be seen as representing a new proto-American identity. Tilton argues that they became central to the search for an American *Aeneid*. Soon, novelist John Davis adjusted Pocahontas's age and introduced a romantic involvement with Smith.

Ultimately Pocahontas became a pawn in the culture wars before the Civil War. Smith's account was rejected as invention by northern writers who sought to discredit Jamestown as the source of the American founding myth. The Pilgrims' Thanksgiving was offered as a substitute and more suitable image. At the same time, national institutions appropriated the name Pocahontas in the service of the union.

Tilton's book offers an intriguing introduction to the vast literature centering on the Pocahontas story and the number and variety of meanings Americans found in it. Tilton's strengths are the breadth of his vision and his willingness to consider all texts, from ship figureheads to romance novels. The book also offers and analyzes numerous pictures of Pocahontas to amplify the written record. Tilton's analysis is weakened by a reluctance to close consistently with issues of class and gender. Pocahontas was always represented not only as a woman but also as a princess. Tilton mentions the very different meaning that would have attached to a Euroamerican union with a native man, or with a woman of lower status, but he does not confront such issues systematically. The later chapters, with their focus on miscegenation, blur these issues further and imply that race was the only issue.

KAREN ORDAHL KUPPERMAN
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GILLIAN AVERY. *Behold the Child: American Children and Their Books 1621–1922*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 226. $29.95.

More than a mere survey, this book by Gillian Avery gives a witty, lively, astute account of how a distinctive American children's literature developed. Avery has a sure touch that moves through three centuries of American children's books and periodicals with dispatch and yet lingers long enough to give the flavor of what each generation put before children. Although entertaining, the book has a serious social purpose: Avery ties children's literature to child rearing styles, to the cultural consciousness of different nations, and to the development of American national self-awareness.

Avery argues that for a century and a half after the establishment of the first American colonies, children's literature came almost exclusively from England. The War of 1812 disrupted commerce and made publishers look for American authors. They largely aped their English counterparts, and a book's contents provided little clue as to whether it was published in England or America.

In America's early years, its children's literature had a heavy moralizing tone, aiming to instill early piety rather than to entertain. The most dramatic early works recounted children's death-bed scenes, with dying youngsters asserting their faith in God as their weeping families saw them ascend to their heavenly rewards. These emotionally charged accounts permeated American and English consciousness, influencing Dickens and hosts of lesser-known writers. The dying children theme "clogged third-rate English fiction" well into the Victorian period, although Americans, with their practicality and optimism, discarded it sooner than their more somber English counterparts.

In the eighteenth century, a new current began in the children's literature of both England and America. As religious zealotry lessened, authors—Maria Edgeworth foremost among them—produced books designed to help children learn practical skills and rational conduct. Geared to the go-ahead, scientifically inclined middle classes who wanted educated children, Edgeworth's books instructed through dialogue and had credible child characters. These children did not waste away or die; they explored, learned, experimented, and engaged in intellectual pursuits. Their mothers guided their learning, responding with "irritating reasonableness" to their questions. Popular in England, although viewed as dangerously radical by church figures, Edgeworth had her greatest influence in America.

By the mid-eighteenth century, America's children's literature began to diverge from its English parent. America began to produce distinctive periodicals and books for children, ones that emphasized self-reliant, capable, independent children. The boys in these works had pluck—and also often luck. Displaying a national preoccupation, many struck it rich, their early ambition and industriousness rewarded. Knowledge, Avery says, replaced early piety as a goal, and knowledge was expected to pay off. These boys made their own futures, however improbably. English children's books, in contrast, often had greater literary merit, but they had narrower, more class-bound themes, depicting the complexities of children's relations with betters and inferiors. Children had to make their way in a world of ritual, and however skilled some authors' depictions of that ritual, a literature based on revealing its intricacies did not travel well.

Avery succinctly comments on differences between English and American culture based on readings of their children's fiction. In England, middle-class children lived sheltered lives, cosseted in nurseries, separated from the adult world. They often ate separately from their parents; Avery comments that John Locke's prescriptions on what to feed children (a low-fat, low-salt, largely grain-based diet, spare and unvaried) prevailed in England until a declining servant class finally put an end to separate meals for adults and children 250 years after Locke wrote. In England, children developed their own worlds to a greater extent than in America, often based on fantasy and shared opposition to the adult world that operated powerfully—but rather distantly—upon them. The Brönte children, with their extraordinarily elaborated

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fantasy worlds, carried this farther than others, driven by isolation and talent, but they were not alone in their construction of alternative realities. Not surprisingly, whimsy had a larger place in English children's fiction than in books geared to America's more practical-minded children.

American children lived more fully at the center of their families, and Avery argues that American children's literature excelled at the portrayal of the domestic. The kitchen loomed large in such fiction; ignored by English writers as the province of servants and the place from which food was sent to those who ate it, in American children's literature it was the mother's work place, the font of family warmth, of delicious smells, of talk. Children and adults did not have layers of servants between them but had direct, unmediated relations where they shared living spaces and tasks.

Finally, in American children's fiction girls fared better than in England. While in English literature they were still dying, wasting away of unnamed illnesses as the penalty for being too loud, too disobedient, or too frank, in American stories they were—sometimes at least—acting independently and capably and surviving. English literature, perversely, pays tribute to what was required to break girls' spirits, with all too many authors inclining them to pay the ultimate penalty, death, for violating norms of propriety. Their scapegrace cousins, the Americans, got away with more, accounting for the popularity of American girls' stories in England and the unexportability of much English fiction to the American side.

Written with wit and judgement, this book entertains and enlightens and is also beautifully produced and illustrated. It fills what had been a major gap in knowledge of American children's literature and does so in a thought-provoking way. Avery does not develop any elaborated social theory, but her observations, although brief, are stimulating and valuable.

JULIA WRIGLEY
City University of New York

ROBERT C. FULLER. *Naming the Antichrist: The History of an American Obsession*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. vi, 232. $25.00.

The title of this book provides important clues to both the content and the author's perspective. Robert C. Fuller has written a survey of the ways in which Americans from colonial times to the present have employed the figure of the Antichrist, a biblical image shrouded in exegetical ambiguity, to identify and condemn those with whom they have religious and cultural differences. The elusive nature of this symbol has been an advantage because there are no absolute limits on its application. To name someone, some movement, or something as the "Antichrist" is to damn unequivocally, for the Antichrist is thought to be in league with Satan and therefore the epitome of evil.

After an opening chapter that traces the history of the idea from biblical times to the Reformation era, Fuller divides the body of his study into five chronological periods during each of which Americans have made use of this figure. These chapters catalogue a now familiar tradition of individuals and groups who turned to apocalyptic imagery to make sense of their world and who in that process employed the figure of the Antichrist as the symbol of evil. Among those prominent in his account are Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards in early New England, Timothy Dwight and William Miller from the antebellum period, Cyrus I. Scofield at the end of the nineteenth century, Gerald Winrod and Gerald L. K. Smith during the decades after World War I, and Hal Lindsey in recent times. Each of these and scores of others have used the symbolism and the negative nuances attached to the figure of the Antichrist to attack their opponents and to vindicate their own positions. For Fuller the naming process itself is important: through it individuals dramatize and mythologize parties to the conflict.

Fuller builds his argument on the extensive body of scholarship published during the past three decades dealing with the apocalyptic tradition in America and the primary sources produced by advocates of this tradition. But this volume is more than simply a catalogue of the changing faces of the Antichrist in America. It represents a history of American religion and culture written from the standpoint of the central role played in it by apocalyptic thought and the figure of the Antichrist. In that sense, Fuller joins the growing number of scholars seeking new narratives for American religious history, albeit one that focuses on a dark side of American religion.

The most provocative (and in some sense most disconcerting) aspect of this volume involves the Epilogue in which Fuller reveals his own personal perspective on this "obsession" (p. 11), a word he chose consciously for its interpretive implications. It is evident long before then that his reading of most of the figures whom he discusses is very negative. But in the epilogue, after dealing quickly with the standard interpretations of the apocalyptic tradition, he articulates his own functionalist perspective on this American tradition. Fuller sees the use of the Antichrist as a device whereby communities define and strengthen their boundaries, reinforcing a sense of what he calls "tribalism" (p. 93) and "separatism" (p. 121). Depicting an enemy as the Antichrist is also a means of projecting one's own weaknesses or faults onto another. This is a viable interpretation. What makes it disconcerting is that Fuller waits until the end of the volume to add his own views, which read almost as an afterthought. The book might have been more engaging if he had introduced his theoretical perspective at the beginning and invited the reader to examine the specific examples with an eye toward the usefulness of his theory.

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CARL F. BOWMAN. *Brethren Society: The Cultural Transformation of a "Peculiar People."* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 491. Cloth $65.00, paper $19.95.

The Brethren or Dunkers of Carl F. Bowman's study originated in 1708 in Schwarzenau on the Eder River in Wittgenstein. They grew out of radical Pietism and shared much with the Anabaptists. The entire group emigrated in the early eighteenth century to the United States, where they grew from 1,500 members in 1790 to 58,000 in 500 congregations by 1880. Their largest descendant body today, the Church of the Brethren, has about 150,000 members and has recently experienced a decline typical of many mainstream Protestant denominations.

Bowman is a sociologist. His method is one of cultural analysis guided by a "conception of culture as a moral order consisting of symbolic boundaries and commitments" (p. 342). He avoids the concepts of acculturation and assimilation, instead describing a process of "symbolic bridging" (p. 344) through which progressive change agents infuse time-honored symbols and rituals with new meanings. Thus, for example, the treasured old Dunker tradition was noncreedal—"no creed but the New Testament" (p. 357)—a position quite consistent with the practice of requiring all members to live according to mutually accepted disciplines. Progressive Brethren leaders did not jettison the old symbol of noncreedalism but redefined it in individualistic terms to allow for the private interpretation of matters of faith and standards of membership. In the same way, the old teaching of "nonconformity," which had much stern content for maintaining group boundaries, got translated into a more diffuse and flexible affirmation of the "simple life" (p. 345). Nonresistance, once a part of nonconformity, was translated into the "peace position," (p. 349) which came to be indistinguishable from liberal Protestant social activism.

Three concluding chapters of sociological analysis form the heart of the book; these are prefaced by a historical narrative of three hundred pages. Bowman writes lively and accessible prose. He includes numerous long block quotations of primary sources. The narrative description, although rich with fascinating information, does not pretend to provide a balanced coverage of all eras. Early Brethren (Dunker) history and events after 1950 are passed over quickly. Bowman's primary interest is in the exceptionally rapid change of the Brethren away from traditionalist separationism, the "move beyond plainness" (p. 19), between the mid-nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century.

Bowman endows the "cultural transformation" of the Brethren with a sense of ironic loss. Taking seriously the traditionalist side of the "Dunker dilemmas" of separatism and outward mission, his stance revises the progressive bias that has dominated Brethren historiography in recent decades. As Bowman tells the story, progressive Dunker heroes such as Martin G. Brumbaugh, elected governor of Pennsylvania in 1914, helped to erode a worthy tradition. Brumbaugh wrote a Brethren history, *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America* (1899), in which he reclaimed the old tradition of "no force in religion" (p. 252). That doctrine once had signified a free-church rejection of established state churches, but Brumbaugh "reinterpreted [it] to mean that it was wrong 'to compel anyone to join or to leave the church of Christ'" (p. 252). As such redefinitions made their way into official church policy, the Brethren lost the power to secure their distinctive heritage in the face of modernizing change.

Bowman's study is a worthy model for historical description and sociological analysis of religious groups. It may also provide a sober lesson to ponder for anyone who proposes to revitalize churches or denominations through the redefinition of traditional symbols.

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CHRISTOPHER J. KAUFFMAN. *Ministry and Meaning: A Religious History of Catholic Health Care in the United States*. Foreword by MARTIN E. MARTY. New York: Crossroad. 1995. Pp. xiv, 354. $29.95.

Christopher J. Kauffman's institutional history of Catholic health care in America addresses the formation of Catholic identities from 1800 to 1890, the modernization and the persistence of the Catholic tradition from 1890 to 1950, and the acceleration of social and religious change from 1950 to 1985. Central to each of these three eras is the activity of Catholic nurses, physicians, chaplains, and hospital administrators who, with their medicine, policies, prayer, ritual, and symbols, established over 850 hospitals by the mid-1960s and ministered to the needs of patients.

Although Kauffman relies on the structural interpretations of Charles E. Rosenberg's *The Care of Strangers* (1987) and Rosemary Stevens's *In Sickness and in Wealth* (1989) to establish the broader strokes of historical development and the context for medical science, he leaves the reader with his own vivid imagery of religiosity and devotionalism conveyed in the German, Italian, and Polish enclaves of early Catholicism; the experience of Catholic nursing and benevolence during epidemics and war; the characteristic look of Catholic hospitals, with their statues, medals, holy water, and pictures; the nuns who enjoyed a unique degree of authority and autonomy in contrast with their secular counterparts; and the changing context of illness and the religious motivation of the nursing ministry. In essence, Kauffman illuminates the dynamics of caregiver and patient in the American Catholic experience.

Woven into this story of Catholic tradition and health care are the early encounters of these religious caregivers with secular governments and the effort

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among Catholics to strike a careful balance between their own identity as a self-conscious minority and the prevailing values of religious liberty, separation of church and state, volunteerism, and pluralism. Kauffman traces the transition in Catholic institutions into the post–Civil War era, when a strong institutional fabric emerged in Catholic health care. He points out, however, that the identity forged in the crucible of American culture developed in large measure out of the sharp contrasts among ethnic Catholics; the slow-to-emerge sensibilities regarding the treatment of African-American religious women; the expanding frontier and its impact on western Catholicism; and finally, the significance of Vatican II and the impact of Medicare and Medicaid. Each new issue imposed its own idiosyncracies on the professional formation of the sister-nurse identity and the hospital infrastructure.

Kauffman conveys a strong appreciation for the elements of evolving professionalism in nursing, and he is at his best when he recounts the regional and local diversity of America's Catholic subculture and the modernization and professionalization processes carried out by the Catholic Hospital Association. Missing in this study, however, is the sometimes strained relationship between Catholic hospitals and the classification system of the AMA; a fuller understanding of the dynamics of scientific medicine on the hospital and the sister-nurse; and the curious relationship that sometimes existed between sectarian medicine (homeopathic and eclectic) and the small Catholic hospital. These defects, however, are minor when compared to the overall value of the book, which is clearly focused, well written, and finely researched.

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ALAN SILVERSTEIN. *Alternatives to Assimilation: The Response of Reform Judaism to American Culture, 1840–1930*. (Brandeis Series in American Jewish History, Culture, and Life.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England for the Brandeis University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 275. $42.00.

That American Reform Judaism constituted an acculturating movement as it emerged during the nineteenth century into the twentieth and that it aped American Protestant models of religious structure and behavior have long been established in the historiographical literature. To be sure, scholars have differed in their depictions and interpretations of various aspects of Reform's evolution, and Reform proponents and detractors have disputed vigorously the movement's religious legitimacy; but the core understanding of its history has found consensus.

Alan Silverstein does not challenge this interpretive tradition as much as he tries to refine it. Interesting, thoughtful, and well written, his book revisits the theme of American Reform Judaism's acculturation with a conceptually novel perspective. Ironically, Silverstein contends, Reform's Americanization was mediated by British and German institutional and religiocultural patterns that influenced American Protestant churches between 1840 and 1900. Jewish lay reformers first emulated Protestant acculturative practices at the congregational level and, subsequently, at the national level by creating the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC).

To make his case, Silverstein divides his book into three schematic parts, each associating a chronological period with typified discrete religious organizational styles supposedly unique to that time frame. Part 1, "1840–1880: Anglo American Influences," highlights the influence of British tendencies toward denominationalism and nationally federated religious unions on American Protestantism and shows how that affected American Reform Judaism in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and San Francisco and nationally in the UAHC. Part 2, "1880–1900: German Influences," attempts to illustrate how Reform Judaism, both locally and nationally, internalized German cultural emphases on systematic rational management, ideological consistency, and professionalism. Part 3, "1900–1930: American Corporate Culture," argues for the emergence of a unique American pattern of religious management, characterized by reliance on experts, business analyses, and corporate bureaucracy, that resonated throughout Protestant institutional life and was adopted by the ever-copying Reform Jews.

The book has much to commend it. Its detailed demographic data of the four temples and their lay founders, the analysis of the local dynamics that led to the creation of the UAHC and the responsiveness of the national Union to local socioreligious trends is well done. But its central thesis, although suggestive and worthy of further reflection, is too rigid, too overdrawn, and hence flawed. The data appear squeezed into overly neat and ultimately unpersuasive historical time frames, resulting in examples that repeatedly undercut the main thesis. Thus, for instance, it is difficult to sustain an argument of overwhelming "German influences" between 1880–1900 when examples of the decline of the appeal of German Jewish ethnicity are cited already for the late 1880s (p. 151); or, to try to demonstrate how German Jews sought out East European Jews only post-1900 when already by 1900, 48 percent of Hebrew Union College students were of East European parentage (p. 158); or, to identify characteristics of American corporate culture post-1900 which have already been described as present from 1860 on.

These criticisms notwithstanding, scholars of American Reform Judaism and of American history will find this book suggestive, thought provoking, and a welcome addition to the literature.

BENNY KRAUT
University of Cincinnati

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V. P. Franklin. *Living Our Stories, Telling Our Truths: Autobiography and the Making of the African-American Intellectual Tradition*. New York: Scribner. 1995. Pp. 464. $30.00.

V. P. Franklin's goal in this impressive series of essays is to "examine the African-American intellectual tradition using the autobiographies of black leaders and literary artists" (p. 9). The volume focuses on the writings of a dozen major figures, including Alexander Crummell, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, James Weldon Johnson, Harry Haywood, Richard Wright, Zora Neale Hurston, W. E. B. Du Bois, James Baldwin, Malcolm X, Gwendolyn Brooks, Amiri Baraka, and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. While obviously related in theme, the essays are discrete units, reflecting the highly individualized perspectives of the authors. Not surprisingly, one discovers beneath the surface of these apparently similar world views a number of unresolved tensions.

Franklin is rightly concerned with revealing the heroic qualities of his subjects in their crusades for civil rights and racial vindication. He is also committed to the idea that "the struggle for freedom is a core value in the African-American intellectual tradition" (p. 11). Such a truth is undeniable, but the very nature of that struggle has led to a wide variety of often conflicting ideological stances. Franklin asserts that the "collective experience" of African Americans has produced an "autobiographical tradition," grounded in the slave narrative and flourishing in the novels and short fiction produced by black writers of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is a reasonable position, but, stated in this way, it does not heighten the contradictions of African-American intellectual life. Nor does it lead to a central thesis that attempts to explain the sometimes irreconcilably different constructions of African-American experience that appear in autobiographical writing. This is curious, because Franklin gives powerful evidence that he has reflected deeply on the importance of the multifarious antagonisms and controversies in African-American artistic and intellectual life.

Franklin by no means ignores conflict, nor does he pander to a spirit of ethnic boosterism. This is obvious throughout, and especially true in the fifth essay, "Richard Wright and Zora Neale Hurston: Conflicting Blueprints for Black Writing," which reveals two jarringly different approaches to proletarian ideology. In the essay on Du Bois, Franklin asserts that Du Bois, in his movement towards communism, was a leader in the shaping of American Marxist ideology rather than the follower of a party line. In his discussions of Richard Wright and Harry Haywood and in his treatment of the intellectual relationship between Du Bois and William Z. Foster, Franklin hints tantalizingly at the inconsistencies within Stalinist doctrine as it wrestled with the nation within a nation controversy.

Perhaps the most timely of these essays is the one discussing the career of the late congressman, Adam Clayton Powell, whose uneasy relationship with the Democratic Party raises a significant question for the present day: whether there is a way for African Americans to declare independence from reflexive institutional loyalties while at the same time maintaining a commitment to the struggles for economic and social democracy. Franklin wisely does not attempt to pontificate on that question, but he does responsibly raise it. A solidly thoughtful work and a compendium of much information that will be of interest to specialists, this book should, nonetheless, appeal to a broad general audience and stimulate much lively discussion in graduate and advanced undergraduate courses.

Wilson J. Moses
Pennsylvania State University

Nathan Irvin Huggins. *Revelations: American History, American Myths*. Edited by Brenda Smith Huggins. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 288. $25.00.

This posthumous collection of essays, lectures, and works in progress by the noted African Americanist, Nathan Irvin Huggins, spans the years from 1970 to 1989. Twenty-five works on the Harlem Renaissance, African-American studies, biography, slavery and its historiography, American culture, nationalism, and citizenship are framed by personal recollections of the author and analyses of his work by Lawrence Levine and Leon Litwack.

Levine and Litwack cover much the same ground, providing biographical information and a sense of Huggins as both scholar and colleague. Born in Chicago in 1927 of both African American and Jewish parentage, Huggins identified with the former. Alone at fourteen, his life became profoundly influenced by a pioneering scholar of the spirituals, Reverend Howard Thurman, and his wife, Sue. The G.I. Bill gave Huggins the chance to attend Berkeley, and he went on to receive his doctorate in history from Harvard in 1962. Although his most productive years were spent at Columbia in the 1970s, he ended his career as chair of Harvard's African-American Studies Program and Director of the W. E. B. Du Bois Institute. He is best known for the *Harlem Renaissance* (1971), which established him as a leading critic of that movement, a biography of Frederick Douglass, and a popular synthesis on slavery. At the time of his unexpected death in 1989, he was working on a biography of Ralphe Bunche.

The essays in this volume are important, not only because they are the work of a judicious, subtle, yet provocative mind, but also because Huggins is one of the founders of the field of Black Studies. Beyond that, his writing has a startling relevance to today's issues.

Although it is impossible to do justice to the breadth of concerns in this volume, two themes underlay much of Huggins's writing. One concerns ethnicity. Unlike Afrocentrists, Huggins thinks African Americans are a new people as a consequence of the obliteration of separate African ethnicities by slavery. His analyses

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emphasize how they are part of the larger culture that they helped create; yet racism makes comparison with white ethnics invalid. The other theme focuses on the nation's history as it is encapsulated in the triumphalist myth of American progress and freedom, countering it with American history as the history of tyranny. Rather than seeing racism as a national aberration to be explained, Huggins wants it acknowledged as a core component of the American experience.

His penetrating observations and nuanced sensitivity to the complexities of these issues are always supported by a command of the history and scholarship of the field and enhanced by an enviable literary style. Unfailingly courageous, his views have often been "politically incorrect," like his criticism of Harlem Renaissance writers at a time when many decried any negative evaluation as detrimental. There is a remarkable unity of focus and interpretation in all of these pieces. In this sense, one might say that Huggins's thought matured early on, but the reiteration of ideas and themes only attests to the continuing intractability of the nation's racial caste system.

CHRISTIE ANNE FARNHAM
Iowa State University

ROGER THOMPSON. *Mobility and Migration: East Anglian Founders of New England, 1629–1640*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 305. $40.00.

Ever since the advent of the "new" social history in the 1960s, historians have vigorously debated the extent and meaning of mobility for the founding generation of New Englanders. Studies that emphasize the mobility and modernization of the English in New England have clashed with those that stress the stability and conservatism of the New World. Both views, in turn, have met with opposition from scholars who question either the fluidity of England and/or the stability of New England. In this debate, Roger Thompson breaks new ground, arguing in his skillfully written and rigorously researched study that neither seventeenth-century England nor early New England was "a world in motion." Most English emigrants "came from established, often long-established, residential backgrounds," while "New England settledness followed the traumatic uprooting from East Anglia" (pp. 225–26).

Of the many strengths of this book, its comprehensive data base is among the most impressive. Life histories of the first-generation migrants from "Greater" East Anglia—over 2,000 in all—make it the most heavily documented analysis of regional origins ever undertaken. Also distinguishing Thompson's study from earlier work is its sensitivity to social variables such as age, marital status, wealth, and gender. Although historians such as David Cressy and Virginia De John Anderson have examined the "Great Migration" according to variables such as wealth, none has analyzed as closely as Thompson the personal backgrounds of the migrants, including their socioeconomic status, age, and gender.

Dividing the migrants into four major socioeconomic groupings, Thompson first analyzes the personal backgrounds of "the better sort," including gentlemen and ministers. He shows that their horizons were wider than those of other Englishmen, but they were sedentary nevertheless and overwhelmingly traditional. "They did not jump" to New England, Thompson observes, "they were pushed" (p. 55). Similarly, the second group, "the enterprising sort," had also led stable lives prior to emigration. Merchants, professionals, and entrepreneurs alike were small town, localist, parochial, and pious.

"The industrious sort" was the largest socioeconomic grouping and consisted of artisans and farmers who were as "resolutely rooted" and "home loving" as the other migrants (pp. 98–100). Among the farmers, the husbandmen were even more stable than the yeomen and more firmly embedded in kin networks. While benefiting from emigration in numerous ways, they paid the same high price of "the shock of dislocation" as the other groups (p. 113). As for the final socioeconomic grouping, the dependents, this included both the youngest and poorest of emigrés, the servants. Composed almost exclusively of adolescents engaged in life-cycle service such as apprenticeship, the servants were people who moved, if at all, only a few miles from home. The selected women who also comprise Thompson's fourth grouping were typical emigrés, living stable and rooted lives until they were pulled from home and hearth by the unexpected, unprecedented shock of the Great Migration. Unaccustomed to "'Worlds in Motion,'" they are more accurately depicted as "'The Uprooted'" (p. 169).

Despite devoting the bulk of the book to personal background, Thompson suggests that the variable mattered little in several key instances: the depth of familial dislocation accompanying migration, the rate of residential persistence preceding it, the organization of migration, and settlement in New England. Almost all New England migrants suffered the same familial trauma: the severance of "powerful personal ties to local neighborhoods" (p. 169). Most eastern county migrants "were not just a previously settled people. They were a long-settled people" (p. 180). The migration was dominated by families that cushioned the shock of transplantation and most immigrants, regardless of personal backgrounds, shared in New England communal stability, residential persistence, widespread longevity, and family structure.

Without as much evidence as he would like, Thompson draws firm conclusions about the motives of the migrants and the meaning of migration. Better than any other word, reform captures for Thompson the complex motives behind the exodus to New England. If by migrating the migrants wished to preserve the best of English life, so by resettlement they hoped to change or jettison the worst. At the same time, New Englanders were "both conservators and innovators"

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(p. 231). Regarding formal institutions, social and cultural assumptions, and ideals, this excellent study concludes that New England was both an "old" and a "new" England.

GERALD F. MORAN
University of Michigan, Dearborn

ANDREW L. KNAUT. *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 248. $29.95.

A full and judicious narrative of the Pueblo Revolt, a dramatic Amerindian victory over long-established European pretensions, would be an irresistible lure for anyone interested in the history of the American colonial southwest, but that is not the intention of this book. Andrew L. Knaut's frankly stated purposes are: "to glean the Pueblo role" (p. xiv) in the eight decades of New Mexican history before the revolt; to challenge recent historians who have claimed that Pueblo-Spanish relations were relatively good until the troubled 1660s; and to correct the view that each side in the struggle was relatively monolithic. The revolt serves as a point of entry to this purposeful revision of early colonial New Mexico's history.

Knaut exemplifies Spanish intimidation through his discussion of the invasion led by Don Juan de Oñate in 1598, focusing on the barbaric punishment and destruction of the Acoma pueblo. Mission confiscation of grain surpluses, he argues, were devastating in this drought-prone and densely populated land, although his claim would be more convincing had he estimated the consumption of the small Spanish community and its horses and considered the impact of mission agriculture. Pueblos who had previously traded grain surpluses with Apache and Navajo neighbors suffered increasingly frequent raids by these Athapaskan horsemen after 1607. These raids coincided with a marked rise in conversions to Christianity, but that does not prove Knaut's contention that conversion was primarily a materialistic strategy.

Emphasizing the survival of Pueblo values and rituals outside the Santa Fe vicinity, Knaut notes that missionaries did not live in every pueblo and that most did not learn local languages. Mestizos with standing in each society, he suggests, insulated the two groups from the differences between them. Knaut presumes knowledge of Pueblo values and ceremonies rather than describing them, with the consequence that only specialist readers will fully understand the possibilities of cultural conflict, compromise, and separation. Interesting inquisition records and accounts of sporadic Pueblo rebellions should have been used more effectively to map the survival of the nativist tradition as well as Spanish challenges.

Knaut clearly demonstrates that the contest between Spanish missionaries, governors, and settlers over Pueblo land, labor, and tribute could have alleviated cultural domination. Three governors were excommunicated by Franciscan opponents; one, Bernardo López de Mendizábal (1659–1661), deliberately encouraged Pueblo defiance of the missionaries. Knaut is silent on the comparable divisions in Pueblo society that helped preserve the Spanish power that he represents as oppressive but also weak, isolated, and dissolving. Was a mestizo society developing and meeting resistance from both persecuting Spanish clerics and rebellious Pueblo traditionalists?

The account of the generation before the revolt is surprisingly conventional. Knaut describes increasingly punishing Athapaskan attacks, "unprecedented" (p. 152) Spanish persecution of Pueblo medicine men, and rebel leader Popé's multilingual network of dissent and resistance. Overwhelming numbers of culturally committed Pueblos and mestizos are armed by Knaut with compelling and persistent grievances against the Spanish. The central question provoked by this celebration of the Pueblo role is not how the Pueblos survived to revolt but why it took them eighty years.

IAN K. STEELE
University of Western Ontario

ROBERT H. JACKSON and EDWARD CASTILLO. *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. vii, 214. $32.50.

Since their beginnings in the late eighteenth century, California's well-known Franciscan missions have been the subject of bitter dispute. Their staunchest defenders have praised them for bringing Christianity and civilization to benighted natives. Their harshest critics have argued that the Franciscans not only failed to turn Indians into either Christians or Hispanics but forcibly incarcerated them, exploited their labor, and shortened their lives by exposing them to European diseases in crowded mission environments.

Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, whose previous individual publications place them squarely among the critics, have here brought together many of their earlier arguments and evidence. Jackson's forte has been the construction and intrepretation of statistics, sometimes to powerful effect. He finds, for example, that the mean life expectancy at birth for Indians at one of the healthiest California missions was 10.2 years. In contrast, the children of Spanish soldiers in California could expect to live to 31.4 years. Castillo's particular contribution has been an attempt to reconstruct Indian responses to mission life from fragmentary literary sources. He concludes that those responses were overwhelmingly negative.

The substantial insights offered by the authors' complementary approaches are offset by an inclination toward reductionism. Jackson and Castillo seek, for example, to measure the extent to which food induced Indians to enter missons. After observing that the diet of mission Indians "cannot be quantified" (p. 45),

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Jackson and Castillo quantify grain production for two missions over a fifteen-year period and find a low correlation between the grain production and the numbers of new recruits brought into those two missions. This low correlation leads them to an unequivocal conclusion: "Food supply was therefore not a major determinant in the ability of the Franciscans to relocate Indians to the missions" (p. 47). The authors also reduce some of the rich historiography of the California missions to caricature or nullity. They accuse other historians of a "tendency" to overlook multiple reasons for Indians entering missions (p. 108), and they argue that historians have seen their subject "largely . . . within the framework of United States history" (p. 4). Which historians, one wonders, and have we taken them seriously? (Zephyrin Engelhardt, an early twentieth-century Franciscan historian, hardly seems a pertinent figure for revision and correction by late twentieth-century scholars, and recent oral interviews with historians Harry Kelsey and Doyce Nunis make easy targets compared to the deeply considered writings of their contemporary, Francis Guest, whose work is largely ignored.) Jackson and Castillo claim that they more effectively place their subject in a larger Spanish-American context than have their predecessors, but much of the relevant late eighteenth-century Spanish-American context is missing from these pages. If historians should be mindful that Indians possessed diachronic agency, in the argot of our day, surely Spaniards merit similar consideration.

In the absence of substantial testimony from California Indians of the mission era, scholars will continue to sustain antithetical claims about the impact of missionary activity. The weight of the evidence in this table-filled book does not seem likely to tip the scales.

DAVID J. WEBER
Southern Methodist University

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA. *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 562. $45.00.

Few historians dominate a field as thoroughly as Francis Paul Prucha does federal Indian policy. Regardless of one's political inclinations, whoever studies this subject must turn to his work, the sooner the better. Prucha has written over two dozen books on Indian affairs, a corpus that includes document collections, bibliographies, anthologies, an atlas, and valuable edited monographs such as D. S. Otis's report on the Dawes Act. Prucha's own extensive writing ranges from a definitive analysis of Indian peace medals to his *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indian* (1984). The latter is a standard reference. This new work commands the same status; the 130 pages of appendices and notes on sources alone are worth the price.

Prucha's clear writing never falters as he maintains control over immense primary and secondary sources. Even readers familiar with the subject may be surprised by the details amassed here: Virginia signed a treaty with the Cherokee in 1777; other states and private citizens successfully negotiated Indian treaties into the nineteenth century; the senate did not ratify an 1804 Cherokee treaty until 1824; the Choctaws wrote their own removal treaty; the Potawatomies had nineteen treaties with the U.S., in which their name was spelled twenty-seven different ways; Andrew Jackson, who considered treaties a "not only useless but absurd" farce, proclaimed sixty-seven of them during his presidency; Indians in Texas and along the Rio Grande had no treaties, nor did over 400 "tribes" in California; only Confederate treaties allowed common ownership of land; no secretary of the interior ever negotiated a treaty; the reformer John Collier did not consider treaties important.

Prucha, of course, does much more than provide tidbits and little anomalies. He contends that during two centuries large complexities and contradictions developed "about which there is still much misunderstanding, emotional disturbance, and wishful thinking" (p. xiii). His key concepts are the loss and revival of native sovereignty, treaties as tools of forced assimilation which nevertheless helped Indian tribalism to survive, and Indian dependence on the good faith of the United States for the system to have any meaning at all. Always creating tension is "the anomaly of dealing with the Indians as dependent wards . . . while at the same time signing formal treaties with them as though they were independent foreign nations" (p. 292).

Given this, modern disputes over sovereignty, nationhood, land, resources, treaty abrogation and congressional power are not modern at all but inherent from the beginning. Prucha recounts the clashes between Jeremiah Evarts and Isaac McCoy in 1830, between William Dole and John Pope in 1864, and between both houses of Congress in the great debate that officially (but not really) ended treaty making in 1871, after which Indian treaties survived yet another 125 years through substitutes such as agreements, executive orders, legislation, and court decisions, provoking the same arguments from street corner to the Supreme Court today as in 1830.

Prucha's dispassionate, analytical, detached style and his ambiguous conclusions no doubt will irritate those whom he labels, a bit testily, "unthinking people" with ill-formed "treaty fantasies" (pp. 409–411, 419), but as with any sound historical work, even those who disagree can richly draw on the research. In doing so, they will be aided by a wonderful, old-fashioned innovation that makes the book a joy to engage: footnotes at the bottom of the page.

In short, for anyone investigating federal Indian policy, this will be an indispensible work. It goes on the same shelf as Charles Kappler, Charles Royce, Felix Cohen—and a series of other Pruchas.

ROBERT H. KELLER
Western Washington University

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VIRGINIA BERGMAN PETERS. *Women of the Earth Lodges: Tribal Life on the Plains*. North Haven, Conn.: Archon. 1995. Pp. xvi, 217. $39.50.

Historians of women in the American West have long suspected that early observers of American Indians misinterpreted gender relationships. After all, the first European artists, writers, and missionaries were men who came from a society used to disparaging female endeavors and contributions. Little wonder they saw native women as drudges and slaves and attributed less influence to them rather than more. Such European commentators also tended to view hunting and war games as leisure amusements or even "fun." It is not surprising, then, that they believed Indian men had all the fun, while Indian women did all the work.

Lately, however, a variety of studies have disputed such perceptions. Anthropologists are leading the way, notably Janet D. Spector in *What This Awl Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village* (1993). A similar argument now comes from Virginia Bergman Peters, whose book focuses upon the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara peoples during the first half of the nineteenth century. She studies not only women but men and families as well, for she prefers to examine the full context in which women functioned. Peters concludes that "a new look at the old data" demonstrates that "the true role of the women of the earth lodges has previously been underestimated or ignored" (p. 158).

Peters's new look at old data includes early European observers' accounts of Indian societies, as well as Native American creation stories and myths, women's accounts and interviews, oral traditions, and anthropological and ethnological findings. From these, she determines that the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara organized themselves around women's labor and were based upon matrilineal kinship and matrilocal residence. More specifically, women owned the fields, which supplied the produce that made men's colorful ceremonies and rituals possible. Moreover, women participated in not only agriculture but trade and warfare as well. Female figures, especially the Arikara's Mother Corn, also played an important role in creation beliefs.

Peters is careful with her judgments. She did not come to what she calls "a more feminist interpretation" of the sources easily. As a result, she judiciously places women in the context of their societies, families, and myriad duties. She also uses her materials in a conscientious way, limiting herself to what is there rather than what she might wish she had found. Further, Peters supplements her text with works by George Catlin and Karl Bodmer, maps, schematic and other drawings, and photographs.

The result is a well-argued, long-overdue case for Indian women's influence. Peters states it best: "The stunning truth about the village tribes is that in them the women were not oppressed by men; to the contrary, the men had the responsibility for hunting, warfare (ritual and defensive), and for performing ceremonial activities, while the women were in charge of everything else" (p. 165). Peters knows, both from personal experience and from her own research, that visibility is not the only test of where importance, power, and contributions lie.

GLENDA RILEY
Ball State University

PAUL K. CONKIN. *The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 326. Cloth $39.95, paper $16.95.

In this book, Paul K. Conkin draws on his many years of teaching American intellectual history at Vanderbilt. This is an ambitious undertaking—a survey of antebellum Reformed Christianity—and Conkin proposes a second volume to carry the coverage from the Civil War to the present. Like other historians, he argues that a particular group of denominations consitituted a center for American religion and American culture in the colonial and early national period but that their status was "uneasy" by the middle of the nineteenth century. The religious and cultural hegemony they had enjoyed was already challenged and eroding.

Conkin's thesis represents an enduring theme in the historiography of American religion, but it should be noted that it has been challenged repeatedly by nearly three decades of scholarship that emphasizes the pluralism of American religious life and eschews notions of a "center" even during the colonial and early national periods. Even assuming the validity of Conkin's argument, this is a flawed, if not idiosyncratic, book. Consider, for example, Conkin's definition of "Reformed Christianity." It includes the traditional groups arising out of the Calvinist wing of the Reformation but also brings under the Reformed tent the Anglicans (Episcopalians) and the Methodists.

Conkin's treatment of movements and individuals is also uneven. The introduction surveys the origins of Christianity with only three pages devoted to the continental Reformation and virtually no discussion of John Calvin himself. He analyzes the development of Puritanism with scarcely any mention of covenant theology, and he skims over Jonathan Edwards to get to Samuel Hopkins, whom Conkin believes was more significant. When the issues and debates get complicated, Conkin frequently dismisses them in a few sentences to move on to other matters. For example, regarding the theology of Horace Bushnell, Conkin writes: "Space does not allow even an approximation of his subtle position" (p. 243).

Throughout this work there are few quotations and references to primary sources. Indeed, annotation itself is sparse, and when Conkin does provide bibliographical notes, they are inadequate. For someone who believes in the powerful significance of Samuel Hopkins, Conkin seems unaware of the literature

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during the last decade dealing with the New Divinity movement. Conkin would also have been better served by a more careful copy editor and checker. There are an unusually large number of factual and typographical mistakes for a book from a major university press.

Conkin writes, "What is so painfully apparent to one who works on theology in the middle period is the lack of any overall history of theology in America" (p. 307). Although Conkin does not propose such a synthetic work in this volume, his own contribution will have to be weighed with care.

JOHN M. MULDER
Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary

RICHARD J. MOSS. *The Life of Jedidiah Morse: A Station of Peculiar Exposure*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 175. $28.00.

Richard J. Moss's fresh interpretation of Jedidiah Morse provides an intimate portrayal of the pastor/geographer's interior struggle over remaining faithful to his ministerial calling, while making money in the book trade and thereby opens a window on the conflicting ideological currents of the early republic. Moss selected his subject because he sees Morse as an "important example of an American type," a figure in a "longstanding ideological tradition" championed today by the "religious right, or evangelical conservatives" (p. x). Like his successors, Morse fought a rearguard action against cultural changes that undermined his conception of correct theology and a moral society.

Moss frames his biography on two theoretical mattes, one ideological and the other psychological. First, he situates Morse within a post-Revolutionary world characterized by a clash of republicans and liberal capitalists. Between 1780 and 1820, Morse championed from the pulpit a religious, conservative republicanism while pursuing wealth from publishing in a society daily growing more liberal and capitalist. Caught in the conflicting impulses of the day, he exhorted his parishioners to remain steadfast in such traditional values as obedience, self-sacrifice, and simplicity as he embraced such market virtues as innovation, self-interest, and calculation.

Moss's second framework reveals a weak ego that undermined Morse's ability to cope with ambiguity. Drawing on Ericksonian psychology, Moss depicts Morse as incapable of reconciling contradictory republican and liberal messages. He suffered a pathological identity crisis rooted in a strong desire to please his father, a powerful patriarch who admonished his son to shun worldly enticements. Caught in the ideological pincers of the day, seeking profits from bookselling to support his own growing family, and striving for independence from his father, Morse resolved his "fragmented personal experience" by creating a "delusion of wholeness . . . [through] his constant promulgation of conspiracy theories" (p. xiii). Only by charging theological and political enemies with heresy or even infidelity could he maintain his own moral footing. The story is one of profound tragedy: Morse died a bitter and broken man, crushed by forces beyond his control.

While offering an imaginative picture, Moss's interpretation is strained at a couple of points. First, the evidence presented suggests an equally plausible alternative explanation: that Morse used the capitalist marketplace as a means of defending his republican ideals. On at least two occasions, his congregation recognized that the pastor's salary was too low and endorsed his publishing geographies as a way to supplement his income. The accommodation, while unsatisfactory to parishioners who wanted a pastor devoted only to his ministry, continued a long-standing New England practice and enabled Morse to maintain his pastoral post for thirty years. Morse's national reputation as a best-selling geographer could well have provided him a wider audience for his theological publications. Second, on occasion Moss presents evidence within a deterministic psychological framework that renders Morse rather wooden. For example, a Morse sermon that separated the world into two groups, the damned and the elect—a common division among Calvinist divines—is offered as evidence of a personality flaw in one unable to deal with contradictions in the 1790s.

Despite these weaknesses, this book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of an important early republic type and personality. Reading it will reward specialists and generalists alike.

FRANK LAMBERT
Purdue University

SUSAN L. ROBERSON. *Emerson in His Sermons: A Man-Made Self*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 223. $39.95.

This book by Susan L. Roberson is the fourth to look closely at Ralph Waldo Emerson's years in the Unitarian pulpit (1826–1832) and the first to appear since the indispensable *Complete Sermons*. It is a useful adjunct to the earlier critics who emphasize the Unitarian world view (David Robinson's *Apostle of Culture*, 1982); literary values in the sermons (Wesley Mott's "The Strains of Eloquence," 1989); and cultural bases of liberal humanism (Mary Kupiec Cayton's *Emerson's Emergence*, 1989).

Roberson's approach is biographical. In the sermons, she finds "woven between the lines of Christian dogma and philosophy, . . . a kind of autobiographical text" (p. 2). She coins the phrase "homiletic narrative" to describe this pattern of development—"direction, invention, and dialectic," found not within individual texts, but spread over all 164 (p. 4). Described in this way, homiletic narrative in the sermons is another version of the approach critics have taken with Emerson's *Journals*, seeing them as what David Van Leer sarcastically called "the great *roman-fleuve* of American Romanticism" (*Emerson's Epistemology*, 1986). To

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switch the metaphor, Roberson treats the sermons as a plum pudding of statements illustrating points of intellectual biography. She refers to Hans-Georg Gadamer's notion of hermeneutics; in Roberson's summary, "it has to do with self-understanding, ontology, being, and the invention of new texts and new beings" (p. 18). But her approach has obvious limitations when applied at large to this body of formal writings. Sentences and phrases are removed from contexts shaped by specific topics and purposes; a rather too schematic narrative is laid over the short segment of six years.

The biographical narrative Roberson finds in the sermons is a familiar one in Emerson studies, centered on the traumatic illness and death of Emerson's young wife Ellen, which led him to reject "ready-made institutions and beliefs" in the interest of "psychic survival" (p. 8). Individual chapters of this book deal with large intellectual topics: Emerson's sense of evil, based on the nineteenth-century "gendered" rhetoric of bodily self-distrust; the struggle with Ellen's death, as Emerson "read into her figure a symbol of spirituality, immortality, and purity" (p. 90); self-formation; and the concept of heroism as this developed from Emerson's interest in biography. Roberson finds substantial evidence in the sermons of intellectual processes that eventuated in Emerson's Transcendental doctrines of compensation, self-reliance, history, and heroism.

I find this well-written book most valuable for specific discussions of smaller aspects of its thesis. There are, for example, interesting reviews of "death stories" told in the sermons, of Reverend Emerson's jeremiads on national sins, and of his Christology. Roberson concludes with an account of the 1832 controversy over the Lord's Supper, which provided the occasion Emerson needed to resign his pulpit. In the context Roberson has provided, this change of vocation inevitably culminated a personal and intellectual "narrative" that began early in Emerson's years as a sermonizer.

GLEN M. JOHNSON
Catholic University of America

JOAN VON MEHREN. *Minerva and the Muse: A Life of Margaret Fuller*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1994. Pp. 398. $40.00.

Joan von Mehren has written a fine, readable biography of Margaret Fuller. Attempting to fuse "the form and some of the mannerisms of women's biography of the nineteenth century with the attitudes, values, and insights of the end of the twentieth century" (p. 5), von Mehren focuses on the development of Fuller's "character" and particularly on her search for "ways of harmonizing and balancing opposing elements: humanism and idealism, culture and nature, intuition and tradition, rich and poor, male and female, Minerva and the Muse, past and future" (pp. 4–5). The book interweaves the public and private aspects of Fuller's life in order to trace "her uncertainties about vocation, her search for intimacy and means of expression, and how her private life informed her evolving ideology about personal development and democratic culture" (p. 4). This emphasis on the fundamental tensions between opposing elements of Fuller's life and personality, as well as the chronological approach and von Mehren's dramatic writing, create a level of suspense unusual in a scholarly biography.

Having written an article on the same theme five years ago (Eve Kornfeld and Melissa Marks, "Margaret Fuller: Minerva and the Muse," *Journal of American Culture*, 1990), I am sympathetic to von Mehren's reading of Fuller. Her sense of the important continuities between Fuller's early Transcendental activities in New England and her later political engagement in New York and Rome accords with my own interpretation and those of Julie Ellison in *Delicate Subjects: Romanticism, Gender, and the Ethics of Understanding* (1990) and Christina Zwarg in *Feminist Conversations: Fuller, Emerson, and the Play of Reading* (1995). All of these works counter the dismissal of Fuller's Transcendentalism as a form of debilitating, bourgeois self-mystification found in Bell Gale Chevigny's pioneering *Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writings* (1976) and her subsequent articles, and, more recently, in Donna Dickenson's *Margaret Fuller: Writing a Woman's Life* (1993). Despite its strict chronology, *Minerva and the Muse* is less linear than these celebratory accounts of Fuller's progress toward political consciousness and action; it is more open to the radical implications of her Transcendental teaching and writing. Von Mehren's psychological analysis of Fuller's childhood seems somewhat shallow and unconvincing to me, and she gives Fuller's spirituality a less central place than I would. In general, however, I find her portrait of an exceedingly complex figure subtle and satisfying.

Von Mehren's work will not displace Charles Capper's *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life. The Private Years* (1992), the first of a projected two volumes, as the most comprehensive new biography of Fuller. The contexts of Fuller's life are not as fully sketched here, nor are the judgments and conclusions as weighty. Von Mehren has not consulted the full range of recent scholarship on Fuller (although, to be fair, we are in the midst of a Fuller renaissance). The episodic character of the book tends to overwhelm the central thematic concerns at times. Overall, however, this is a thoughtful, well-written biography that should find an appreciative audience among academics and the wider reading public.

EVE KORNFELD
San Diego State University

WILLIAM W. STOWE. *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 256. $24.95.

At the close of the nineteenth century, 1,822 Americans had published accounts of their travels in Europe. William W. Stowe examines approximately forty of

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those travel books. Seeking after "the uses that travelers and writers . . . made of Europe and European travel" (p. x), Stowe discusses the act of travel writing, travel rituals, and guidebooks' power before moving on to perform close readings of texts by selected "distinguished travelers": Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Mark Twain, Henry James, and Henry Adams. No single critical or methodological thread runs throughout Stowe's discussions; after an initial approach to the travel books through their authors' presumed motivations and the texts' individual adherence to travel-literature conventions, in each successive chapter a different term—empowerment, polyvocality, masculine selfhood, marginality—rises to brief dominance. While critical theories abound, methodology is submerged, and assertions about reader response and textual effects on travel markets rest on no visible evidence. Stowe's literary standards lead him to admire his "distinguished" travelers at the expense of the lesser known—Lydia Sigourney and Bayard Taylor, for example—who elicit his contempt.

Stowe has made, however, an extraordinary discovery: in the white world of nineteenth-century travel literature, he has found David Dorr's *A Colored Man Round the World* (1858), in which Dorr, an enslaved black man, constructs himself as a free, sophisticated traveler in Europe. The text is so unusual that a reader cannot wait to learn all about it, but Stowe seems more disturbed than pleased by his discovery: he frames the text with the judgment that Dorr's persona "is as often repugnant as appealing" (p. 62). Dorr's treatment of sexuality is candid in a textual arena where reticence was the rule, and his racial views are double-sided. Stowe apparently feels that he has stumbled into a quagmire, and he indicates that Dorr's attitudes toward race and sex are not those Stowe would prefer him to have expressed.

Stowe's problems throughout are the problems of travel literature itself, which presents any scholar with a number of set traps. First, travel literature refuses to yield readily to the ministrations of contemporary critical theory; when its discursive conventions are foregrounded, its cultural connections tend to submerge. Second, travel literature, as a repetitious form, derives strength from repeated representations and opens itself best through intertextual connections; but when Stowe, who strongly values originality, comes upon these connections he dismisses them as repetitious and repetition as bad. When Stowe turns to his "distinguished" travelers—writers who made their names in other genres—he steps into the trap of attaching special value to their travel books precisely because they did not achieve their fame as travel writers. Third, while an individual traveler's motive may seem to offer an obvious point of entry into the text, in practice consideration of individual motive buries the critic in the individual text and eventually in guesswork about its author. Neither approach illuminates the phenomenon of travel "in American culture," as Stowe's subtitle claims to do. Last, the very existence of 1,822 possible texts requires the scholar either to access all of them or to elucidate a principle of selection; Stowe does neither.

M. H. Dunlop
Iowa State University

Patsy Gerstner. *Henry Darwin Rogers, 1808–1866: American Geologist.* (History of American Science and Technology Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 311. $49.95.

Henry Darwin Rogers was a well-known figure in nineteenth-century American science. Growing up in a family of scientists, he first became inspired by Frances Wright's call for educational reform in the sciences. An 1832 trip took Rogers to England, primarily to lecture on Owenite ideals, but he returned with an enthusiasm for geology and the promotion of American science. Settling in Philadelphia, then the leading center for science, Rogers hoped that his study of the region's geology would bring American research to the level of the work being done in England. Rogers's activities captured the attention of Alexander Dallas Bache, the head of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and a man similarly interested in raising the level of American science. With assistance from Bache, Rogers became a member of the Franklin Institute, a lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania, and the first director of the Pennsylvania Geological Survey. By the late 1830s, Rogers was launched on what appeared to be a promising scientific career.

Despite such auspicious beginnings, however, his life became a series of trials and tribulations. Best known for his views on mountain building, Rogers also examined problems of geological nomenclature and the means of determining the relative age of geological strata. His work caught the attention of American and British scientists, but few accepted his interpretations. His efforts to establish a scientific career also ran into problems. His call for establishing a school at the Franklin Institute led to troubles with Bache and hence the loss of a base of support in Philadelphia. In the 1840s, he left for Boston, though his failure to obtain a professorship at Harvard left him weakened spiritually and physically. Rogers's role as director of the Pennsylvania Geological Survey resulted in sound geological investigations, including the identification of extensive anthracite coal deposits, but also provoked almost twenty years of battles with legislators, industrialists, and his own assistants. Feeling isolated and unappreciated in America, he happily accepted a professorship in natural history at the University of Glasgow in 1856.

Like Rogers's life, Patsy Gerstner's study offers insights but also has limitations. Examining Rogers's career in a straightforward, chronological manner, Gerstner describes the conceptual and social dimensions of his life and work. She presents his views on mountain building, geological nomenclature, and the use of rocks rather than fossils as indicators of geolog-

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ical age in clear, comprehensible terms. Her examination of his role as director of the state geological survey provides important details about the coal industry and its ties to geology. Yet Gerstner never abandons the focus on Rogers to take advantage of the opportunity to address important questions pertaining to the history of American science. Rogers's career highlights the intermix of the personal and the political in nineteenth-century scientific controversies, the connections between geology and the coal industry, and the tensions between miners and geologists. Each of these is worthy of commentary, yet each is passed over in the interest of biography. Gerstner also seems unwilling to offer a historical assessment of her subject. Ending the study with a contemporary's statement that Rogers was a greatly respected man, she fails to provide her own evaluation or analysis. By failing to place Rogers's career within a broader framework and perspective, this study will have only limited interest for historians.

RONALD RAINGER
Texas Tech University

HUGH RICHARD SLOTTEN. *Patronage, Practice, and the Culture of American Science: Alexander Dallas Bache and the U.S. Coast Survey*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 228. $46.95.

For over a century now, universities have been the center of basic science in America, and the specialized laboratory disciplines have enjoyed a far higher status than the general sciences of the field. This was not always the case. As late as the 1880s, colleges were mainly for teaching, science was an integral part of urban civic culture, and the field sciences—geology, geophysics, natural history—were at the top of the pecking order. The few institutions that engaged in programatic, organized investigation and patronage were public agencies responsible for developing natural resources: most notably the U.S. Coast Survey in the 1850s and, in the 1880s, the U.S. Geological Survey. These had budgets of up to a half-million dollars and gave scientists a key role in the great public business of settling and exploiting the land. They produced rich materials for research and devised ways of putting these materials, and money, into the hands of private researchers. They created the intellectual traditions, afforded practical training in research before the days of graduate schools, and sustained national networks of communication and careers.

Hugh Richard Slotten's history of the U.S. Coast Survey under Alexander Dallas Bache is a welcome addition to the all too small literature on public science. Neither a biography of Bache nor a bureau history, it is a joint biography of both in their prime years from 1843 to 1860 (Bache died in 1867). In seven chapters, Slotten analyzes Bache's cultural and intellectual background as a scion of Philadelphia's Whig gentry; his efforts in the 1830s, with his friend Joseph Henry, to organize national scientific institutions; the troubled prehistory of the Coast Survey under Ferdinand Hassler; Bache's lobbying campaign to get a plum job and his political and scientific transformation of a small, ill-run office into a national scientific power; Bache's broad scientific program of mapping and geophysics and his system of extramural patronage; and, finally, the Survey's political culture under Bache's benevolently paternalistic if heavy-handed rule. The account is based on thorough research in archival sources and will not soon be superseded.

Basically a rather traditional narrative history, the work is leavened by an array of interpretive concepts borrowed from political historians and sociologists of science. Slotten leans most heavily on Daniel Walker Howes's well-known concept of Whig political culture, but he also makes use of Thomas Gieryn's sociology of ideological "boundary work," Steven Shapin's and Simon Schaffer's cultural analysis of gentlemanly science, and sociologists' analysis of instruments and practices as veiled ("black-boxed") politics. Slotten applies some of these interpretive concepts effectively (e.g., Howes's) but others less adroitly, and he does not mention Cindy Aron's and Olivier Zunz's highly relevant work on the office culture of large institutions. Slotten's analysis has an eclectic, hit-and-run quality, as if he were deploying different theoretical concepts as talismans to enlist authorities and ward off sectarian attack. Interpretive tools are used and then dropped, and some seem to cancel each other out, as when Slotten likens the Survey to a family and, in the next breath, to a capitalist corporate machine. (Actually, a family partnership might be most apt; it was the characteristic economic institution of Bache's time.) I missed an integrated personal vision, passionately pursued. Perhaps these shortcomings simply reflect the difficulties nowadays of writing with confidence and passion about establishment men and institutions, especially those of an era that believed unashamedly in morality and social order.

But despite these flaws, this is a good and useful book. I hope it will inspire others to investigate the cultural history of public science, a large subject that challenges our literary and interpretive skills.

ROBERT E. KOHLER
University of Pennsylvania

IDA HAY. *Science in the Pleasure Ground: A History of the Arnold Arboretum*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 349. $39.95.

This is a book about plants and people, growing together at the same spot, the Arnold Arboretum, for nearly 180 years. Ida Hay is a member of the Arboretum's staff and has been for some twenty years known for her articles on its collections. The book's title states Hay's purpose aptly: to impart to the reader the dual mission of the Arnold Arboretum, the wedding of science and art.

The Arboretum is, perhaps, the highlight of Boston's enviable park system, one that owes much to Frederick

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Law Olmsted. Hay traces the Arboretum's origins to two sources, the founding of Harvard University's Botanic Garden in 1806 and Benjamin Bussey's acquisition, about 1810, of most of the land on which the Arboretum developed. Bussey, described as "a scientific farmer" and friend of "the transcendentalists" (pp. 38, 42), bequeathed this land, already achieving park-like aspects, to Harvard University in his 1835 will. A second benefactor, James Arnold (1781–1868), also a devotee of naturalistic gardens, left a substantial estate, which, by 1872, was assigned to Harvard. It provided that at least 120 acres be utilized as the Arnold Arboretum. Today expanded to 265 acres, it is home to some 5,000 species of plants.

Hay gives a complete history of the Arboretum, while at the same time explaining how and why new and varied species of trees and shrubs were planted. There is no question that Harvard professors in the last century, in league with others involved with landscape design and horticulture in Boston, were peerless in the United States in both fields. Asa Gray, the Harvard botanist, pioneered in the classification and naming of numerous plants. In addition to Bussey, Arnold, and Gray, George Emerson, an advocate of natural history, and Harvard's president, Charles Eliot, championed the Arboretum's cause. In 1872, two Hudson River garden advocates, A. J. Downing and his neighbor and friend, Henry W. Sargent, convinced the latter's brother, Charles S. Sargent, to become the Arboretum's first director. Eliot and Sargent played key roles in the formation of the country's first university degree program in landscape architecture, which begun in the 1890s at Harvard, where much of the impetus also came for the foundation of that discipline's first professional organization, the American Society of Landscape Architects. Olmsted, in a campaign to include the Arboretum in the Boston park system, devised, with Sargent, several garden plans between 1878 and 1885. Olmsted's involvement fostered the growth of the Arboretum's tract of land.

In 1891–1892 the Arboretum's mission was abetted by a new structure, designed to serve as the Herbarium, Library, and the Administration. Staff members such as Alfred Rehder expanded the botanical nomenclature and the living catalog of plants. George R. Shaw's contribution was his vast knowledge of conifers, well-suited to the location. Ernest Wilson expanded the Arboretum's inventory by his research in China in 1908; studies in Japan and Korea were also undertaken. This was followed by research on the flora of tropical forest regions and the American southwest. When Sargent died in 1927, he had guided these developments for more than half a century. For President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard, his legacy was a "living museum"; for Hay, what took root was "a careful blend of spontaneous vegetation and planted collections" (pp. 198, 195). The administrators who followed Sargent, according to Hay, each made their contribution. A goal of Oakes Ames was to achieve a balance between established plant collections and spontaneous vegetation. Elmer Merrill sought to coordinate the various units undertaking botanical research, while Karl Sax's energies were directed toward hybridization studies. In 1946, Beatrix Ferrand was appointed consulting landscape gardener, but the proudest moment came in May 1966 when, after nearly a century of work by successive teams of people working with plants, the Arboretum, under the directorship of Richard Howard, was named a National Historic Landmark.

The 1970s and 1980s witnessed more growth and change. Under Peter Ashton's administration a major effort was made to effect the restoration of the Sargent-Olmsted plan. Under Robert Cook's administration, begun in 1989, emphasis has been placed on "public programs" and the creation of an "oasis of green" when urban open space becomes available (pp. 315, 321). According to Hay, the Arboretum today sees itself as an integral part of the urban landscape, poised to help redirect future growth and change. If the book has a weakness, it lies in Hay's slightly myopic approach; her attempt to relate her subject to the bigger picture might have been more extensive. Had the Arnold Arboretum been compared in greater depth with other arboretums, the emphasis would have been shifted slightly more to plants than to people, about whom one is often told more than is necessary. Yet it is explicitly clear to the reader that Ida Hay is intensely absorbed in and enthused about her subject. The story is exhaustively told in a book that is handsomely designed, well informed, and thoroughly researched. Underscoring the purpose of both book and Arboretum are the twenty color illustrations of flowering trees and shrubs grouped together in the center.

JAMES D. KORNWOLF
College of William and Mary

TONY A. FREYER. *Producers versus Capitalists: Constitutional Conflict in Antebellum America*. (Constitutionalism and Democracy.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1994. Pp. x, 250. $37.50.

This book is the latest of a series of thoughtful monographs in which Tony A. Freyer explores the gray areas where American constitutional and legal history, legal doctrine and legal practice, and the legal realm and political culture overlap.

Freyer's latest study disputes the conventional wisdom that posits a unified, well-defined capitalist class in antebellum America. He defines "producers" as small-scale entrepreneurs who produced goods and services, and "capitalists" as investors and speculators who focused on the targeted deployment of investment capital. Though producers and capitalists both helped to develop a nascent industrial economy, their partnerships were matters of necessity rather than choice; bitter hostility prevailed between them—spilling over into political battles and legal contests.

In "Constitutionalism and Capitalism" (p. 3–56), a wide-ranging, sometimes diffuse framing chapter, Freyer anatomizes the problematic relationship be-

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tween antebellum American constitutionalism and the emerging capitalist economy. In the evolving federal system, states gained ground in exerting authority over the economy as the federal government receded. Exerting their authority to foster internal economic growth, states adopted measures favoring producers and shifting burdens of taxation and regulation, wherever possible, onto capitalists and those from different states and foreign nations.

Freyer tests these propositions in four Middle Atlantic states—Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. By contrast with New York's and New England's burgeoning capitalism or the southern states' slaveholder-agrarianism, the Middle Atlantic region presented a spectrum of political and economic systems dominated by "relatively small-scale, modestly capitalized, unincorporated proprietorships" (p. 45). The Middle Atlantic states were also the source of the most creative American work in political economy (by such figures as William Leggett and Henry C. Carey), which helped to shape public policy in these states and in the rest of the nation. Finally, the Middle Atlantic region produced most of the Supreme Court's principal commerce-clause decisions in this period.

The four succeeding chapters of Freyer's study examine "four broad areas of policy making" (p. 198) in the Middle Atlantic states—commercial transactions and debtor-creditor relations (pp. 57–91), taxation (pp. 92–136), eminent domain (pp. 137–66), and the law governing railroads' liability for accidents (pp. 167–95). Examining case law, statutes, contemporary pamphlet literature, and historical studies, Freyer reveals the interplay of economic, social, and cultural forces that simultaneously worked against the growing regionalization of American life and that made what earlier politicians dubbed the "middle states" a cohesive region. Moreover, he shows how, by the eve of the Civil War, "the small producers' attachment to independence eventually was amalgamated with liberal capitalist values of a more individualistic independence to form free-labor ideals" and how "antebellum constitutionalism furthered this process of cultural accommodation" (p. 198).

Freyer's project explores what he calls the "constitutent constitution"—"constitutionalism [understood] in terms of the constitutent institutions and values that comprise a working system" (p. 3). Though he regards his conclusions as "preliminary at best" (p. 198), he ably bridges the disciplinary divide between the history of ideas and the analysis of legal behavior. Thus, his book is both a valuable contribution to American legal and constitutional history and a model for further research efforts.

R. B. Bernstein
Papers of John Jay,
Columbia University

Betty Wood. *Women's Work, Men's Work: The Informal Slave Economies of Lowcountry Georgia*. Athens: University Press of Georgia. 1995. Pp. x, 247. $45.00.

Over the past twenty years, students of slavery in the western hemisphere have devoted steadily increasing attention to the "quasi-independent economic activities" (p. 1) by which unfree men and women produced, procured, consumed, and exchanged commodities on their own behalf and for their own purposes. Betty Wood's present study focuses on the origin and elaboration of such activities in the primarily rice-growing low country of Georgia from about 1750, when slavery was legalized in the colony, to 1830. It draws upon and makes the most of the available evidence, notably slave narratives, plantation records, municipal archives, and newspapers. And it presents its case in a clearly written, exceedingly well-organized combination of argument, evidence, and informed speculation.

As its title promises, this volume provides considerable information about gender and family roles among Georgia slaves and the relationship of these phenomena to the bondpeople's informal production and exchange mechanisms. The plots ("patches") of plantation land set aside for the slaves' own crops were cultivated in Georgia, as in the Caribbean sugar islands, not communally but by individual family or household units, evidently at the behest of the slaves themselves. Although information about the actual cultivation of the patches is scant, the urban markets for which some of their products were destined (alongside the results of their hunting, trapping, fishing, and craftwork efforts) yield more data. The sexual division of labor among African Americans was greatest in urban settings such as Savannah. There, as in sixteenth-century England and the towns of contemporaneous western Africa, black women came to dominate the sale of most fresh foodstuffs. This pattern "favored the formation of a feminine public opinion on current events" (p. 84), in this way supplementing the female networks created in and around black churches by the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The urban market for "self-hired" slave labor, in contrast, offered greater scope for males, who performed skilled, semiskilled, and heavy unskilled labor. Largely restricted to household tasks, slave women found fewer and less varied opportunities there.

The implications of observations such as these are less evident than is Wood's subtle and sophisticated view of what such semi-independent economic arrangements meant for the stability and future of chattel slavery. Here Wood intervenes in an ongoing controversy: did these arrangements serve that system (by facilitating the material reproduction of the slave labor force and by reducing disaffection and open resistance) or did they challenge and undermine it? As presented here, the Georgia experience demonstrates that these production and exchange relations reflected and were shaped by the attempts of both masters and slaves to further divergent interests. Struggle and negotiation are thus at the heart of Wood's account. And while planters and their allies strove to reduce the resulting arrangements to an innocuous provisioning system, Wood shows that semi-independent produc-

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tion and exchange relations contained a dynamic that eroded planter power and opened a market-oriented "peasant breach" (p. 2) in the slave-labor system. Critics of slave-centered networks of production and exchange warned that they abetted drunkenness, theft, access to sensitive information and volatile political ideas, recalcitrant attitudes, and outright flight from farm or plantation (for example, into the ranks of black vendors of slave-produced commodities in urban centers such as Savannah). In their struggle to defend and widen the scope of their economic freedoms, moreover, Georgia slaves found a growing number of self-interested white allies, especially those most anxious to purchase the commodities, including labor power, offered by urban black vendors. By the 1820s, Wood reports, political life in white Savannah had polarized over precisely this issue.

Although Wood does not draw the parallel explicitly, the processes that she highlights unavoidably evoke the role played by commercial and urban development in the decline of serfdom in western Europe. Perhaps Wood will follow this volume with a sequel that traces the evolution and impact of these phenomena on society and economy in Georgia between 1830 and 1860 and suggests what role, if any, they played in that state's response to the sectional struggle.

BRUCE LEVINE
University of Cincinnati

SUZANNE MARSHALL. *Violence in the Black Patch of Kentucky and Tennessee*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 198. $34.95.

Suzanne Marshall offers a sweeping survey of the patterns and evolution of violence in the Black Patch, a twenty-eight county region in southern and western Kentucky and middle Tennessee, named for the dark variety of tobacco that was its major cash crop in the nineteenth century. She writes as an insider and traces her interest in the subject to her background: she witnessed tobacco cultivation as a child in the Black Patch, grew up hearing stories of tobacco farmers turned "night riders" and of whippings and barn burnings, and still has Black Patch kin and friends. In addition to newspapers and court records, Marshall relies heavily on interviews—many conducted by herself—with older residents to describe the dimensions of the region's violence.

Apparently frequent violence was present in the Black Patch from its initial settlement in the 1780s to the Civil War and Reconstruction, the period covered by the first third of the book. Marshall notes that citizens of the region, like those they had left behind in Virginia and the Carolinas, partook of a culture of honor that entailed the private and sometimes violent handling of grievances. As elsewhere in the South, she states, this culture of honor was shared by both whites and blacks, and it contributed to assaults and killings well into the twentieth century. Another transplant was the violence associated with slave ownership: that used to discipline blacks and to punish rebellious plots, especially during the insurrection panics of the 1850s. The Black Patch also developed a strong tradition of vigilantism, with at least nine separate "Regulator" movements occurring before 1850 to expel or punish lawless elements and to police and intimidate blacks during insurrection scares. Finally, the area suffered through conflict and violence as communities and sometimes families divided over the issue of loyalty to the Union or the Confederacy and as both sides were subject to the depredations of roving guerilla marauders. Marshall argues that the disorder of the Civil War and Reconstruction eras enhanced an already well-entrenched propensity for violence.

Marshall suggests that, by the late nineteenth century, the Black Patch constituted "a world of violence" in which violent behavior "seemed acceptable and normal because people grew up witnessing such acts" (p. 98). In a chapter enumerating the forms of post-Civil War violence, she argues that violence in self-defense or to defend honor was condoned by the larger community and justified by a Christian sensibility in tune with Old Testament vengefulness. Many types of violence prevailed in the postwar era, and were "a constant part of the lives of Black Patch people" (p. 89). The lynching of blacks, for example, increased in the late nineteenth century in the Black Patch and the rest of the South. But for both races, "violence began at home." Marshall speculates that adults were violent because they were disciplined with beatings and whippings as children, which taught them in turn to use violence to handle conflict. Those interviewed indicated that wife abuse was common as well. Rowdiness, vandalism, and brawling by young, single males occurred often at public gatherings, and violence in defense of personal or family honor persisted. Economic disputes between landlords and hard-pressed tenants, plus frequent conflicts in several poor, isolated enclaves, contributed their share of assaults and homicides.

The final three chapters examine the reappearance of vigilantism in the tobacco wars of 1905–1909, a conflict between farmers and a powerful tobacco trust that reduced competition among buyers and lowered crop prices. Night Riders soon went beyond attacks on trust property to the punishment of independent farmers who refused to join them in a cooperative marketing association. Thus what began as a defense of community against outsiders tore the Black Patch apart and bitterly divided neighbors and families. Christopher Waldrep explores this conflict in greater depth in his *Night Riders: Defending Community in the Black Patch, 1890–1915* (1993), but the scope and context of Marshall's book make it a fine companion piece. In particular, her details on tobacco production, family economy, and the division of farm labor provide a valuable window into everyday life in this distinctive region.

Many of the sources of Black Patch violence cited—poverty, whites' anti-black attitudes, some whites' need

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to control black labor, stern Old Testament Protestantism, patriarchal attitudes toward women and children, and concern over honor and reputation, for instance—are virtual constants in the period Marshall covers. But constants cannot explain change. Hence, some readers may feel that Marshall has not adequately addressed variation in diverse forms of violence, in terms of both rates and participants. Nonetheless, because of its rich description, this volume is a welcome addition to the growing number of local and regional studies that explore the dimensions of violence both in and beyond the cotton South.

ROBERTA SENECHAL DE LA ROCHE
Washington and Lee University

CLARE TAYLOR. *Women of the Anti-Slavery Movement: The Weston Sisters*. (Studies in Gender History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. xvi, 158. $59.95.

This short book is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature on female abolitionists. Clare Taylor is a British scholar who writes from an Anglo-American perspective. Appropriately enough, Maria Weston Chapman and her five spinster sisters, who hailed from Weymouth, Massachusetts and worked mainly in Boston, also had transatlantic connections. The study is based chiefly on the Weston Papers and other antislavery collections in the Boston Public Library.

After a brief introduction placing the sisters in the context of Garrisonian abolitionism, Taylor describes the Weston family background and comments briefly on each of them: Maria (born 1806), Caroline (1808), Anne (1812), Deborah (1814), Lucia (1822), and Emma (1825). The older ones took major roles in the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, holding meetings, circulating petitions, organizing fairs, issuing publications, conducting correspondence, and attending conventions. Maria Weston Chapman dominates the book. However, Taylor does not give her credit for the famous declaration attributed to her as she faced a Boston mob in 1835: "If this be the last bulwark of freedom, we may as well die here as elsewhere." She faced another mob in Philadelphia in 1838, where Pennsylvania Hall (not Independence Hall as Taylor calls it) was burned to the ground. Chapman apparently suffered a nervous breakdown as a result. These episodes deserve fuller treatment than they receive here.

Taylor pays particular attention to the annual reports of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, written by Chapman and published under the title *Right and Wrong in Boston*. In the most disappointing section of her book, Taylor deals with the disruption of the Society in 1840, emphasizing the religious affiliations of its different factions. (The Weston sisters were Unitarians.) She says relatively little on the women's rights issue.

The latter part of the book deals mainly with the British and continental ties of the Weston sisters. Harriet Martineau met Maria in Boston in 1835, and they became lifelong friends. Other important English contacts were Elizabeth Pease and Mary Estlin. In 1848, after the death of her husband, Henry Grafton Chapman, Maria took her family and several friends to Paris, where her children went to school and where she established a base for European travel.

A chapter is devoted to the *Liberty Bell*, the antislavery annual edited by Chapman from 1839 to 1858. She was successful in obtaining high-quality literary pieces; Lydia Maria Child was a favorite contributor. This gift book received its name from Philadelphia's Liberty Bell. Throughout their careers, the Weston sisters attempted to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

The book is well organized and competently written. It has extensive endnotes and an excellent bibliography.

IRA V. BROWN
Pennsylvania State University

ERLENE STETSON and LINDA DAVID. *Glorying in Tribulation: The Lifework of Sojourner Truth*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1994. Pp. 242. $28.95.

Sojourner Truth is best known for her speech before the Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, which has come to be known as the "Ain't I A Woman" speech. This biography reveals a Sojourner who was much more than an advocate for women's rights. From 1850 on, Truth spent much of her life in public oratory, working for the Garrisonian faction of the abolitionist movement, speaking out on behalf of black women's rights and political rights for women, critiquing the economic restriction of blacks after the Civil War. Erlene Stetson and Linda David have produced a biography that not only portrays a fully three-dimensional life but also deconstructs earlier biographical depictions by those who wrote and edited versions of Truth's autobiographical work, *Narrative of the Life of Sojourner Truth* (1850). In this study, we learn much about the many facets of one of history's more fascinating personalities, as well as learning a good deal about the way Truth's life story was mediated by the white women who helped the non-literate Truth write it.

Sojourner Truth was a well-known abolitionist. She was also an evangelist, a mother and grandmother, a suffragist, a spiritualist, a member of the infamous Kingdom of Matthias, a communitarian, an associationist, a member of the Northampton Association, a utopian seeker, a social reformer, and, perhaps, something of a performer. She did not know how to read or write, yet she maintained a lively correspondence through much of her life with the well-known and well-born as well as the unknown. She "read" the newspaper and the Bible daily by having them read to her. She began life as a slave in New York state, married twice, was sold half a dozen times, bore many children and gained her freedom by walking away from her owner when she decided it was time. (She subse-

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quently had her freedom "purchased" by some sympathetic whites.) She would have earned a place in history for her Akron speech alone, but she was much more fascinating than that. Stetson and David approach the life and work of Sojourner Truth not in standard biographical form but by first offering an analysis and deconstruction of her autobiography—the life given forth in Truth's narrative as a "told text" and thus mediated by the white women who wrote it down for her and often editorialized or interpolated their own agendas.

This book begins laboriously for someone who anticipates a traditional biography and a good narrative. The labor builds an intriguing, multi-layered look at a single life, however, that reconstructs nineteenth-century religious and social experiments and a milieu of reformers, dreamers, and zealots. One life is not an isolated story line but interacts with a much larger set of stories. This book is worth reading for the single story, but it is far more valuable in portraying the larger world around the person of Sojourner Truth.

JANICE BRANDON-FALCONE
Northwest Missouri State University

STANLEY HARROLD. *The Abolitionists and the South, 1831–1861*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1995. Pp. x, 245. $29.95.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading. As Stanley Harrold himself admits in his introduction, his main concern is with "efforts *within the South* to destroy slavery" (p. 1). Nor do the eight chapters of his book add up to a complete history of the antislavery movement in the South but only a commentary on certain aspects of the subject.

The first chapter deals with southern abolitionism before 1831. Harrold's main focus is historiographical. He surveys what numerous historians have said on the subject and concludes that early nineteenth-century southern abolitionists did not foreshadow northern immediatism and were not a significant threat to slavery.

In the second chapter, Harrold considers several prominent southern abolitionists such as James G. Birney, Cassius M. Clay, and John G. Fee and concludes that northern hopes for them as heralds of general emancipation were unjustified. This is followed by a study of black abolitionists, especially those involved in slave revolts. A sequel to their activity was the work of "slave rescuers" who made forays into the South to lead slaves to freedom. Harriet Tubman is the most famous of these abolitionists. Among white rescuers of slaves, Harrold emphasizes Charles T. Torrey, but several others are discussed. Abolitionists believed that these people, whom Harrold calls "John Brown's forerunners" (p. 64), could help undermine slavery. They certainly promoted sectional conflict.

Northern missionary work directed at southern slaves provides the theme of yet another chapter. The American Missionary Association, founded in 1846, was the leading organization of this type. Oberlin College supplied a number of antislavery missionaries. Amos Dresser was attacked by a proslavery mob for distributing antislavery tracts in Nashville. Harrold also takes up the formation of antislavery colonies in the upper South. Frances Wright had established a community for freedmen at Nashoba, Tennessee, in the 1820s, but this particular colony is not discussed here. Harrold pays particular attention to the colony at Ceredo, Virginia, founded by John C. Underwood and Eli Thayer in the 1850s. The most successful of the southern antislavery colonies led to the founding of Berea College in Kentucky.

Chapter 7, "The Intersectional Politics of Southern Abolitionism," covers the work of southern political abolitionists, most notably Cassius M. Clay and Gamaliel Bailey. It also deals with the relationship between these figures and northern abolitionists. The last chapter focuses on the relationship between southern antislavery activity and the events leading to the Civil War; it also covers the participation of southern abolitionists in Reconstruction.

The book demonstrates that there was a real and significant abolitionist presence in the upper South before the Civil War. It appears to be factually accurate and sound in interpretation. It is well organized and competently written. It is extensively documented and has a thorough bibliography. It is well printed except for a few typographical errors. It has a good index. Finally, it has a fine portfolio of illustrations, including good portraits of a number of the abolitionists who figure in the book.

IRA V. BROWN
Pennsylvania State University, University Park

MARTIN KLAMMER. *Whitman, Slavery, and the Emergence of* Leaves of Grass. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1995. Pp. 176. $32.50.

Martin Klammer's study of Walt Whitman, slavery, and race-based politics is the first book-length study to place Whitman's life and career in the context of antebellum racial relations. The richness of the book's topic is suggested by its dust jacket, which presents side-by-side frontal daguerreotypes of Whitman in or around 1854 and of a slave photographed on a South Carolina plantation in 1850. What, one wonders, does Whitman have to do with "Jack," and on what basis is it possible to speak of their connection? The answer, for Klammer, is that the poet and poetry of the seminal 1855 *Leaves of Grass* (but not of any of the subsequent editions) were engendered in large part by Whitman's immersion in the racially charged politics of the early 1850s. That thesis is unquestionably provocative, but it is hard to prove in the best circumstances and impossible in the absence of a sophisticated theoretical and/or practical grasp of the connections between culture and society.

Klammer begins by tracing Whitman's evolution

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from the fairly conservative, racist authorship of such works as the temperance novel *Franklin Evans* (1842) and journalism published in various New York and Brooklyn newspapers during the mid-1840s through his participation in Free Soil and antislavery (but not abolitionist) politics late in the decade and into the early 1850s. Like countless interpreters of Whitman before him, Klammer discerns a sudden breakthrough in the 1855 *Leaves of Grass*, but what distinguishes his study is his claim that the essential phenomenon here is Whitman's dramatically liberated views of race. In the best part of his book, Klammer analyzes the four most significant race-oriented pieces in *Leaves of Grass*: the prose preface, "Song of Myself," "I Sing the Body Electric," and "The Sleepers." In them he finds portraits unprecedented not only in Whitman but in any earlier white American writing of "African Americans as equal partners with whites in a democratic future and as beautiful and dignified people, the paradigms of a fully realized humanity" (p. 115).

The issue of Whitman's personal, political, and artistic connections to race, as to gender and ethnicity, is an important one; unfortunately, this book fails to do the subject justice. Its analysis is thinly researched, reductively formulated, and superficially argued. As a rule, the book gets weaker the further its focus moves from the 1855 *Leaves* toward that text's situatedness in and genesis from antebellum society. Important questions are unpersuasively answered. How, precisely, did the volatile political atmosphere of the early 1850s impel Whitman to a new poetics and to new views of race? Why did changing views of race play a central role in his poetic development and why only in 1855? Why did Whitman so rapidly fall away after 1855 from his recently formulated race-influenced poetics (often, incidentally, without a loss to his new poetics of free verse)? How did his new poetics of reading, with readers positioned by the text to identify with blacks and black suffering, intersect current reading practices? Far from reattaching Whitman and his poetry to the conditions and politics of antebellum society, Klammer's book has as much the effect of keeping them separate.

EZRA GREENSPAN
University of South Carolina

JANETTE THOMAS GREENWOOD. *Bittersweet Legacy: The Black and White "Better Classes" in Charlotte, 1850–1910*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 318. $45.00.

In 1915, celebrating fifty years of emancipation, Charlotte's African-American "better class" published *Colored Charlotte*. In the introduction, African Methodist Episcopal Bishop George Clinton extolled the "black better class's philosophy of race progress," a philosophy that had reigned during that half century. Yet Bishop Clinton's words "seemed bittersweet to his black readers" (p. 239). Charlotte's better class of African Americans had achieved much; the community boasted doctors, lawyers, and professors, restaurants, stores, real estate companies, and shoe factories. Nevertheless, a segregationist southerner was president, African Americans were leaving the South in droves, and civil liberties were nowhere. Bishop Clinton's generation of leaders had come of age at the end of the Civil War, when Charlotte's African Americans worked for and obtained political and civil rights. Now they knew they would not live to experience again those rights, which had been stripped away in the 1890s. Yet in spite of the problems, the ideals and institutions of Charlotte's black middle classes would provide inspiration, education, and an economic base for the generations after them.

Janette Thomas Greenwood has developed a marvelous analytical narrative to describe the interaction and cooperation across race lines among black and white members of Charlotte's middle class (and white elite), which she terms the "better classes," from 1850 to 1910. The black middle class, born in the last years of slavery and educated during Reconstruction, imbibing values of morality and decorum from their often northern, evangelical female teachers, rose to prominence in the 1880s. The black "better class" was similar to the white "better class" in that both mixed spiritual concerns with belief in economic advancement through hard work. Affluent African-American wives could afford to stay at home, as did their white counterparts. The relationship between the two groups was cooperative until the introduction of the textile industry. A growing self consciousness of professional and business whites in the city was paralleled by an awareness among the "better class" of African Americans of differences in social status within their own community. In the rapidity of economic change, concepts of class and race were constantly being adjusted.

In the political realm, on a good many issues, African Americans could deliver decisive blocs of votes to cooperate with a particular group of whites. But the African American community was no more monolithic than the white community, and fissures emerged between the newly monied members and older Republican stalwarts. Then, too, the black middle class could not necessarily deliver the poor black vote. Whereas wealthier whites had economic and political power over their poorer white neighbors, the black better class did not possess this power; they could promise too little. This unequal influence undermined black-white alliances.

The issue of prohibition is particularly important in Greenwood's story as prosperous blacks and whites, especially the women, joined forces in this decade-long moral reform effort. However, prohibition was about issues of freedom as well as leadership, and the story involved changing political alignments and divisions among various churches. The story of black Charlotte's society was more complex than the received wisdom, as was that of the white community. Charlotte's white better class split with the development of the cotton mills. A manufacturing elite self-consciously distin-

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guished itself from the larger group of affluent whites. White middle-class teachers, doctors, ministers, and small business people continued reform activities in an increasingly evangelical vein, but these often conflicted with the economic interests of the manufacturing elite.

Greenwood tells Charlotte's complicated story well. Indeed, throughout her study she provides a wonderfully nuanced account of the politics, institution building, city development, culture, and society of the city. In two ways, Greenwood supports the theses of C. Vann Woodward. There were new white men and women who assumed leadership in Charlotte after the Civil War, and there were significant fluidity, alternatives, and even cooperation in race relations before the Populist and disfranchisement movements bitterly divided the two cooperating "better classes."

Greenwood focuses on the middle class, both black and white, and that focus has enabled her to develop a cogent thesis. However, since a reviewer should be critical of something, even when the book is as superb a study as this, I wish she had analyzed more of the class relationships among African Americans. On the one hand, poor and "better" blacks were tied by bonds of race (and possibly family, but she does not look at family). On the other hand, the "better class" of African Americans appeared frustrated by the "ignorance" of the black masses and felt more in common with middle-class whites. I wish Greenwood had explored more deeply this ambivalence.

This is local history at its best. Greenwood has discovered and preserved for historians a real treasure trove: 1880s issues of one of the oldest black newspapers, the *Charlotte Messenger*. She used this paper and other local archival sources to support an excellent narrative that raises significantly our understanding of urban race relations in the American South.

ORVILLE VERNON BURTON
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

DONAL F. LINDSEY. *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877–1923*. (Blacks in the New World.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 305. $39.95.

In 1878, when the first Indian students enrolled in Virginia's Hampton Institute, founder General Samuel Armstrong saw particular significance in their arrival. It was on the Virginia peninsula, he noted, that the original English settlers had initially encountered the Powhatan in 1607 and then, in 1619, brought the first Africans into the colony. This initial gathering of the three groups had led, ultimately, to slavery and Civil War in the South and to territorial expansion and white-Indian conflict throughout the country. Now, Armstrong declared, a second chance had emerged by which the meeting of white, red, and black could be shaped into different results: peace not war; accommodation instead of protest; and the "civilizing" of blacks and Indians within the broader Anglo-American culture.

Donal F. Lindsey agrees that Armstrong's original vision did, in fact, realize those objectives, but he believes that success was achieved at the expense of the essential interests of African and Native Americans both at Hampton and nationally. In the process of coming to that conclusion, Lindsey provides a thoroughly documented and effectively reasoned argument for viewing Hampton Institute as a specific, complex, and fascinating laboratory of race relations for nearly fifty years of its existence, during late nineteenth and early twentieth-century America.

Accessing existing but rarely used archival materials and combining those with additional insights gleaned from periodicals and governmental records, Lindsey reconstructs the effort to educate Indian youth, coming from a wide variety of tribal cultures, at a major African-American educational institution. In so doing, he provides a detailed understanding of the main personalities and factors in the rise and fall of the Hampton experiment, which involved 1,388 Indian students over a forty-six year period.

For students of race and culture, this book contains vital information and analysis on the origins of a multicultural society, even though the Hampton example embodied and reflected the nineteenth-century Anglo-American attempt to coerce and manipulate racial minorities into passive acceptance of white racial superiority. This is evident in Lindsey's microscopic look at how white school administrators and staff, black teachers and counselors, and Indian students interacted on every level of daily life at Hampton. Elsewhere he offers extensive commentary and documentation on such topics as Samuel Armstrong's administrative efforts and Booker T. Washington's brief but important work as an Indian student counselor. Lindsey shows the complicated ways that one black institution, while still under white control, devised to manage the education and socialization of African and Native American students, not for their needs but in the interests of the broader Anglo-American society.

RONALD M. JOHNSON
Georgetown University

REID BADGER. *A Life in Ragtime: A Biography of James Reese Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 328. $30.00.

Reid Badger has written an extraordinary book about an extraordinary man. This is not merely a biography of a gifted musician, but rather an engrossing chronicle of the emergence of an art form we now call jazz from a perspective that emanates from New York rather than New Orleans. Badger has adroitly captured the historical significance of James Reese Europe as a pioneer in American music, in race relations, and in the music business. He establishes the tone of the times in which Europe was born and follows him as he and his family lived in and left the Deep South during the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras.

The reader is carefully guided through the tensions

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and tangles in which blacks struggled to be accepted as "qualified equals" in the land that once enslaved them. Badger gives us important demographic and labor statistics about Alabama and Washington, D.C., where Henry Europe moved in order to provide a better life for his family. Compared to other blacks of that period, the Europes were well educated, had a solid family and social life, and lived rather comfortably. The fact that both parents had an interest in and encouraged the musical and educational development of James and his siblings illustrates their belief in "uplifting the race." Badger demonstrates how the presence of military bands, church music, and other factors converged to provide James with consistent opportunities for musical training until he reached adulthood. He never stopped studying new musical ideas. His penchant for organizing performances in church and school forecast what his adulthood would be devoted to: the development of a National Symphonic Orchestra composed of African Americans who could read music, play string, brass, and wind instruments, and make the public—white and black—appreciate their ability to perform at the highest of standards.

Europe's career began at the end of the nineteenth century, as minstrelsy and "coon songs" were being derided by the black community. Along with other young musicians such as Will Marion Cook, Robert Cole, J. Rosamond Johnson, George Walker, and Bert Williams, he was instrumental in the shift away from black-faced slapstick to bonafide musical theater. Badger places Europe's evolution as a musician—bandleader, composer, and musical director—in the context of the rise of black musical theater at the turn of the century. His copious research gives the reader much to chew on in the first three or four chapters, but it is well worth the effort, for we are rewarded with an unexpectedly thorough portrait of how Europe shaped the career of Vernon and Irene Castle (and vice versa) as well as many young black musicians. The rage for black orchestras at high society parties, weddings, and resort affairs was exploited by Europe when he effectively organized the Clef Club for black musicians in New York. He was an extraordinary businessman and manager of musicians, and he understood the vissicitudes of race and its impact on their success. Wisely, he set the example of always being dressed formally, presenting himself in a professional manner, knowing how to read music but not flaunting it, and obtaining good contracts that paid his men well. Under his guidance, cross sections of New York's black and white high society clamored for tickets to the Clef Club's semi-annual concerts. Ever vigilant, Europe continued his quest for an orchestra that could play any music as well as or better than any other. He encouraged and promoted newcomers, collaborated with the Castles in concert and party engagements, and was praised by them as being the only one who could play music that they could dance to. His was the first all-black orchestra to be recorded by Victor Records in 1913 when they began a series of dance music.

The politics of race was a constant in Europe's career, but he had a positive response at every turn. Rather than allowing himself to be debilitated, he demonstrated through his exceptional diplomacy and determination that his music and musicians were incomparable and that they would not stoop to the level of their detractors. At no time was this more evident than when he enlisted in the National Guard at the onset of World War I. Badger's careful discussion of the bigotry surrounding the black troops prior to their being assigned to the regular army, during their training, and upon their return from France, is at once chilling and heartwarming. American racism is still repulsive, especially in the face of the heroism displayed by the black soldiers who were denied adequate combat preparation. Yet Europe, Noble Sissle, and other members of the 369th Regiment band maintained a remarkable military decorum despite their mistreatment.

James Reese Europe lived for music, but his personal life, except for his devotion to his mother and sister, Mary, was not stable. Unlike many of his flamboyant counterparts, however, he maintained a public decorum. Badger accurately notes that the promotion of the music of his people was Europe's mission in life. He asserts that Europe's use of the term jazz in interviews is probably the earliest formal attempt at jazz criticism. Certainly, the composer's care in describing what he meant, what the characteristics of jazz were, and how it differed when performed by other than black musicians bespoke a nationalistic attitude regarding African-American music.

By the time of his death, Europe had paved the way for the success of former partners Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle; had worked on the same stage and with the same orchestras as conductor, composer, or music director with Will Vodery, Will Marion Cook, the young Roland Hayes (as a member of the Four Harmony Kings), Paul Robeson, Aida Overton Walker, Tim Brynn, and countless other musicians in New York, Chicago, and Washington. Yet his legacy is unknown to most people today. Badger gives a thorough, informative account of this complex man, one that illustrates his enormous capacity for giving himself to the advancement of black music and musicians under the most daunting circumstances. One knows, when reading the last few lines, that American music would be vastly different had Europe not lived.

The major achievement of the author is that Badger's book is not only a notable biography but also a historical study of racial politics in early twentieth-century America. For that reason, it would serve well as a supplementary text in United States history courses.

Daphne Duval Harrison
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

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SUSAN CURTIS. *Dancing to a Black Man's Tune: A Life of Scott Joplin*. (Missouri Biography Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 265. $26.95.

The subtitle of Susan Curtis's study is *A Life of Scott Joplin*, but that is misleading, for this is really a "life and times" book with an emphasis on the times. Such an approach has its problems. This is not the book if you want a biography that goes beyond the basic facts to give an interpretation of Joplin's personality as it shaped his musical creativity. Curtis makes good use of late nineteenth-century published and manuscript census data to uncover some interesting aspects of Joplin's early life in Texas, but overall biographical information is scant and heavily dependent on a few published works, most notably, Rudi Blesh and Harriet Janis, *They All Played Ragtime* (1950). Nor does Curtis analyze the sources and character of ragtime and Joplin's contribution to that musical style; for that one has to go to studies such as Gunther Schuller's *Early Jazz* (1968) or William Schafer and Johannes Riedal's, *The Art of Ragtime* (1973).

What Curtis does offer, however, helps to compensate for these limitations. Her book is well worth a careful read for an understanding of the milieu within which Joplin lived and worked. It is to Curtis's credit that she has given us a clearly presented account of both the black and the white societies that produced one of the most creative American composers of the early twentieth century. Curtis sees Joplin as a significant cultural figure in what she identifies as an era of "uncertain cultural nationalism" (p. 17). How significant he was, she argues, cannot be determined by treating ragtime simply as a style of music; Joplin and his music have to be seen as they shaped and were shaped by the complex cultural interactions evident in America between 1880 and World War I.

Curtis presents these cultural complexities most effectively in her treatment of Joplin's career in Missouri in the 1890s. Her account is more the story of John Stark, Joplin's publisher, than that of the composer himself. In detailing their relationship, Curtis explores what she sees as a cultural "conversation" (p. xiv) carried on between Joplin (and the African-American society that shaped much of his music) and Stark, the white businessman who effectively marketed many rags, including "Maple Leaf Rag," Joplin's classic of 1899. Curtis makes clear how the racial situation in Missouri significantly structured that conversation. She also makes a strong case that issues of audience and marketing, "whether to pitch to a clientele with popular or classical interests" (p. 119), were just as important in determining the evolution of Joplin's music and of ragtime in general. Joplin's popular rags brought him considerable fame (if not fortune), but only failure greeted his efforts to realize a performance of *Treemonisha*, the opera he devoted himself to in the decade before his death in 1917.

That Scott Joplin has entered the canon is indicated by the publication of the present volume as well as Edward A. Berlin's fine study, *King of Ragtime: Scott Joplin and His Era* (1994). Berlin's work is the more complete, since he adds an analysis of Joplin's music. Limitations aside, Curtis does offer us a sensitive exploration of the complexities and anguish that an African American faced in producing music widely acknowledged today as quintessentially American.

EUGENE LEVY
Carnegie Mellon University

B. R. BURG. *An American Seafarer in the Age of Sail: The Erotic Diaries of Philip C. Van Buskirk, 1851–1870*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 218. $26.50.

Philip C. Van Buskirk (1834–1903) was a loser. His prospects were poor almost from the start: failure in school, flight from home, his father's suicide. At twelve, Van Buskirk enlisted in the marines as a drummer. Two years later, he deserted and wandered through the South, doing odd jobs and stealing. At seventeen, desperately poor and hungry, he re-enlisted and served in the Pacific fleet for most of the next ten years.

Unattractive and uncouth, he was continually—and consumingly—infatuated with young boys (and some girls) who seldom tolerated his advances and almost never reciprocated his affection. Sanctimonious and priggish, he made a show of protecting young boys from older sailors by contriving to bunk with the youngsters himself; when he lapsed and fondled his sleeping partners, he was wracked with guilt. At thirty-six, when he finally summoned the nerve to attempt intercourse with a woman—a prostitute—he was impotent.

His professional life was no more satisfying. An inept drummer, Van Buskirk could not keep up with the fifer. Assigned to the landing party that took Commodore Matthew C. Perry to the historic meeting with the Japanese at Edo, Van Buskirk dropped a drumstick overboard and watched in horror as a launch was dispatched to locate a replacement set. Finally fed up with life at sea, he decided to try the army. His timing was characteristically bad—1861—and his choice of service worse: the Army of Virginia, which he thought would join the Union. A year later he deserted. He was arrested as a spy by Union skirmishers and sent to prison.

Amidst the sea of tribulations that continuously washed over him, Van Buskirk's great solace—and sole claim on our attention—was his diary, or, diaries rather, comprising thousands of pages of which three dozen large volumes have survived. To the great events and exciting places he visited in the Pacific, Van Buskirk was maddeningly oblivious; his attention was fixed on the inhospitable net of social relationships in which he was enmeshed and on his anguished struggle against his sexual cravings.

B. R. Burg tells Van Buskirk's tale well, sparing us the soporific banality of the seaman's prose and pro-

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viding ample historical context on his life and times. Burg rightly recognizes that Van Buskirk is chiefly significant to scholars for his detailed descriptions of homoerotic behavior of all sorts among sailors and the matter-of-fact acceptance of such behavior by nearly everyone. Van Buskirk was exceptional not because he harbored homoerotic desires, but because his advances were so often rebuffed, and because he thought them immoral.

Burg cunningly affects a detached, analytical tone that causes us to sympathize with Van Buskirk all the more. The drummer thus merged in my mind with the social outcasts of high school recollection: the people we studied so as to persuade ourselves that we were different (unknowingly proving, in the furtive intensity of our scrutiny, that we were not).

In this fine book, Burg shows what the social construction of gender really means and reminds us how much it costs.

MARK C. CARNES
Barnard College,
Columbia University

JOHN CURTIS PERRY. *Facing West: Americans and the Opening of the Pacific*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1994. Pp. xxi, 367. Cloth $65.00, paper $19.95.

An initial spate of books on Americans' historical encounter with the Pacific Ocean appeared during the Vietnam War. Some were good, but all were focused (not surprisingly) on diplomacy and war, the siren song of the "China market," and the futile dream of remaking Asia in America's image. The 1980s reversed our perspective: not only was the United States at peace in the Pacific for the first time since Pearl Harbor but in apparent decline, while the Asian cornucopia proved to be real. Hence the voluminous literature on the "Pacific Rim" or "Pacific Century," and another series of historical inquiries including Arthur Dudden's *The American Pacific: From the Old China Trade to the Present* (1992), my own *Let the Sea Make a Noise: A History of the North Pacific from Magellan to MacArthur* (1993), Jimmy M. Skaggs's *The Great Guano Rush: Entrepreneurs and American Overseas Expansion* (1994), and now the volume under review. Strangely, Dudden, Skaggs, and I are not cited in John Curtis Perry's extensive bibliography.

As Perry states in the preface, this book is "concerned with people, not policy. The United States had no policy for bridging the Pacific" (p. xix). What he means by this is not that visionaries like Commodore Perry, William Seward, or Theodore Roosevelt lacked policies to promote American power and commerce in the Pacific, but rather that no national technological strategy for taming the oceanic frontier existed until World War II. So his focus is on the individuals who bridged the North Pacific (the South Seas are not treated) with sail, steam, and aviation. Readers seeking a narrative and analysis of the Anglo-American-Russian-Japanese struggle for supremacy in the Pacific will be frustrated. John Jacob Astor's bold (but premature) thrust into Oregon is disposed of in one short paragraph; Russian claims to the entire northwest coast of North America—and the Monroe Doctrine it helped to inspire—are absent. So, too, are the wars: Mexican-American, Russo-Japanese, Spanish-American-Filipino, Korean, and Vietnamese. The two world wars are discussed only insofar as they stimulated American shipping and aviation.

But the latter observation suggests this book's niche and contribution. Perry has set aside the oft-told tale of diplomacy and racial/cultural conflict in order to expand (like historian Daniel Headrick in *The Tools of Empire* [1981] and *The Tentacles of Progress* [1988]) on questions of how. The result is a series of vignettes on such topics as the clipper ships, the scientific achievements of Charles Wilkes and Matthew Maury of the nineteenth-century navy, James J. Hill and Edward H. Harriman's fantasies of a trans-Bering Strait railroad, and the glorious, fleeting career of the Pacific zeppelins. The chapters on aviation, from Charles Lindbergh's flight in 1931 to China via Point Barrow, Alaska and the founding of Pan American Airways by Juan Trippe to the advent of civilian jetliners, are especially rich. And while Perry does not claim to provide a full interpretation of American representations of the Pacific, he has a keen eye for images, as when Herman Melville describes Richard Henry Dana's account of Cape Horn as having been "written by an icicle" (p. 30). Walt Whitman's 1891 poem, "Facing West From California's Shores", which serves as frontispiece, is especially prophetic.

Unfortunately, the book ends abruptly, with a mere three pages of conclusions, some of which do not even derive from the body of the book. Perry argues, for instance, that the same steam technology that opened the Pacific in the late nineteenth century made the United States a continental rather than a maritime power, and hence "Americans were ill-prepared to take advantage of the huge increases in international trade and investment characteristic of the world economy in the late twentieth century" (p. 305). That bold interpretation of macroeconomic history may have merit, but it is not argued or proven in the book. On the other hand, few will argue with Perry's final point about "the human electricity of the United States": "Although Americans failed to grasp the Orient as they hoped, the power of the myth that pushed them there enabled them to do something bigger, something real. More than any other people, Americans pulled the North Pacific region together and created the essential framework for the long-anticipated Pacific era" (p. 307).

WALTER A. MCDOUGALL
University of Pennsylvania

KENNETH RAY YOUNG. *The General's General: The Life and Times of Arthur MacArthur*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1994. Pp. xv, 400. $32.95.

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Arthur MacArthur epitomized many American officers in the second half of the nineteenth century. He joined the Union Army at seventeen, fought valiantly in many battles, and ended the Civil War as the "boy colonel" of the 24th Wisconsin. But his postwar army career went nowhere; he spent twenty years as a mere captain. Although a man of recognized ability, he had little chance to showcase it. Only America's acquisition of the Philippines in 1898 rescued him from the obscurity that overtook so many of his peers. He became first a field commander in the struggle against the Filipino Republican Army and then military governor of the entire archipelago, in which capacity he helped steer the Philippine War toward a successful conclusion.

MacArthur's son Douglas worshipped him but, ironically, did him a great disservice: the younger MacArthur took his father's personal papers with him to Manila, where they disappeared at the outbreak of the Pacific War. The dearth of these papers precludes a complete biography, as Kenneth Ray Young acknowledges in his preface. Young gets around the difficulty by concentrating on Arthur MacArthur's public life, by ferreting out the papers of people who served with him, and by extrapolating—sometimes a bit too much—from the lives of MacArthur's contemporaries or the character of his famous son. The overall result is highly satisfactory.

Most of the book is appropriately divided between MacArthur's Civil War service and his role in the Philippine War. It is admiring in tone, but never to the point of hero worship. Specialists in Filipino-American relations will be most interested in its somewhat revisionist version of MacArthur's relationship with William Howard Taft, who came to Manila in 1900 as head of the Philippine Commission and stayed to become the islands' first civilian governor. MacArthur and Taft disliked each other. Historians, in Young's view, have tended to portray MacArthur as arrogant and reactionary in contrast to the urbane, enlightened Taft. Young maintains that such a portrayal derives heavily from Taft's own self-serving view of events and ignores MacArthur's support for civil liberties and opposition to harsh military rule. Indeed, Taft emerges as the biography's principal villain: an unyielding foe who, as Secretary of War under Theodore Roosevelt, snubbed MacArthur for appointment as chief of staff in favor of a more junior officer.

The book gives less attention than it might to the U.S. Army's growing professionalization during the post-Civil War period. In one sense, Arthur MacArthur was very much a military professional: he took his vocation with great seriousness, read widely, and thought deeply. But his ideal of the profession was rather backward looking. He was, for instance, a stickler for strict seniority and an opponent of an American general staff, views that went against the grain of emergent Progressive Era military thought. Young largely overlooks this. Still, this is a well-researched, lucidly written biography of a subject who has long needed one.

MARK GRIMSLEY
Ohio State University

CAROL NACKENOFF. *The Fictional Republic: Horatio Alger and American Political Discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 364. $35.00.

This book offers a fascinating rereading of Horatio Alger and his familiar tales, one that attempts to place them in the historical context of a fluid, changing American society in the late 1800s. Carol Nackenoff, a political scientist, rejects traditional views of Alger as, first, an expounder of advancing capitalist culture and its values, or, second, a genteel romanticizer of an earlier market society who sought to forestall the greedy accumulation of industrialists of the Gilded Age. Instead, she advances a more complex argument. She contends that this popular writer struggled with "tensions" produced by post-Civil War industrialization, composing narratives such as *Mark the Match Boy* (1869) and *Ragged Dick* (1868) as "guidebooks to surviving the economic dislocations occasioned by the rise of capitalism" (pp. 7, 11). Much like Henry Adams, she argues, Alger's organizing motif was an attachment to "the Republic": the image of an earlier, pristine, mythical America dominated by a citizenry of one estate.

This fictional Republic, according to Nackenoff, became the touchstone in Alger's popular fictional tales for criticism of late nineteenth-century social, economic, and cultural trends. She delves into Alger's Harvard training in the classics and religion, his loyalty to the character ethic and distrust of inhumane factories, his proto-Progressive belief in the triumph of virtue over vice in public life, his determination to join justice and wealth with character in the workings of the marketplace, and his idealized vision of America as a community directed by a natural aristocracy rather than one rent by social class divisions. Other chapters delve into the nature of Alger's audience (it seems to have been broadly cross-class), his maneuverings as a producer of mass fiction in the feminized culture of late Victorian America, and his attempt to walk a line between genteel, respectable literature and popular, working-class tales. Thus Alger's stories, Nackenoff concludes, embodied the "economic, moral, social, and political struggles of the period" (p. 261). They "fought the politics of class in the language of virtue" (p. 262) and thus shaped a quintessentially American political discourse that wedded Jeffersonian independence and industrial productivity, the country and the city, citizenship and economic opportunity.

This book offers numerous strengths. Nackenoff convincingly connects Alger's popular tracts to late nineteenth-century cultural and social impulses, and she demonstrates a finely tuned sense of the complexity at work in these simple tales. Moreover, the text is theoretically informed but clearly written and largely

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jargon free. Nackenoff's central thesis about the centrality of the Republic also convinces, although more explicit formulations on several counts would have bolstered the argument. First, a failure to explore the larger, accelerating collapse of Victorian culture in the late 1800s, with its attendant sense of weightlessness and cultural crisis, removes a crucial context for understanding Alger's cultural ministrations. Second, Nackenoff might have explored at much great length Alger's myth of the Republic in terms of a political republicanism that persisted as a residual thread in American political culture well past its demise as a dominant ideology in the early nineteenth century. Finally, as with much discourse analysis these days, Nackenoff's sensibility of "contested terrain"—that Alger meant many different things to many different people—wears a bit thin. Not only do such arguments tend to slide around the fact that certain groups and ideology win in the historical process, but they leave the reader with the unsettling feeling of confronting chaos brought out of chaos. Nonetheless, this book is a useful, provocative study that sheds much new light on a central figure in Americans' struggle to understand themselves.

STEVEN WATTS
University of Missouri

TIMOTHY B. SPEARS. *100 Years on the Road: The Traveling Salesman in American Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 300. $35.00.

Between the end of the Civil War and the start of the Great Depression, traveling salesmen were an inescapable feature of the American landscape. Armed with their sample cases, gimcracks, and order books, this ubiquitous advance guard of the new industrial order served as a vital, personal link between the local, traditional world and the forces of change and modernity. As such, the commercial traveler became an important cultural figure, on a par with the railroad engineer or cowboy. In this study, Timothy B. Spears digs deeply to discover the traveling salesman's place in American culture.

Spears is more interested in finding how the traveling salesman appeared in the popular mind and how he evolved as a literary figure than in reconstructing his life. He begins in the 1830s when the drummer, as the traveling man was commonly known, was more of a barker scrounging for business among country merchants on their semiannual buying trips to New York City's Pearl Street. He ends in the 1920s, when, he claims, the drummer had been domesticated to become a systematized and sanitized team player. In between, Spears focuses his efforts on the "glory days" (p. xviii) of the last third of the nineteenth century, when the drummer acted as a commercial and cultural pioneer surviving mainly on his personality and persuasive abilities.

Like his subject, Spears covers a lot of ground, explaining the origins of the drummer, describing his world, showing how he was seen by various publics, and discussing how he sought to shake his image as a fast-talking, womanizing idler. Spears also gives an enlightening discussion of Charles Drouet, the traveling salesman in Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1917), arguing convincingly that the traveling salesman, with his emphasis on face-to-face dealings and personal contacts, was rendered obsolete by the impersonal industrial system he helped to create.

This is an ambitious and only partially successful study. It is best when Spears allows his extensive array of primary materials to speak directly to the reader. He has uncovered an amazing array of information produced by and about the drummer. The book is well illustrated with photos of drummers and the ephemera of their lives. The text is punctuated with quotes from drummer's letters and diaries, speaking of the freedom, splendor, and loneliness of the road.

In the end, however, the drummer remains largely obscured by Spears's often dense prose, only breaking free in the quotations and illustrations. And, although Spears shows many facets of the traveling salesman as cultural icon and literary figure, most readers will probably still wonder about the extent to which these affected and reflected public perceptions. His search for references to the traveling salesman is exhaustive and his analysis is insightful, but he largely ignores the question of how pervasive these images were. How many people, for example, ever read a drummer's autobiography? How many drummers paid attention to inspirational pieces such as Worthington C. Holman's *Ginger Talks* (1905)?

THOMAS S. DICKE
Southwest Missouri State University

ANGEL KWOLEK-FOLLAND. *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870–1930*. (Gender Relations in the American Experience.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 256. $38.50.

Angel Kwolek-Folland's study of the role of gender in the development of the modern banking and insurance industries is one of the best examples of the changing scholarship in the social and cultural history of work. The field has now moved away from the discussion of women and work and beyond an analysis of the effects of gender norms on the occupational structure. "Gender, and gendered language," Kwolek-Folland shows us, "is a powerful explanatory system that allows people to connect their public and private selves, their sense of how society is ordered in its myriad institutional forms, and the disparate causes and consequences of their lives" (p. 182).

She begins with a historical overview of the insurance and banking industries, concentrating on the years when offices went from small, mostly male occupied enterprises to large bureaucracies with in-

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creasing numbers of women in the lower-level clerical occupations. Unlike white businesses, in black-owned insurance companies clerical work maintained a higher status; black clerical workers were more educated, and black businesses provided more opportunities for mobility.

Kwolek-Folland next focuses on the changing ideals in the new white-collar bureaucracy. The corporate world demanded new male attributes that were different from the adventurous individualists of the nineteenth century. The ideals for managers and salesmen now emphasized competitive spirit exercised within the constraints of teamwork. This was an environment marked by increasing emphasis on rationality, scientific expertise, cooperation, and restraint. By affirming their sense of professional expertise, male managers and salesmen marked themselves off from the women in their enterprises. This was more pronounced among white than black businesses, but the differences were salient for both communities. Men were the brains of the corporation and women were the "heart," helpmates and "office wives" for the men they served.

In one of the most interesting chapters, Kwolek-Folland shows how new spatial arrangements reflected the changing corporate structure. Within the skyscraper, an increasing division of labor between men and women was reflected in an increasing spatial segregation. But because the banking and insurance industries depended on servicing the American family, these buildings were not at all segregated from the private world of the family. The decor of these buildings emphasized the incorporation of domestic ideals into the public world of work, making them comfortable spaces for both women and men to frequent.

The merging of private and public values went beyond the structure and decor of the corporation. To highlight their roles as nurturers, financial institutions adopted symbols of women as caretakers for their logos, and to foster good personnel relations, corporate managers made extensive use of familial values. Female employees, for example, were treated in paternalistic ways; in black and white businesses, leisure programs were designed for men and women as part of an overall effort to generate familial loyalties to the corporation. (In this instance, as throughout the book, Kwolek-Folland's points are illustrated with wonderful photographs.)

In the last part of her book, Kwolek-Folland attempts to show that women of the corporation were agents of their work experience, defining their sense of self in gendered terms that allowed them to be independent of both corporate and male norms. This seems the least well-developed part of the analysis. Kwolek-Folland qualifies almost all of her claims about whether workers accepted or denied dominant and constraining images, thus making it hard to know what conclusions, if any, are to be drawn from them. Overall, however, this book is a success and reminds us well that "the invisible hand of the market place belonged to a gendered corporate body and existed in a gendered world" (p. 192).

MIRIAM COHEN
Vassar College

JOANNE REITANO. *The Tariff Question in the Gilded Age: The Great Debate of 1888*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 190. $28.50.

When Grover Cleveland devoted his entire State of the Union message in December 1887 to a criticism of the nation's very high tariff rates, he set the stage for the great debate of 1888. As Joanne Reitano admits, "Whether asset or detriment, the issue orientation of the 1888 election was its most distinctive feature—all the more remarkable because the tariff seemed to be such a dry subject" (p. 126). Despite the dryness of her subject, she has produced an interesting and novel interpretation of this inconclusive phase of the century-old tariff controversy. In doing so, she chose to skim over the arcana of tariff legislation with its detailed schedules of rates and hundreds of amendments aimed at altering customs duties on particular items. This was a rational choice, because the Mills Bill that the Democratically controlled House of Representatives passed in the late summer of 1888 met a hostile reception in the Republican dominated senate and no bill reached Cleveland's desk. While the unresolved issue was the major focus of that year's presidential election campaign, the great debate of 1888 only bore fruit two years later when Representative William McKinley crafted his masterpiece of protectionist legislation.

Along with its review of the ultimately sterile congressional debate, this book uses the tariff question in the Gilded Age as a springboard to a broad-ranging yet incisive discussion of what role the federal government could or should play in a rapidly industrializing nation. Reitano digs deeply, mining the enormous lode of economic theories and beliefs that underlay and influenced the political rhetoric. She correctly notes that both protectionists and free traders based their arguments on widely accepted classical economic principles, but many Americans were increasingly unsure that the doctrines of Smith, Ricardo, and Malthus were relevant in their rapidly industrializing nation. This book examines how a panoply of developing concepts including those of David Wells, Richard T. Ely, and even Henry George either fit or failed to accord with the fundamental political positions favoring very high or more modest tariff rates. The book's real strength lies here in its insightful ruminations about how the tariff controversy both stimulated new economic rationalizations and highlighted differences among diverse economic theories.

Reitano confesses in the introduction that her work "makes no attempt to delineate the many vested interests that influenced tariff rates, nor to scrutinize political machinations" (p. xvi), and other scholars have written more comprehensive descriptions and

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analyses of the political and partisan aspects of the 1888 presidential election campaign. But Reitano's extensive notes and comprehensive bibliographic essay demonstrate her solid familiarity with the primary and secondary literature on late nineteenth-century politics and economics, and they provide an interested reader with ample guideposts to the sources that explore related topics. The book also includes several good reproductions of less familiar political cartoons from the period.

JOHN M. DOBSON
Iowa State University

RICHARD F. HAMM. *Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment: Temperance Reform, Legal Culture, and the Polity, 1880–1920*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. x, 341. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

In this book, Richard F. Hamm provides the first thorough examination of the role of the prohibition movement in legal and constitutional history and especially in developing new approaches to federalism. He presents this as a case study of the interaction of one clearly defined group of reformers with the polity, and he draws from it new understandings of both. Though "the state" has been the central concern of the "new institutionalists," notably Theda Skocpol and Stephen Skowronek, Hamm prefers "polity" as more appropriate for a system in which authority was as decentralized as it was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He distinguishes among three types of social reformers: those who sought to abolish some activity through law, those who sought to regulate some particular social behavior through law, and those who sought to reform individuals through new institutions. The prohibitionists were of the first type.

Hamm first examines the "radical prohibitionists"—his term—of the late nineteenth century: the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Prohibition Party. These groups set out to abolish alcohol by law, only to discover complications arising from the federal system itself. States that enacted prohibition found themselves inundated with alcohol shipped from other states under federal court rulings that were intended to protect freedom of commerce among the states. This conflict between state and federal powers was resolved by the Wilson Act of 1890, which gave state prohibition laws precedence over the federal commerce power—a law that Hamm points to as an exemplar of "cooperative federalism." More difficult of resolution was the conflict over the federal liquor tax, which produced as much as two-fifths of all federal revenue. Here federalism posed fewer prospects for cooperation, as radical prohibitionists condemned the tax as a compact with Demon Rum and demanded that it be abolished.

Hamm then presents a transition from the WCTU and Prohibition Party to a new organization, the Anti-Saloon League. Where the older groups had been democratic, open, and uncompromising, the League was the model of twentieth-century interest-group politics: bureaucratic, hierarchical, sometimes secretive, and usually pragmatic. One sharply defined difference was over the federal liquor tax. The older groups had damned it as sinful, but the pragmatists of the League saw in it an important source of information to assist law enforcement in dry states. Once again a cooperative version of federalism emerged. The Webb-Kenyon Act of 1913 and its subsequent extensions pushed cooperation further by banning liquor shipments into dry states.

Contrary to those historians who have presented the Eighteenth Amendment as primarily a symbolic statement, Hamm makes clear that the League was seriously concerned about enforcement. By the time the League and its allies wrote the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, the notion of a cooperative federalism had taken such strong root that the amendment specified that federal and state governments were to exercise the "concurrent" power of enforcement. This provision, however, proved a failure.

Hamm has succeeded admirably in presenting the constitutional and legal history of prohibition and in demonstrating the way that the prohibition movement and the polity interacted to alter both. He also joins other recent authors in focusing attention on federalism as a factor in understanding politics for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and on the ways in which the federal system evolved during those years. As a result, his book should be of interest to constitutional and legal scholars, those interested in the emergence of the twentieth-century state, and specialists in the politics of the era.

ROBERT W. CHERNY
San Francisco State University

CAROL FARLEY KESSLER. *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: Her Progress toward Utopia with Selected Writings*. (Utopianism and Communitarianism.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 316. Cloth $34.95, paper $16.95.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman was an internationally recognized feminist theorist and ideologue in the early years of this century. Her reputation declined and then virtually disappeared in post–World War I America. In the late 1960s, with the republication (and laudatory introduction by Carl Degler) of Gilman's masterpiece, *Women and Economics* (1898), recognition of her name and her work increased and has grown continuously ever since. We now have a regularly published "Charlotte Perkins Gilman Newsletter," frequent journal articles, bibliographies, and full-length studies, as well as a recent three-day conference hosted by the University of Liverpool devoted entirely to her work.

Carol Farley Kessler's book incorporates a splendid extended essay and a marvelous selection of Gilman's writings exploring utopian themes, selections that range from short stories known only to a handful of

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specialists to Gilman's well-known utopian novel, *Herland*. Excerpts from fourteen selections under the rubric, "Experiencing Gilman's Legacy," add a significant dimension to the commentary on and reprinting of Gilman's work, most of which is not easily accessible. Indeed, Kessler's insightful reading of Gilman's work would not have needed so much plot summary of little known stories, including extraordinary childhood fantasies written by a ten-year-old, if Gilman's work were more available. Perhaps Kessler's volume will inspire awareness of that need.

The unusual format of the book functions as a dialogue between Kessler and Gilman. The focus of the book—how Gilman came to imagine a full-blown utopia—involves an exploration of both her life and her ideas and leads Kessler to use published and unpublished work, including Gilman's extensive correspondence with the man who became her second husband, as well as her lifelong diaries and journals. The book's structure places the utopian writing in the context of her life, while it shows simultaneously the cultural role of utopia as an act of reading and a vision of alternative ways of creating community. Kessler not only says but also demonstrates that the line between utopian and realistic fiction is not as sharp as we imagine. Kessler's effort is to strengthen Gilman's goal of persuading readers that utopian writing offers realizable possibilities. She presents Gilman the literary woman as social activist, making her writing a center for her living. Despite the many flaws in her thinking, Charlotte Perkins Gilman deserves a central place as a theorist of human behavior and institutions, and Kessler's new volume should contribute significantly to her growing reputation.

ANN J. LANE
University of Virginia, Charlottesville

EDWARD J. LARSON. *Sex, Race, and Science: Eugenics in the Deep South*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 251. $35.00.

The history of eugenics as a national phenomenon has been ably analyzed by scholars such as Mark Haller, Daniel Kevles, and Kenneth Ludmerer. We still have much to learn about its local manifestations, however, and Edward J. Larson's book makes an important contribution toward that goal. It focuses on a region existing works have largely ignored: the "Deep South" states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Larson argues that the Deep South responded somewhat differently than other parts of the country to eugenics because of regional distinctions, including its large African-American population, its attitudes toward family and religion, and its relatively weak embrace of progressivism. Eugenic ideas penetrated the Deep South more slowly than in most of the rest of the country, which Larson attributes largely to the region's underdeveloped educational system. The Deep South produced few scientists and academics, the typical spokesmen for eugenic ideas. Southerners also tended to be more poorly educated than people in other regions and were thus less likely to learn about eugenics through national publications. The promotion of eugenics in the Deep South depended largely on a coalition of state mental health officials, state medical organizations, "experts" from national eugenics organizations, and local women's clubs.

Between 1918 and 1920 this coalition succeeded in persuading state legislatures to establish institutions for the segregation of the mentally retarded (a step most other states had taken, often decades before). Significantly, these were whites only institutions. Southern eugenicists focused their efforts mainly on purifying the white race and largely ignored blacks. They believed that the "threat" from "feeble-minded" blacks was neutralized by the region's strict segregation and miscegenation laws. But institutional segregation was only part of a eugenic program that included efforts to identify the eugenically unfit, prohibit their marriage, and compel their sterilization. These efforts generally had less success in the Deep South than in other parts of the nation. No Deep South state passed eugenic marriage laws. Another eugenic strategy, immigration control, never had much appeal for southern eugenicists. Proposals for eugenical sterilization secured wider but far from unanimous support in the region. Eugenicist proposals often met stiff opposition on religious and civil libertarian grounds. Louisiana, with its large Roman Catholic population, and Florida, perhaps because of its increasingly cosmopolitan one, failed to pass sterilization laws, showing that the Deep South was not eugenically monolithic. The other four states did pass such laws, but only Alabama allowed eugenical sterilization before the late 1920s, and then only in the state's facility for mentally retarded whites. South Carolina and Georgia did not legalize the practice until the 1930s, making them the last two states to do so. Ironically, by then evidence from the biological and social sciences was beginning to undermine eugenic arguments for sterilization. But just as eugenics was slow to penetrate the Deep South, it was slow to retreat and, Larson contends, for much the same reasons: the South lacked the infrastructure of scientists and academics that could inform the public about the new arguments against eugenics. Eugenical sterilization in Georgia actually peaked in the 1950s when it had virtually ended elsewhere.

This is an engaging, well-organized work that allows us to see how eugenics interacted with traditional southern ideologies and practices and what the consequences were for public policy.

PETER MCCANDLESS
College of Charleston

EDWARD SHANNON LAMONTE. *Politics and Welfare in Birmingham, 1900–1975*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 298. $32.95.

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During the last decade, historians have rewritten the story of welfare in America. Most of their examples, however, refer to northern or midwestern cities or to state and national government. The historiography of welfare in the South remains far less developed. This is why Edward Shannon LaMonte's book is so welcome.

LaMonte traces the congruence between the history of Birmingham's politics and its provision of welfare in four periods: 1900–1917; 1928–1941; 1954; and 1962–1975. By northern standards, all southern cities remained slow to develop modern welfare practices. Even by southern standards, Birmingham was a laggard, and not only in welfare. Its per capita expenses for education and other city services, as well as its tax rate, were among the lowest in the South. Until the 1960s, "privatism" (a concept LaMonte borrows from Sam Bass Warner, Jr.), poverty, and conflicts over responsibilities with the county in which it was located retarded the development of welfare. Racism assured that blacks received even less—far less—than whites. The intervention of the New Deal briefly provoked major changes in welfare services, but when the New Deal ended, the city reverted back to its old ways until the joint impact of the civil rights movement and the War on Poverty dragged it permanently into the second half of the twentieth century.

Although he stresses the private character of welfare between 1900 and 1917, LaMonte's data show that most of the major agencies and institutions serving whites in Birmingham, and some of those serving blacks, even in this early period received subsidies from public funds, without which they could not have survived. LaMonte reveals that Birmingham, like virtually all other American jurisdictions, had a mixed welfare economy not usefully described as either public or private. (He incorrectly states that all major cities abolished public outdoor relief in the late nineteenth century; in fact, the number was ten of the forty largest.)

Welfare's clients play only a minor role in LaMonte's story. For the most part, they appear passive, needy but undemanding. The black community only assumes a major role during the civil rights movement. LaMonte pays little attention to the politics and dynamics of the black community. Unlike his detailed examination of politics and organizational development within white Birmingham, the black community receives short shrift.

LaMonte's most intriguing finding is the difference between the War on Poverty in Birmingham and other cities: "the antipoverty program in the Birmingham area was conducted largely within the social welfare arena and did not erupt as an issue in local politics as it did in many other cities" (p. 226). Although the mayor helped to launch it, once the War on Poverty began, he let it run its own course, independent of and unattended by city hall.

Other historians may question LaMonte's emphases and some of his interpretations. His meticulous and comprehensive reconstruction of the organization, financing, and administration of welfare will prove invaluable, however, to historians who want to know the details and patterns of the southern story.

MICHAEL B. KATZ
University of Pennsylvania

MICHAEL B. KATZ. *Improving Poor People: The Welfare State, the "Underclass," and Urban Schools as History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 179. $22.50.

Myth-slayer *extraordinaire* and "unreconstructed democrat" (p. 146), Michael B. Katz shares in this collection of four case studies the processes by which he came to forge a history of poor people, urban institutions, and social welfare that questions assumptions behind both current public policy and dominant trends in social science research. Skillfully weaving autobiography, historical synthesis, and policy analysis, Katz explores "the tension between activism and scholarship" (p. 3) that has marked his work since the early 1960s. For those familiar with his prodigious output, little in these histories is new; indeed, they rework previously published pieces. But his commitment to shifting the framework of poverty analysis, to revealing the personal origins of research, and to placing the present in dialogue with the past should prove inspirational to those similarly committed "to rebut presumptions of inevitability" by showing "that policies and institutions that appear oppressive today are built in significant measure of human agency and choice" (p. 8).

Rather than appearing as a group that needs improvement, poor people emerge in Katz's study as resourceful survivors. Their problems reflect the larger crises of deindustrialization, the decay of the public sphere, family reconstitution, and the growing income inequality endemic to late twentieth-century America. Katz exposes the continuities between categories—"undeserving poor" and "underclass"—used to reduce poor people to victimhood and to justify remolding character rather than confronting social complexities. He also explicates the historical reasons why the term "underclass" emerged in the late 1970s, locating the discontinuity of urban conditions over the last century in a shifting political economy.

Three "tensions" link these studies: between public and private, localism and centralization, faith in government and critique of its results (although Katz does not desire to discredit state action, a dilemma common among those of us on the Left now that the Right seeks such delegitimization). The mixed economy of welfare and the evolution of urban school systems particularly illuminate the shifting boundaries of private and public. Katz corrects celebrations of voluntary organizations as adequate replacements for the welfare state by noting how such philanthropies depended on public expenditure in the nineteenth century and how such groups—like the New York Charity Organization Society—engaged in quasi-governmental functions. The

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Chicago School Reform Movement of the 1990s intrigues him because it promises to revive local control and challenge a bureaucratic institution—the public school—whose development he so ably traces while rejecting privatization. Although well aware of the failures of poorhouses, Progressive Era child-saving, New Deal individual assistance, and the place-based War on Poverty of the 1960s, Katz credits government programs, now under attack, for reducing poverty.

If they would read this book, elected officials who compare welfare recipients to alligators might think twice; at least they would recognize "the racism underlying the rhetoric of welfare reform" (p. 85). Katz has provided us with tools to fight the battle over discourse central to the war against the poor, the public sphere, and our overall quality of life. This he accomplishes by maintaining the historian's craft, offering in the political economy of place a substitute for facile solutions.

EILEEN BORIS
Howard University

MICHAEL KAZIN. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. New York: Basic Books. 1995. Pp. x, 381. $24.00.

In the mid-1990s, conservative politicians and New Right activists insist that they are leading a "populist revolt" against those "liberal elites" and "faceless bureaucrats" responsible for imposing big government on the American people. Populism, a term associated with the assault on corporate privilege a century ago and linked for many years with the forces of the Left, seems to have been captured by the Right in contemporary America. How this transformation occurred across the twentieth century is the subject of Michael Kazin's book, a thoughtful and suggestive study of a major development in United States political and social history.

Kazin argues that populism has always been "more an impulse than an ideology" and that it has involved two rhetorical themes: pietistic revivalism, and a "producer's ethic" celebrating wage-earners and the self-employed (as opposed to privileged elites). Both themes were present in the original People's Party of the agricultural West and South, but there was a parting of the ways in many subsequent movements that created a gulf between those who focused on economic and religious concerns.

Kazin traces his "populist persuasion" from the farmer's revolt in the 1890s through the labor movement of the American Federation of Labor, the prohibitionist crusade of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League, the "Catholic Populism" of Father Charles E. Coughlin, the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and its alliance with "liberalism" in the New Deal, to the anti-Communist activism of the postwar era, which culminated in McCarthyism. He concludes by examining the "tragedy" of the white New Left, the emergence of the New Right and the appeal of George Wallace, the "conservative capture" of populist themes in the era of Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, and the ways in which populism has become merely a "fashion statement" in contemporary America, with people of many persuasions trying to manipulate the term in their own interests.

Kazin argues that there are several reasons why the Right has succeeded in appropriating the rhetoric of populism in the postwar era. The emphasis here is on the ways in which labor and liberals (and radicals) lost their way, either by focusing on issues that did not speak to the concerns of white "working people" or merely by embracing the New Deal structure of a growing bureaucratic state.

Because this is a relatively short work exploring many disparate movements, there is considerable reliance on secondary sources and not much new historical detail is presented. The book's strength is its interpretation, but there are some problems with Kazin's argument. Not only can questions be raised about his treatment of different "populist" developments under analysis, but the very inclusion of certain movements and leaders and the exclusion of others will be an issue for some readers.

For example, Kazin devotes a chapter to the prohibition effort and most of a chapter to the AFL in the Gompers era as "populist" movements, but he largely ignores the Ku Klux Klan of the twenties. This was a conservative phenomenon but one whose leaders insisted was organized by "average people" held in contempt by the elites, a movement concerned with saving the nation from the forces of corruption and depravity. Kazin writes persuasively about Richard Nixon's shrewd use of Kevin Phillips's arguments to shape a rhetorical appeal to "middle Americans" in the seventies, but he dismisses the Great Society of the sixties without considering the populist credentials of Lyndon Johnson (another man of modest background and education), who tried to extend the New Deal in providing health care to average Americans and support for others in and out of the welfare constituency.

There is only passing mention made of the nativistic themes present in some of the movements studied. In the chapter on Father Coughlin, there is little discussion of Coughlin's verbal assault on WASP elites, his authoritarian leadership, or his conflict with important cardinal archbishops of his church. In the chapter on the postwar Red Scare, more is needed on the sources of the anti-Communist crusade and the decline of the movement after Joseph McCarthy's fall from grace. In the section on Reagan, there is little analysis of the impact of the economic defeats of the seventies on the origins of the "Reagan revolution." And in the last chapter, surprisingly, little attention is given to the rebirth of the Christian Right in the period 1990–1994.

There is much to admire in this work. Kazin offers a shrewd assessment of the rise of the CIO and the implications of labor's alliance with New Deal Democrats. He provides a brief but persuasive discussion of the multi-faceted New Left of the sixties, when so

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many children of the "liberal elites" sought "power to the people" in an effort that would serve as a recruiting tool for later New Right activists. He constructs a short but insightful treatment of the rise of George Wallace and the shaping of New Right populism. In the concluding chapter, he cogently examines the meaning and implications of populist political rhetoric in the last half decade.

All students of modern America can profit by considering the enduring appeal of the "populist persuasion," and Kazin has provided an excellent introduction to this complex issue in recent United States history.

DAVID H. BENNETT
Syracuse University

RUTH GLASSER. *My Music Is My Flag: Puerto Rican Musicians and Their New York Communities, 1917–1940*. (Latinos in American Society and Culture.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 253. $30.00.

Ruth Glasser has written an interesting and informative book about a neglected area of North American ethnic history. Appropriately titled, Glasser's study has a dual purpose: to describe the experience of Puerto Rican musicians in New York City between the world wars and to assess the significance of their music to the larger Puerto Rican community. Both themes are illustrated in the career of Rafael Hernández (1896–1962), often regarded as the most authentically Puerto Rican composer of popular music in the island's history. In the early 1930s, his "Lamento Borincano" became virtually an unofficial Puerto Rican national anthem. The song was written and recorded not in Puerto Rico but in New York, where Hernández had been living and working since 1917, and it shows as much influence from Italian opera, Cuban dance music, and the American commercial music business as it does from anything traditionally Puerto Rican. The phenomenon of "folklorizing" popular music is one of Glasser's most interesting discoveries, and it supports her view that Puerto Rican music in New York was an evolving hybrid, continually changing in response to economic and social conditions and continually borrowing from many musical sources while managing to retain its ethnic identity.

Like other Caribbean styles (merengue, son, calypso, mambo, reggae), traditional Puerto Rican popular music (plena, seis, bomba, danza) reflects not only its European and African roots, but also—to a surprising degree, considering the history of colonial rivalry in the region—continuous Caribbean cross-fertilization. The defeat of Spain brought to the island American ragtime, American citizenship, and a powerful American-dominated mass media that by 1920 was firmly centralized in New York. During the 1920s and 1930s, Puerto Rican immigrants composed the largest Spanish-speaking population in the city, and New York became Puerto Rico's economic capital as well as its cultural production center. Puerto Rican musicians in New York, like their non-musician compatriots, developed multiple strategies to contend with the complex range of new cultural, social, political, and economic contexts, several of which—including the peculiarities of the recording industry—are discussed in detail. One result was that Puerto Rican musicians participated in nearly every aspect of the popular music business in the city; they also, Glasser argues, produced a body of recorded music that authentically expressed the temper of their working-class ethnic communities.

The book is generally well researched, the integration of material from personal interviews is effective, and the chapters that focus on particular musicians, like Hernández or Manuel "Canario" Jiménez, are especially well written. Glasser's dynamic model of culture, however, does make any classification or categorization difficult. Since Puerto Rican identity (or any ethnic identity in this model) is in a continuous state of flux, what is "authentic" to it can become an almost meaningless question. A more detailed and thorough analysis of the music might well reveal continuities as well as changes, and, as Glasser acknowledges, would certainly strengthen the study overall. Still, this book is both a valuable introduction to a complex subject and a challenging interpretation of it.

REID BADGER
University of Alabama

MATTHEW FRYE JACOBSON. *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 321. $45.00.

Interest in the ways homeland allegiances and feelings of peoplehood have influenced American ethnic political behavior, with direct consequences for American foreign policy making at such critical junctures as the negotiations over the Treaty of Versailles, is long standing among diplomatic and ethnic historians. Past histories have generally analyzed ethnic influences, on the formal processes of diplomacy through lobbying, agitation, and propaganda. Matthew Frye Jacobson's original, well-conceived work decisively moves the subject from the realm of politics to the new cultural history. Light is shed on an old subject, which, now freshly illuminated, is revealed to be far more laden with significant meanings than one might have thought.

Though now and again the everyday world of mass democratic politics does enter his narration, Jacobson is concerned largely with the political culture of exile as it was discursively conceived by journalists, polemicists, novelists, poets, and ethnic organization leaders in three American diasporas: the Irish, Polish, and Jewish. The three cases diverge significantly, but the Irish and Polish have enough general similarity to be effectively compared and contrasted. Both peoples historically were politically weak and, during the era of

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mass immigration, had left oppressed homelands that had been colonized and subjugated by powerful European empires. The Jews, at the time a people widely dispersed, removed for millennia from their ancient homeland and deeply divided on the question of Zionism (as well as much else), were a quite different case, which at times forms a very effective counterpoint, but at other times seems marginalized by its distinctiveness.

In reconceiving the subject of the international politics of ethnic groups, Jacobson forms a dynamic conceptual grid at the juncture of nationalism, race, and gender. His understanding of the importance of whiteness in rooting the ethnics' own emergent American identities and in complicating their understanding of the experience of victimization leads to the deft analytical maneuver that forms the center of the book: the presentation of Irish, Polish, and Jewish responses to the Spanish-American War and, in its wake, the American acquisition of a colonial empire in Asia and the Caribbean. Ethnic discourse had to come to terms with finding Cubans and Filipinos placed in the position of being colonized and oppressed by their adopted country, to which they looked to help them free their ancestral homelands, or at least to provide a clear, moral example among the world's states. Ethnic discourse is also revealed to be saturated with gendered meanings. Both men and women are obligated to struggle for national liberation. In the conventional masculinist formulation, men must do so forthrightly in the public sphere, which would have the effect, in the context of American democratic politics, of encouraging civic activism and hence political assimilation. But woman's role, defined as that of the eternal, nurturing mother of national liberation, leaves her a venerated but increasingly marginalized icon of virtue in her American home.

Occasionally one wishes for more connection between ordinary people and daily life and the impassioned ideologies, polemics and imaginings that Jacobson analyses. Nonetheless, this is a pathbreaking, intelligent book that deserves a wide reading, both for what it reveals about American ethnicity and for its contribution as an analytical model.

DAVID A. GERBER
State University of New York, Buffalo

ANNELISE ORLECK. *Common Sense and a Little Fire.* (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 384. Cloth $39.95, paper $15.95.

In this study, Annelise Orleck explores the political struggles of four well-known Jewish immigrant women activists: Rose Schneiderman, Fannia Cohn, Pauline Newman, and Clara Lemlich. What all of these women had in common, Orleck insists, was a faith in the notion of "sisterhood" and a political philosophy that she labels "industrial feminism." All four chafed against prevailing proscriptions on female behavior and demanded access to political power for working-class women.

In the first half of the book, Orleck retells a now-familiar story of the struggles of organizing Jewish immigrant women in the early twentieth-century garment trades, especially the process of coalition-building between female labor activists, male trade unionists, middle-class progressive women's organizations such as the Women's Trade Union League, and rank-and-file working women who formed the backbone of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). She also treats the involvement of labor organizers in the struggle for women's suffrage. Orleck's most original contribution in this part of the book is her brief discussion of Newman's and Schneiderman's involvement with electoral politics. Newman was the Socialist Party's unsuccessful candidate for the New York State Senate in 1918; the following year, Schneiderman was nominated by the newly formed New York State Labor Party to run for the U.S. Senate, a losing campaign that nevertheless proved a critical event in her political education.

The second half of the book traces the activist careers of the four women from the 1920s through the 1960s, and it is here that Orleck makes her strongest contribution to our understanding of the vitality of working-class female political agency in the twentieth century. Moving back and forth between her subjects' private lives and their political commitments, Orleck argues that, for these ethnic working-class women, the personal was political. Cohn, Newman, and Schneiderman eschewed traditional marriage and forged a family life out of close female relationships. Cohn's political work consisted of her ongoing struggle to give the ILGWU an educational program that would serve the special needs of women workers. Schneiderman served as president of the New York Women's Trade Union League (a post she occupied for more than thirty years) and at the same time landed a position as the only woman on the National Recovery Administration's Labor Advisory Board. Both she and Newman (who served on the New York City Compliance Board) made important contributions to the rise of the modern welfare state by framing and lobbying for protective labor legislation around the issues of wages, hours, and safety standards.

Increasingly, however, Newman and Schneiderman were out of step with their times. In the years after World War II, they managed to create serious tensions in the Women's Trade Union League by continuing to press for protective labor legislation when younger activists preferred to endorse the Equal Rights Amendment. Worse still, at a time when the Congress of Industrial Organizations was marching toward a vision of inclusive industrial unionism, Schneiderman and Newman, with their ties to the ILGWU, maintained their loyalty to the hidebound American Federation of Labor with its narrow craft base. Of the four women whose careers Orleck surveys, Lemlich was the

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only one who did not hold a paid position in government or the labor movement. Rather, she dedicated herself to the militant working-class housewives' movement, fighting for consumer rights in the interwar and war years. She was the only one of the four to marry (in 1913) and the only one to form a firm allegiance to the Communist Party.

Orleck's book is most valuable for its ability to capture the ambitions of a female labor vanguard with an expansive vision of large-scale social transformation and to document their efforts to insert themselves into their own historical moment. Most disappointing about the book is Orleck's failure to take seriously her own assertion that the particular background shared by the four Jewish immigrant women conditioned their responses and their political choices. Orleck never comes to terms with the difference old-world and immigrant culture made in the formation of what she calls their hybrid feminism. Nor does she give us a sense of how the particular brand of industrial feminism she attributes to the four women differed from that of native-born women or even from the ambitions of the rank-and-file working women on whose behalf they continued to struggle.

SUSAN A. GLENN
University of Washington

MARY NETH. *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900–1940.* (Revisiting Rural America.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 347. $39.95.

In this fine book, Mary Neth looks at the economic and cultural world of farm people in the Midwest, especially in Wisconsin, Iowa, and North Dakota, from 1900 to 1940. She writes from the inside, showing us its attractions and especially its dependence on family and engagement with community. Neth details, for example, the allure of threshing, the meaningfulness of food preparation, the rewards of shared work. She describes how rural life blurred lines that urban culture clarified, especially those distinguishing gender, class, work and home, and public and private spheres. In the process, Neth demonstrates how farm people created flexibility for themselves and each other. This and other strategies for survival, including staying small, making do, depending on family labor, and creating community, helped many family farms endure. She does not ignore the patriarchy that framed family farming and she does not romanticize the hard work that was its hallmark. She does set out to chronicle the often painful, lurching, dislocating effects of rural capitalist transformation. In this she succeeds.

Various reformers urged farm people to get big, get mechanized, and to get modern. They offered urban and industrial solutions to farm problems. Some farm people, though, resisted modernization. They were slow to add acreage and modern conveniences. To outsiders such resistance looked like simple backwardness, foolish conservatism. To insiders modernization threatened both their way of life and economic survival. Getting big would increase production and bring in more cash, but it also required more cash and debt, less family labor (one of the only resources farm families actually had), more individualism, a hardening of both gender and class divisions. The very solutions offered by reformers, Neth argues, actually exacerbated the problems they were intended to ameliorate.

She does not, however, answer the central conundrum: would (and could) family farms really have survived using these rural strategies? Would communal threshing—and other staples of family farming—have decreased rural depopulation? She leaves us with a compelling maybe. It deserves to be thought about historically and in the present. Perhaps urban and industrial answers do not solve rural problems.

In Neth's account, the larger American context fades and one loses a clear sense of time and of various forces that impinged on rural and American life. It was not only rural people who were being changed and not only rural people who resisted capitalist integration. Moreover, not all rural people resisted. Some people tired of making do. The same impulse that kept farms small also kept boys out of school, running water out of the kitchen, and the arts out of daily life. Neth and Hamlin Garland would have a lively conversation if some miracle brought them together, and I would like to hear it.

The book is carefully, meticulously researched and closely argued. If Neth sometimes gives us too many details, that is understandable. Her book, like the farmers she writes about, defends a world that does not share the dominant American values. She is to be congratulated. She has done a thorough, thoughtful, and provocative job of it.

ANNETTE ATKINS
Saint John's University

DEVRA WEBER. *Dark Sweat, White Gold: California Farm Workers, Cotton, and the New Deal.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. pp. xv, 338. $40.00.

Although American labor historians plainly have not accorded agricultural workers the close scrutiny that most other occupational groups have received, the scholarly attention that farmworkers have attracted has been centered, for the most part, on those employed in the fields and orchards of California. During agribusiness's century-long reign as the Golden State's richest, and most unassailable, industry, no period of its development and operation has been of greater interest to scholars (or to novelists and writers of popular non-fiction) than the turbulent decade of the 1930s. Punctuated by strikes and other forms of bitter class conflict that definitively disclosed the industrial structure and brute character of an industry long adept at obscuring its mundane capitalist motives behind a diverting facade of contrived agrarianism, the Depres-

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sion era has invited numerous explorations of the special nature of California agribusiness and the singular labor relations system that sustained it.

To those familiar with the rather considerable body of scholarship already at hand on the topic of agricultural labor relations in California during the 1930s, Devra Weber's book, which focuses particularly on Mexican workers employed throughout the decade in the state's large cotton industry, may well seem more elaborative than original. In truth, however, this is a book that, despite the undeniable familiarity of both its content and its context, offers much that is new and valuable in understanding the complex dynamics of class, race, ethnicity, and gender within a labor system molded to the unique specifications of California's powerful cotton industry. Weber provides, for example, an exceptionally instructive analysis of the political economy of cotton farming in the San Joaquin valley and persuasively confirms the many ways in which New Deal agricultural programs permitted growers to codify their authority at the expense of workers whose chronic degradation was already the industry's most notorious feature.

As Weber makes plain from the outset, however, her essential purpose in writing this book is to counter and correct what she sees as the misperceptions resulting from the failure of most earlier writers to give Mexican farmworkers the attention and credit they truly deserved in contending against employer power in the thirties. Rather than the "faceless, powerless, passive ... objects of history" (pp. 2–3) that she believes previous scholars have tended to depict, Weber argues that Mexican farmworkers, sustained by family ties, community associations, and common migration routines that facilitated solidarity and inspired by a tradition of collective struggle that stretched back to their national revolution and beyond, fought their oppressors far more readily than they submitted to them. Moreover, she argues, in the various conflicts in which they were involved in the thirties, including the massive cotton strike of 1933, Mexican farmworkers were not dependent on Anglo or other outside leadership to the extent that many earlier writers have suggested. Citing evidence drawn from the numerous oral interviews she conducted in the course of her research, Weber claims that Mexican farmworkers had no need to look beyond their own ranks for leaders even in the face of the most daunting challenges from cotton growers and their allies. And while she generally agrees with other scholars that the exertions of Mexican farmworkers throughout the decade ultimately failed (as did those of their Anglo counterparts) to shift the balance of power in California's cotton industry, Weber convincingly insists that it was for reasons other than an absence of internal solidarity or the enervating effects of a fainthearted ethos.

Although both Weber's arguments and her characterizations of earlier scholarship are open to serious challenge, the former on the basis of the sometimes less than persuasive evidence she adduces and the latter because of the sometimes overly facile interpretations she favors, this is a book whose strengths clearly outweigh its weaknesses by more than enough to afford satisfaction to even the most perspicacious readers.

CLETE DANIEL
Cornell University

MERL E. REED. *Seedtime for the Modern Civil Rights Movement: The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, 1941–1946*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 384.

In the summer of 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established by executive order what Merl E. Reed calls perhaps "the most controversial federal agency" in American history (p. 1). Created in response to pressure from blacks, the Committee on Fair Employment Practice (FEPC), the first federal agency since Reconstruction to focus exclusively on minority problems, investigated allegations of discrimination in employment in war industries and the federal government and tried to persuade employers to treat minorities fairly. Most of its efforts involved blacks in the North as well as the South, but the FEPC also intervened in behalf of Mexican-Americans, Japanese-Americans, and religious minorities. The FEPC died in 1946 when a southern filibuster blocked legislation to create a permanent FEPC after World War II.

Reed clearly announces his intentions. The first half of his work examines "the work of the agency itself, paying particular attention to the FEPC's complex relations with the Washington bureaucracy and the White House" and explores "the internal dynamics of the committee and staff." The second half surveys the work "FEPC's field offices," particularly their work on the West coast among boilermakers (p. 9). He bases his administrative history on deep research in the records of the FEPC in the National Archives.

From the outset, Reed acknowledges the complexities, ambiguities, and contradictions in the FEPC: FDR set it up but withheld meaningful support; the FEPC encouraged fair employment through its investigations and hearings but lacked the power to bring about significant results; it was part of the bureaucracy yet faced resistance within the wartime government; it had strong supporters but faced opposition from labor and business as well as southern politicians. Reed himself displays considerable ambivalence over his subject. Wanting to find significance in the brief history of the FEPC, he emphasizes its uniqueness in working with minorities, its energizing effect on civil rights advocates, and its accomplishments in specific cases. For every positive assessment, however, Reed wisely adds a negative qualifier. For example, FEPC hearings exposed discrimination in the United States Office of Education but in the end were "an exercise in futility" (p. 187). The FEPC's work in the wartime bureaucracy "was little short of amazing considering the committee's inherent weakness and insignificance"

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(p. 349). Reed sprinkles his text with references to "serious innate weaknesses," "stunted and turned back" efforts, marginal successes, "innocence and naivete," constant disappointment, and the "FEPC's near-revolutionary program" (pp. 26, 203, 205, 357).

Even the FEPC's limited significance would have been clearer, however, if Reed had followed through on his suggestive title and explained the FEPC's influence on the postwar civil rights movement. Some obvious but unexplored connections involve the FEPC work of Clarence Mitchell and Charles H. Houston and their major roles later in the movement. Similarly, Reed does not relate the FEPC to earlier civil rights efforts during the New Deal. For all of its virtues of detailed research, Reed's work misses an opportunity to enlighten readers on the origins of the civil rights movement and race relations generally in the 1940s.

CHARLES W. EAGLES
University of Mississippi

ROBERT H. ZIEGER. *The CIO, 1935–1955*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. x, 491. $39.95.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was a short-lived labor federation. Formed in 1935 as a revolt against the dominant craft union structure of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), it was absorbed by the latter organization in 1955. Its great achievement was the unionization of blue-collar workers in the mass production industries, particularly automobiles and steel. Two principal factors—the loss of members as a consequence of the necessary expulsion of communist-dominated affiliates and sharp differences between the presidents of its two largest unions—led to its ultimate demise as an independent federation.

Robert Zieger's book tells the story of the CIO and tells it well. There is already a good deal of writing about its first fifteen years, but there is room for a complete story in one place. The reader is supplied with a tremendous volume of detailed documentation. Footnotes occupy a fifth of the total number of pages, and if adjustment is made for type size, they would not constitute much less than a third.

I have only a few comments on substance and style. I question the high grades Zieger gives the communists and the lukewarm evaluation of the United Auto Workers (UAW) on the racial issue. The Comintern and its American branch were not so much concerned with improving the status of black workers as with the misguided belief that they were potentially a revolutionary force. Not long before the CIO was formed, they had espoused the bizarre idea of an independent black republic in the South. When the Soviet Union was attacked by the Nazis, the communist-dominated unions became the least militant segment of the labor movement and would have expelled all their black members if ordered to do so. The UAW, on the other hand, practiced integration from the start and consistently devoted a fixed proportion of its income to promote civil rights; it was the only union that did so. The UAW insisted that all affiliates of the AFL-CIO remove the color bar from their constitutions, and it was the driving force for integration in the new federation.

I am puzzled by what Zieger means when he writes that: "CIO economic policies encouraged the increasing consumerization of the American working class that helped to cut it adrift from its more heroic traditions" (p. 316). It is my impression that raising the living standards of their members has always been the major goal of mainstream American unions. In the same vein is Zieger's conclusion that, "Far from serving as the militant tribunes of worker discontent, CIO leaders increasingly functioned as administrative bureaucrats" (p. 374). The survival rate of American union leaders who neglected to police their contracts and handle grievances in order to serve as militant leaders of the "working class" was very low, as people like John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, and Walter Reuther were well aware. In the sense that they were committed to collective bargaining, they were always administrative bureaucrats.

As to style, I confess to being turned off rather than enlivened by phrases like "licking his wounds, Kroll reassured his troops"; or "sneered journalist Art Preis"; or "Germer snarled"; or "implored Secretary Barney Hopkins," etc. But *de gustibus*.

I do not mean to end on a negative note. Zieger is to be congratulated on writing an excellent book that will be standard reading for anyone interested in this crucial period of American labor history.

WALTER GALENSON,
EMERITUS
Cornell University

SIDNEY FINE. *"Without Blare of Trumpets": Walter Drew, the National Erectors' Association, and the Open Shop Movement, 1903–57*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 384. $49.50.

In this book, Sidney Fine focuses on the role of the National Erectors' Association (NEA) as the most vigorous champion of the open shop in structural steel and iron erection—as well as all other building trades—and the principal barrier to the unionization of the steel industry until the U.S. Supreme Court's *Jones and Laughlin* decision (1937) upholding the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. The principal antagonist of the NEA, which was composed of corporate erectors and fabricators, was the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers (IABSOIW), which vigorously pushed the closed shop not only in the erection of structural iron and steel but also in steel fabrication where it claimed jurisdiction. Confident that extension of the closed shop into the fabricating plants would lead it inevitably into the steel mills, the NEA leadership, strongly supported by major steel companies (e.g., the United

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States Steel Corporation through its subsidiary the American Bridge Company), tenaciously fought this extension. The NEA thus became a vital part of the open shop movement that characterized employers' opposition to unionization, especially in mass production industries like steel, from the turn of the century until the mid-1950s, when the open shop received recognition in the "right-to-work" movement stemming from Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act (1957). Fine contends that the NEA has not been adequately recognized for its significant role in helping to thwart the closed shop in the steel industry.

This book is not only an institutional history of the NEA and its struggle with the IABSOIW. It is also a biography of the professional life of Walter Drew, who was commissioner of the NEA from 1906 until its demise in 1957. Obsessively concerned about threats to the open shop in structural steel erection and fabrication, the building trades, and the steel industry in general, Drew so dominated the NEA throughout its half-century history that Fine concludes that he and the NEA were synonymous. He symbolized the tenacity and determination of the nation's employers associations to restrain the power of organized labor, beginning with the open-shop efforts of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Citizens' Industrial Alliance of America at the turn of the century. Drew, with the full support of corporate members like the American Bridge Company and non-members like United States Steel, used the NEA to counter the IABSOIW's drive for the closed shop in steel erection and fabrication. Confronting opposition tactics that ranged from intimidation to violence, Drew himself also skirted close to, if not fully embraced, questionable tactics.

With the pugnacious Drew at its head, the NEA, except for a brief period during World War I, successfully upheld the open shop in structural steel erecting, fabricating, and milling until the advent of the New Deal. Passage of such laws as the National Industrial Recovery Act and the National Labor Relations Act spelled the practical end of the NEA and its work, although the organization was not officially abolished until 1957. Eight years after the death of Drew in 1961, a new NEA arose; its relationship with the IABSOIW, however, was the opposite of that envisioned by Drew.

Fine concludes that during its first three decades, "the NEA functioned as the nation's most belligerent national antiunion employer association" (p. 272), whose work demonstrates the importance of employer resistance in restricting the growth of organized labor in the United States relative to that of industrialized, West European countries. As for Drew, Fine concludes that his superb and extended leadership of the NEA and his involvement in the nationwide open shop movement made him "one of the foremost advocates of the open shop in the entire history of the nation" (p. 272). As portrayed by Fine, Drew imbued the NEA with the driving force of his open shop obsession.

In this highly detailed and judicious study, Fine has added a new dimension to our knowledge of the open shop movement in the early twentieth century. His book is exhaustively researched, with heavy reliance upon numerous manuscript and archival collections, particularly the Walter Drew Papers. It is a work that should be of particular value to economic, business, and labor historians because of its revealing insights about the nature of labor-management relations during the first half of this century.

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PETER B. LEVY. *The New Left and Labor in the 1960s*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 291. Cloth $49.95, paper $16.95.

Given the temper of our own times, it is perhaps inevitable to recall images of enraged hard-hats beating up on antiwar demonstrators and to see them as emblematic of a bitter antagonism that consistently discolored relations between the New Left and the labor movement during the 1960s. So much of the renascence of right-wing populism over the past two decades seems fueled by blue-collar backlash against the sins of the sixties that it is hard to remember how different matters once stood. Peter B. Levy's book is a welcome and well-argued antidote to this amnesia.

Without denying the obvious instances of deep conflict, Levy insists that the relationship was far more complex and, through the first half of the 1960s, essentially a collaborative one. There were dozens of filial connections, both individual and institutional, linking the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) to centers of trade union power. SDS'ers supported innumerable strikes and organizing drives, while trade unions supplied seed money for the student group's early efforts to organize the poor through the Economic Research and Action Project. Moreover, the labor movement endorsed and helped fund the civil rights movement, and this was true not only of the usual "suspect" unions with shady red pasts but of the trade union establishment itself. After all, the March on Washington was not strictly a civil rights demonstration, but one for "Jobs and Freedom," and it embodied a real alliance between the labor movement and even the most radical civil rights organizations. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) were supported in numerous ways by trade unions ranging from the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the United Packinghouse Workers to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). For a time, new leftists from the emerging student movement, together with young civil rights activists and "progressive" trade unionists shared a strategic perspective—one traceable back to the halcyon days of the New Deal—that envisioned realigning the Democratic Party on behalf of racial and

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economic equality by purging its reactionary elements. It was a strategy that culminated in the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) to the lily-white state delegation at the 1964 Atlantic City convention, where Joe Rauh of the UAW represented the case of the Mississippi insurgents.

While Levy recounts the story of how the liberal-labor establishment then abandoned the MFDP and permanently aroused the suspicions of new leftists, both white and black, he makes a good point: that on through the following year and the passage of the Voting Rights Act, the official trade union movement—even the stereotypical reactionary building trades—remained committed to the cause of civil rights and participated in the voting rights campaign and the Selma, Alabama march. Unlike others who have commented on this vexed relationship, Levy argues that the New Left's social isolation from working-class America was not a genetic and irresistible outcome of its inherent middle-class interests and sensibilties. Rather, its eventual estrangment from the labor movement originated in the divergent reactions of the two movements to three critical external developments: Vietnam, black power, and the counter culture. As a result, if the first half of the sixties was distintive for its spirit of cooperation, the second half was rocked by the bitterest mutual recriminations.

Appropriately, Levy devotes a substantial portion of the second half of his book to dissecting the forces of disunion. The labor movement feared a break with an administration still friendly to its interests; reaped the benefits of lower unemployment and growing trade union enrollments that were the secondary effects of an economy super-heated by the war; and shared the anti-communist ideological fixations of the national security state. For all these reasons and more, its leaders reacted to the New Left's uncompromising denunciations of the war in Vietnam as if they were the ravings of traitors. The New Left retaliated by dismissing the trade union movement as a hopeless captive of the corporate liberal leviathan. The shift in racial politics from civil rights to black power further escalated antagonisms. Unions once in the vanguard in the fight against discrimination were now condemned for betraying the cause of the black working class and accused of seeking only to skim the cream from an imperial world order that exploited people of color at home and abroad. The official labor movement responded in kind by excoriating black power thinking and practice as divisive, racist, violent, and anti-democratic. The counter culture, which in the early sixties drew explicitly on a tradition of labor protest and focused its anger on America's exploitation of the working poor, was by the latter part of the decade preoccupied with its own alienation from the mass conformity of consumer culture and intent on displaying its contempt for all those middle-class values still cherished across broad stretches of blue-collar America. Meanwhile, the working class, or at least the mass media's representation of it, drew no distinctions between the New Left and the counter culture and rejected its apparent ethos of drugs, sex, and rock and roll as a mortal threat to the accustomed racial, sexual, religious, and paternal order of things.

Of course, the situation was never quite this polarized, and Levy's analysis is always nuanced enough to observe the countervailing currents: the participation of important segments of the trade union movement in antiwar activity, the continuing collaboration between labor and civil rights activists, the demurral of significant New Left leaders from the wholesale denunciation of the labor movement, and, finally, the conspicuous instances of real collaboration, especially as the decade drew to a close, in the Memphis sanitation workers' strike, the postal workers' walkout and General Electric strikes of 1970, and the prolonged campaign of the United Farm Workers.

Levy perceptively argues that, however harmonious or parlous the state of New Left-labor relations, in the end the New Left had to wrestle with the "labor question." Indeed, in part what was essentially "new" about the New Left was that it could no longer take for granted the singular revolutionary potential of the industrial proletariat, an assumption that enjoyed axiomatic status among the old left. Consequently, it found itself in perpetual search of "agents of revolutionary change," either to supplement or to take the place of a working class whose own struggle for liberation seemed at one time to promise a universal deliverance. Candidates came and went: "the new working class" of technical/professional/managerial workers, the poor, blacks and other minorities as stand-ins for third-world revolutionaries, and so on. Even as late as 1969, the issue that split the SDS in half was the raucous debate between those in favor of a "worker-student alliance" and those who had invested their hopes in "Youth" as the new bearer of revolutionary promise. The point remains: from its birth to its death, and no matter how distanced its posture from all things smacking of the old-fashioned labor movement, the New Left was fated to engage the ghostly remains of the "labor question." By bringing that ghost back to life, Levy helps us retrieve the history of a decade rapidly dissolving into myth and commercialized fiction.

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John Henry Schlegel. *American Legal Realism and Empirical Social Science*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 418. $55.00.

John Henry Schlegel's book makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of American legal realism by recasting the "ideas in context" approach to intellectual history. Positing that "a text ... must be situated in the manifold activities of its author and others at the time and place of its creation," Schlegel

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concludes that "intellectual history needs to be the history of intellectuals, people who do things with ideas" (p. 5).

Accordingly, he presents an exhaustive narrative of the careers and work of Walter Wheeler Cook, Underhill Moore, and Herman Oliphant, the realists most committed to applying the theories and techniques of empirical social science to legal studies. The book discusses other Realist scholars, such as Charles E. Clark and William O. Douglas, but only for the brief period they engaged in empirical work. Schlegel also treats the institutions at which Cook, Moore, and Oliphant plied their trade during the 1920s and 1930s, the Columbia and Yale law schools and the short-lived Johns Hopkins Institute of Law. The final chapter of the book quickly traces the relation of legal education and empirical social science up to the present day.

Schlegel's study of these professors' and these institutions' engagement with social science is comprehensive and penetrating, providing a wealth of factual information and solid analysis. Although Schlegel tells his story in tedious detail, he generally holds the reader's interest by interspersing a host of sound insights and observations.

Schlegel's findings, summed up in the last chapter, are complex and multi-factored. Though he finds merit in the realists' empirical studies, he concludes that in the main they failed to produce much fruitful work and never were able to institutionalize their approach to legal studies. Schlegel's explanation balances the accidents of time (the Great Depression), place (the Hopkins philosophy professors' jealousy of the Institute faculties' salaries), and personality (Moore's shyness) with more permanent influences. Schlegel emphasizes the extent to which the law professors' preexisting professional identity as doctrinal analysts and progressive reformers cabined and colored their commitment to social science. He also stresses the problems stemming from the realists' limited understanding of the theory and techniques of empirical science. In light of the importance of the realists' conceptual limitations, I wish Schlegel had included a fuller discussion of the development of empirical social science during the 1920s and 1930s. Lacking this discussion, it never becomes sufficiently clear what the law professors might have accomplished had they been fully trained interdisciplinary scholars. Estimates of what early twentieth-century social science could have done for American legal studies is, I think, an important part of the story of the law schools' marginal interest in supporting them.

Previous accounts of the legal realist movement have tended to downplay the importance of the realists who attempted to do empirical research. Schlegel's treatment should rehabilitate their standing and reestablish the law professors who engaged in empirical studies as a major branch of the realist movement. Yet there is no basis for asserting, as the dust jacket and Schlegel (on one occasion) do, that the empirically minded law professors' careers and work form the story of legal realism. Since "Cook and his friends" (p. 147) are all that Schlegel studies, it is impossible to claim that they were more than just "an aspect" of a larger intellectual persuasion (p. 12). Although Schlegel's work must be considered in any future discussion, realism's legacy remains a contested concept.

STEPHEN A. SIEGEL
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WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG. *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 350. $30.00.

The pivotal event in modern American political history was the enthronement of the liberal state in the 1930s. This established the idea that the federal government should play a major role in regulating the economy and providing a safety net of social welfare policies along with ensuring the judicial protection of civil liberties. William E. Leuchtenburg's study examines one of the central events that brought the liberal state into being: the famous about-face by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1937. As the subtitle of the book indicates, a series of decisions that year represented nothing less than a "constitutional revolution." In a dramatic reversal, the court sanctioned federal regulatory activities and at the same time embarked on an unprecedented effort to provide judicial protection of political and civil rights. The two halves of the revolution are united in a paradox: the withdrawal of judicial activism in the economic sphere and the emergence of a vigorous court activism in the realm of civil liberties.

This book consists of nine separate essays, one published as long ago as 1966, and only one being published for the first time. To his great credit, Leuchtenburg has revised the essays extensively to take into account recent scholarship and to eliminate repetition. The article originally published in 1966, for example, now contains citations to scholarship published in 1988 and 1989. The material here will undoubtedly find its way into Leuchtenburg's planned two-volume work on the history of the Supreme Court.

The chapters are all extremely valuable treatments of their respective subjects. The best are the two on President Franklin D. Roosevelt's ill-fated "court-packing" plan. One offers a detailed account of the administration's thinking leading up to the announcement of the plan, and the other describes the fate of the plan in Congress. The essay on the "paradox and irony" (p. 212) surrounding Hugo Black's appointment to the Court is fascinating and informative. The chapter on the famous sterilization case, *Buck v. Bell* (1927), offers both a critical analysis of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and a compassionate portrait of Carrie Buck and her subsequent fate. The weakest chapter, on post–1937 developments in constitutional law, suffers because Leuchtenburg attempts to cover too large and complex a subject in a mere twenty-one pages.

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Leuchtenburg, one of the premier historians of modern American politics, covers each subject in his accustomed style. The reader is treated to a crisply written narrative with illuminating detail on people and events in Washington. The approach is traditional political history. Readers seeking a fine-grained doctrinal analysis of constitutional law will need to look elsewhere. The book, however, is also not a full history of the constitutional revolution of the 1930s; it remains a collection of essays on selected aspects of that revolution.

Most regrettably, Leuchtenburg does not offer an interpretive overview of his subject. There is no introductory or closing chapter reflecting on the origins, nature, and impact of the constitutional revolution in the context of the broad sweep of modern American history. The reader is left with a good sense of some of the parts of the revolution but not of the whole. Given the current assault on modern liberalism, some reflections on its place in American history would be especially welcome, particularly from Leuchtenburg.

Many questions about the constitutional revolution itself remain unanswered. In particular, what was the relationship between the two parts of the Court's about-face? The economic and political crisis readily explains the Court's reversal on economic regulation, but what prompted its new role in the realm of civil liberties? What did Roosevelt think of the new judicial protection of civil liberties? It can be hoped that these and other questions will be addressed in Leuchtenburg's forthcoming history of the Supreme Court.

SAMUEL WALKER
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JOHN E. THORSON. *River of Promise, River of Peril: The Politics of Managing the Missouri River*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. xiii, 282. $29.95.

John E. Thorson brings to this volume considerable experience with western water issues. His basic argument is that federal and state governments have failed to develop workable institutions for managing the Missouri River and its basin. Thorson lays much of this shortcoming at the feet of the Pick-Sloan Plan, passed by Congress in 1944. Pick-Sloan, he contends, never adequately addressed the tensions between the upper basin, which has a shortage of water, and the lower basin, which must plan for an abundance. Along with most subsequent attempts to manage the river, Pick-Sloan neglected to consider the needs and rights of Indian tribes in the basin. Ultimately, Thorson asserts, the absence of adequate institutions for managing the Missouri points to a weakness of American federalism: the lack of guidance in the Constitution for developing "cooperative, economically sound, and environmentally responsible policies for our shared waterways" (p. 6).

This book has much going for it, but there are some things that historians will find frustrating. The historical background is thin at best. Readers interested in the history of the Pick-Sloan Plan would do better to begin with a standard treatment like Henry Hart's *The Dark Missouri* (1957). Thorson does not always seem to link evidence and argument. For example, a section on federal land policy (pp. 57–58) offers three citations to federal statutes that do not appear to account for the wide range of information presented. Finally, the analysis tends to discount changing context and shifts in values and attitudes, such as blaming the Constitution for not providing guidance on "environmentally responsible policies."

Thorson's book really hits its stride in the final chapters, which examine interstate compacts (chapter 6), federal/interstate compacts (chapter 7), and creative federalism in the Missouri basin (chapter 8), to include the Missouri River Management Project (1985–1990), which Thorson directed for the Northern Lights Institute. In a final phase of the Missouri River Management Project, the Northern Lights Institute attempted, unsuccessfully, to establish a Missouri River Assembly that would bring together federal, state, and tribal representatives.

It is the Missouri River Management Project and the Missouri River Assembly that the author sees as providing the best model for a potentially successful institutional framework for managing the Missouri basin. His book offers a very useful introduction to the development of policies and institutions for managing interstate resources like the Missouri River. This volume's greatest strength may be as applied scholarship aimed at resource managers who are in the trenches attempting to forge workable, inclusive, economically sensible, and environmentally sound management strategies for the Missouri and its basin.

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THEODORE STEINBERG. *Slide Mountain or the Folly of Owning Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. 212. $24.00.

The title of this book comes from a Mark Twain story about a mock trial involving ownership of property buried under a ranch that had slid down Slide Mountain, Nevada. The point of the story—and the book—concerns the American obsession with owning nature. "Pushed to its limits," Theodore Steinberg argues, "our property-centered view of the world contains the seeds of its own undoing" (p. 5).

This often humorous and highly readable book is fascinating and provocative. Its assessment of the American concept of property and the need to "reduce the earth, in all its complexity, into a set of ownable things" (p. 173) is, however, deadly serious and takes us to the heart of the central conflict over human intrusion in the natural landscape.

The book focuses on the vagaries of property law in twentieth-century America, a society, Steinberg tells

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us, "obsessed with mastering nature technologically, a society bent on redesigning the natural world, no matter what the cost" (p. 6). Rather than presenting property law in turgid fashion or producing a comprehensive history of ownership, Steinberg offers a series of vignettes, graphically demonstrating his major theme. Indeed, what gives this slim volume its power are the ironies—and even absurdities—imbedded in these carefully selected moral lessons. Chapter 1 takes the reader to Blackbird Hills, Nebraska, to examine how a change in the Missouri River shoreline shifted three thousand acres of Indian lands to white farmers. Chapter 2 recounts a legal debate in Louisiana over whether Six Mile Lake was actually a lake or a stream. The outcome determined who would own oil-rich land bordering that body of water. Chapter 3 moves to Arizona's Sonoran Desert, this time to investigate who owned the "property" below the surface and thus who possessed its water. Chapter 4 offers a glimpse of the confrontation between rainmakers and farmers in southern Pennsylvania concerning control of the weather, and chapter 5 travels to New York City, where real estate entrepreneurs battle for the rights to air space to build skyscrapers.

Each story is unique and many of the players eccentric, but a common thread runs through the vignettes: human effort to own the natural world is thwarted by nature's continual resistance to human meddling. Steinberg's argument about nature is, in some respects, quite optimistic in view of what is otherwise a less-than-optimistic appraisal of human behavior. Contrary to his view, humans have been all too successful in subduing nature on many occasions. Steinberg's thesis might have been stronger, moreover, had he not restricted his argument about ownership to Americans alone. The Pharaohs of Egypt, for example, fit well into Steinberg's critique of property ownership and the desire to subdue nature. Nevertheless, Steinberg's book treats a central issue—if not the central issue—in the relationship between humans and nature in such a unique and graphic way that it should be especially valuable in the classroom. Such a thought-provoking study deserves widespread attention.

MARTIN V. MELOSI
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ROGER K. NEWMAN. *Hugo Black: A Biography*. New York: Pantheon. 1994. Pp. xiv, 741. $30.00.

To most of the citizenry, judges are an anonymous lot. Even Supreme Court justices toil in relative obscurity. The typical citizen would undoubtedly have some difficulty in naming the current members of the Supreme Court (for that matter, so might the average law student), and, although the well informed might express admiration for a particular judge or justice, the likelihood is that this same admirer would not recognize the esteemed jurist if they were standing next to each other in a supermarket line. In this media age, in which political leaders appear in our living rooms more frequently than members of the family, the judge remains a fascinating anomaly—an active but virtually unknown political player.

This fact may well explain the popularity of the judicial biography as a literary form. Throughout the twentieth century, the judicial biography has played a significant role in scholarly as well as popular literature on the judiciary. Recent works have detailed the lives of some of our most important judges, and Roger K. Newman's biography of Justice Hugo Black ranks with the best. Justice Black, of course, is one of the giants of the American judiciary. His life story, stretching from the requisite humble origins in Clay County, Alabama through his rise to the United States Senate and a Supreme Court career that began with his 1937 appointment tainted by public revelations about his earlier membership in the Ku Klux Klan and ended with his eloquent defense of press freedom in his 1971 opinion in the Pentagon Papers case, is the stuff of which heroic legends are easily made. Newman's opus will certainly not detract from Justice Black's legacy. Meticulously researched—Newman spent over two decades conducting thousands of interviews and combing the archives—and beautifully written, this is the definitive biography of an extraordinary American.

Newman's goal is obviously to humanize Black and make him more accessible to his public. In this he succeeds almost too well. This is not a biography steeped in case (or psycho) analysis. Newman consistently paints with broad strokes, eschewing, for the most part, any extended discussion of legal cases or arcane doctrine. Thus, for example, although he notes that Justice Black came to regret his opinion in *Korematsu v. United States*, the book fails to examine critically what motivated one of the Court's most unconscionable decisions. Newman has mined Black's case files and skillfully weaves memoranda, draft opinions, and marginalia into his history, but there is nothing presented that will cause scholars to reappraise Black's jurisprudence. While there are unflattering episodes detailed in the book—Black could be, for example, an autocratic parent and husband—Newman is a professed admirer of Black and there is little that is critical of either the judge or the man.

None of this, however, should detract from the power of Newman's work. He can hardly be faulted for identifying with his subject; if this is a drawback, it is one that seems to be endemic to the genre. Moreover Black was an authentic American hero. For most of his judicial career his was an unfaltering voice in defense of constitutional liberties. Toward the end of his more than three decades on the bench, this voice faltered as events and age overtook the man. Nevertheless history has been kind to the memory of Justice Black; his position as one of the greatest members of the Supreme Court seems assured. This fine biography will only enhance his stature.

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BERNARD V. BURKE. *Ambassador Frederic Sackett and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic, 1930–1933: The United States and Hitler's Rise to Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 330. $44.95.

In recent years, the field of international-relations history has become impressively diversified, no longer limited to the state, power politics, or the influence of large corporations. Nowadays, diplomatic historians routinely pay attention to a myriad of cultural factors such as ideology and national stereotypes but also take a much closer look at nongovernmental agencies of global interaction such as labor unions, churches, foundations, universities, students, scientists, social workers, philanthropists, and charities. Bernard V. Burke's account of Ambassador Frederic Sackett's mission to Germany, however, has hardly been touched by those recent developments in the profession. Based on his doctoral dissertation of 1966, this book is diplomatic history in the older, literal sense of the word. This is unfortunate, because there is a clear need for a comprehensive study of German-American relations during the crucial years of Adolf Hitler's rise to power between 1930 and 1933. During this period, the two countries were again drifting apart after a short phase of friendship and close cooperation during the 1920s that had taken place on many levels, not that of diplomacy alone. By choosing to limit his approach to the perspective of an American ambassador and his fellow diplomats at the Berlin embassy, Burke has missed an opportunity to make a much more important contribution to the history of German-American relations.

Burke's main interest is to show how Sackett influenced American policy toward Germany and whether he did everything he could have done to prevent the collapse of the Weimar Republic. Using unpublished source material mainly from American archives, he shows that Sackett was an unlikely candidate to accomplish such a momentous goal. A conservative Republican senator from Kentucky, he "earned" his ambassadorship as an early and loyal supporter of Herbert Hoover after the circumstances of Kentucky politics deprived him of his seat in the Senate. Unexpectedly elevated to the post of America's representative in Berlin, he developed a strong personal and political friendship with Chancellor Heinrich Brüning, which almost made him a spokesperson for the German government. The ambassador lobbied American policymakers to relieve Germany of some of the hardships of the Versailles Treaty in order to prevent the collapse of the Weimar Republic. His influence peaked during the financial crisis of 1931, when he played an important role in the developments that led toward the Hoover moratorium.

Burke, who is highly critical of Hoover's stand on the debt question, lauds Sackett for his effort to support the democratic forces in Germany and criticizes him for failing to grasp Hitler's ultimate aims. He carefully points out that Sackett was blinded by his strong anticommunist sentiments, which constantly led him to overestimate the importance of left-wing radicalism and underestimate the threat the Nazis posed. Sackett hoped that Hitler could be contained in a conservative government, a belief shared by many members of the German elite with whom he had developed close social ties. Burke's conclusion, however—that Sackett could have done more to prevent the collapse of the Weimar Republic by stressing the Nazi danger in his reports to Washington, thus prompting Hoover to cancel the war debts much earlier (p. 308)—seems highly improbable against the background of what is known about the constraints of American foreign policy in the interwar period. It also overlooks the importance of domestic factors contributing to the ascent of Hitler.

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DAVID REYNOLDS. *Rich Relations: The American Occupation of Britain, 1942–1945*. New York: Random House. 1995. Pp. xxx, 555. $30.00.

During much of World War II, Great Britain served as a giant base for U.S. forces in the European theater of operations. About three million Americans passed through between 1942 and 1945. Most were young men in their early twenties. The British sometimes complained that the Yanks were "oversexed, overpaid, overfed, and over here." The Americans riposted that the Brits were "undersexed, underpaid, underfed, and under Eisenhower."

David Reynolds, who teaches in Christ's College, Cambridge, England, and summers in New England, knows the two cultures intimately. Author of several excellent books on diplomatic relations between Britain and the United States, he has here written a splendid study, with a wonderfully evocative title, about an important episode in the social-cultural relationship between the two peoples. He does it with verve and understanding, using interviews and, more than any previous study of the subject, a wealth of archival sources from both sides of the Atlantic.

Reynolds provides the fullest account to date of wartime Britain during the American "occupation" (a term used by George Orwell in December 1943) and the meaning of that experience for the British and the Americans. Sex and race were considered the main problem areas by officials, and two policy options were considered. The negative approach (used in Iceland, for example) was to avoid friction by minimizing contact. The positive approach actively encouraged friendship, and it was the option emphasized by Prime Minister Winston Churchill as a grass-roots part of building a "special relationship" with the United States, deemed vital for Britain's future. On the American side, the effort to keep the GIs well supplied with food, funds, and friendship was General George C. Marshall's way of minimizing discontent in a largely

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drafted army of citizen-soldiers. The problems experienced in Britain by the much less affluent Canadian Army reinforced that decision.

The book's main focus, however, is not policy but rather the everyday life of the GIs, Tommies, and British civilians and their interaction in wartime Britain. One particularly important group is British women in the more emancipated circumstances of the war. Reynolds's research produces some important new insights. The GIs look less oversexed, for example, when placed in the context of prewar British sexual behavior. In 1938–1939, thirty percent of all mothers in England and Wales conceived their firstborns out of wedlock (p. 273). Using U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service records, Reynolds provides the most accurate estimate of the number of British war brides (37,900) and children (14,000) who came to the United States. In moving case studies, he dramatizes their experiences as well as those of illegitimate children searching for their unknown GI fathers.

U.S. officials sought to bring American racial segregation to Britain, which had few nonwhites and no formal color bar. There were numerous incidents of white GIs attacking blacks mingling with the British, and British civilians, who generally welcomed black Americans, often angrily resisted this. African-American soldiers were enthusiatic about the freer atmosphere they found in the United Kingdom, and that experience sharpened their grievances about life in the United States.

One of the main themes of the book is that there was no uniformity to the GI experience in Britain, and Reynolds treats the subject in all its complexity. While the GIs were paid five times that of the average British "Tommy," the "oversexed, overpaid" image, he concludes, tells us as much about British stereotypes of the Americans as it does about the GIs themselves.

Reinforcing images already projected by Hollywood, the affluent American GI became a symbol of American wealth, values, and power. His brief but intense stay in Britain contributed to longer-term patterns of Americanization there. In turn, the GI's service overseas helped to reduce regionalism and to Americanize the GI.

Reynold's highly informative and readable book is a valuable addition to our understanding of the impact of World War II and provides a model for the social-cultural approach to military and international history.

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DAN B. MILLER. *Erskine Caldwell: The Journey from Tobacco Road*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1995. Pp. xiv, 459. $30.00.

Dan B. Miller is the latest in a long line of American scholars and critics who have found in the career of Erskine Caldwell a source of both fascination and aversion. As the author of *Tobacco Road* (1932) and *God's Little Acre* (1933), Caldwell was a powerful innovator in both the proletarian literary revolution and the southern renaissance. His early short stories won prizes and critical acclaim; his photo-documentaries with Margaret Bourke-White helped establish a new artistic genre; and his disturbing depictions of sexuality, poverty, and degradation demanded that he be taken very seriously. As the later exploiter of his own reputation for sexual candor, the tireless promoter of lurid-covered paperbacks, and the producer of dozens of shoddy and derivative versions of his own early work, however, he eventually earned a great deal of money and proportional critical contempt.

Writing Caldwell's literary epitaph in 1947, forty years and twenty-four books before his actual epitaph would be written, James Baldwin concluded that "we can leave his bones for [the] literary historian of another day" (p. 348). Miller is not the first to disturb these bones—two previous biographies have been written—but he is probably the first Caldwell scholar to be so young as to have no confessed preconceptions about his subject. He acknowledges and uses very effectively the work of his predecessors, William Sutton's lengthy unpublished manuscript and Harvey Klevar's fine *Erskine Caldwell: A Biography* (1993), and adds to these his own extensive research, particularly on Caldwell's early life and education. While Klevar's approach is that of a literary biographer, interested in engaging in critical debates on interpretation and sympathetic to his subject's ambitions, Miller summarizes critical opinion and concentrates on a more dispassionate study of "Caldwell the man—his angers and regrets, triumphs and failures, virtues and tragic flaws" (p. xii).

Miller's biography reveals a radically different character from Caldwell's own carefully nurtured self-image in his two autobiographies, *Call It Experience* (1951) and *With All My Might* (1987) and in scores of tightly controlled interviews. Caldwell's self-created persona was untutored in literature, naive about politics, innocent of the worldly business of the marketplace, and genially restrained in discussing his four wives and children. Miller shows him to have been an enthusiastic early reader of American realist fiction and sociological, scientific, and modernist journals and a keen observer of the contemporary literary scene. In his politics, Caldwell was encouraged by his father from his earliest years to be critical of southern pieties and sympathetic towards the poorest and most exploited members of his society. Miller shows convincingly that, while such allegiances were certainly deeply felt, a leftist-leaning writer like Caldwell could act as expediently in his use of his Communist affiliations as the Party could in its efforts to appropriate literary hopefuls. Countering Caldwell's claims of ignorance of the financial aspects of writing, Miller argues that Caldwell's calculating and commodity-based view of literature was one of the main reasons he failed to sustain his early artistic achievement.

Miller's most negative and his most positive views of "Caldwell the man" both originate in his subject's private life, where he proved a tyrannical and some-

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times brutal father to the children of his first marriage and a loyal, generous, and affectionate son to his clergyman father, Ira Sylvester Caldwell. Miller makes a strong case for Rev. "I.S." as his son's mentor, inspiration, and conscience. He suggests that his father's death in 1944 was the beginning of Caldwell's literary decline, although he does not neglect a thorough investigation of the many other causes. Miller's book is an absorbing and harrowing portrait of a starkly original writer who found himself, partly by his own choice, and partly by the vagaries of Hollywood, Broadway, and the paperback revolution, both a bitter literary outcast and, for a time, the world's best-selling author.

SYLVIA J. COOK
University of Missouri-St. Louis

BEN KEPPEL. *The Work of Democracy: Ralph Bunche, Kenneth B. Clark, Lorraine Hansberry, and the Cultural Politics of Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. 314. $35.00.

Until the second half of the twentieth century, African Americans were (at least, to most white Americans) relatively invisible in the national culture, save in the most negative, stereotypical manner. How and why that subsequently changed and the meaning of this transformation in image and sensibility, are the subjects of Ben Keppel's informative study of the careers of diplomat Ralph Bunche, social scientist Kenneth B. Clark, and playwright Lorraine Hansberry.

Largely traversing terrain already thoroughly explored by historians, Keppel first relates Bunche's ideological development in the 1930s, his "ignored" contributions to Gunner Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* (1944), and the ideological reassessment ignited by the fascist threat that led Bunche to the Research Analysis Branch of the Office of Strategic Services, then to the postwar planning staff of the State Department, and, in 1946, to the United Nations. More creatively, Keppel delineates the creation of Bunche as an icon, as a symbol of the United Nations, of world peace, of rags-to-riches success, and of racial integration. He shows how the manufacturing of the mythic Bunche by the mainstream media submerged his opposition to McCarthyism, as well as some of his efforts to make racial equality a national priority, and later made him into a symbol of tokenism easily derided by Malcolm X and a generation of black militants and nationalists.

Kenneth B. Clark's work as the principal social science advisor to the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund—the "doll man"—in its brief to the Supreme Court challenging *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the constitutionality of segregation in public education, and his post-*Brown* role as the organizer of Harlem Youth Unlimited (HARYOU) and the main interpreter of the urban black ghetto to white America, are the central topics of the next two chapters. Keppel asserts (without ever quite analyzing how, why, or by whom) that the public life of Clark was also fashioned into an "icon of integration" but that, unlike Bunche, Clark escaped being pilloried by the black critics of the civil rights establishment.

Lastly, Keppel examines Lorraine Hansberry's apprenticeship at Paul Robeson's monthly Harlem newspaper, *Freedom*, the public's misunderstanding and embrace of her play, *A Raisin in the Sun* (1966), Hansberry's efforts to reclaim the meaning of her text, and the media domestication of *Raisin* as a symbol of middle-class integrationism. Keppel's finest work is his explication of the radicalism in *Raisin* and *The Drinking Gourd*, Hansberry's script on the Civil War commissioned by the National Broadcasting Company but never produced because network executives considered it too controversial.

This elegantly written work, although hardly a bad book, is certainly not the book it should and could be. Except when dealing with Hansberry's writings and several other isolated matters, Keppel is far too content to restate what others have already published rather than depicting the public lives of Bunche, Clark, and Hansberry in creative ways, or even adding significantly to the accepted interpretations of their careers (despite his own interviewing of key individuals close to the three biographical subjects, employment of the Freedom of Information Act, unrestricted access to Clark's papers, and research in numerous archives). Although the footnotes to the opening and closing pages of the book cite the work of Philip Fisher, Lynn Hunt, John Rodden, and Raymond Williams, Keppel hardly exemplifies or even makes much use of the insights or methodologies of the new cultural studies. Instead, he has given us competent but not innovative biographical portraits of three important individual African Americans. We still await an analysis of the cultural politics of race, of the relationship between it and the postwar structural changes, and, especially, of how the new cultural representations both furthered and restricted the black struggle for equality.

HARVARD SITKOFF
University of New Hampshire

ELLEN HERMAN. *The Romance of American Psychology: Political Culture in the Age of Experts*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 406. $35.00.

Focusing on post–World War II American society, Ellen Herman examines why "we are likely to believe what psychological experts tell us" (p. 1). Although she draws her evidence from a broad definition of what and who constitute psychological expertise, Herman focuses mainly on the influence of clinical psychology and psychiatry. As she notes, membership in the American Psychological Association and the American Psychiatric Association rose exponentially from the 1940s to the mid-1980s. Since World War II, "the United States has trained and employed more psychological experts, per capita, than any other country in

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the world" (p. 3). Herman's is not a disciplinary history. Rather, she is interested in psychology as a system of "analyzing mental processes, interpersonal relationships, introspection, and behavior as a way of explaining both individual and social realities" (p. 5). To her credit, Herman avoids becoming stuck to a dualistic judgmental tar-baby of whether the aims of this psychological triumph should be seen as a subterranean form of social control or individual freedom. She sees the process anthropologically as a genealogy that encompasses control and freedom, both of which must always be historically contextualized. Thus, her conclusion that "psychological experts have been a critical force in the recent convergence between private and public domains, cultural and political concerns" is not conspiratorial but dialectical (p. 12).

Although much of the evidence will be familiar to many readers, the organization and analysis of this book make it the most comprehensive and readable overview available. Herman's discussion of the emergence of psychological expertise during World War II has been told in greater detail elsewhere. But no one else has shown the connections between such diverse policies such as psychological warfare, military intelligence, civilian morale, administration of internment camps, propaganda, and the growth of mental health services. Acknowledging that intelligence testing and propaganda clearly could be and were used to reenforce a variety of prejudices and social control, Herman also insists that "a widespread feeling grew up among the vast majority of World War II psychological experts ... that psychological theories and applications were inextricably, dynamically linked with democratic politics" (p. 65). The war, Herman argues, had shown that "controlling personalities, shaping attitudes and feelings, and guiding democracy were major responsibilities of government," and these "were also the things that psychological experts did best" (p. 81).

Having set out her thesis, Herman shows how, during the Cold War, psychological experts self-consciously and, often, unquestioningly put their expertise in the service of national security policies, even when it meant attempting to subvert democratically elected regimes. Ironically, the exposure of academic collusion with the military in the secret Project Camelot (1965) demonstrated "how politically useful psychological intelligence was to the policy-making process" and, as a result, strengthened the mutual dependence of the military and academic psychology/psychiatry (p. 169). By the 1960s, so much psychological research relied on a variety of governmental funding that scandals like Camelot could not sever these ties. Psychological assumptions undergirded the War on Poverty and the Kerner Commission (1967). This leads Herman back to mental health policy, especially the role of the psychological/governmental diad in the movement from emphasis on mental illness to mental health: that is, the destigmatizing of psychiatric illness and the formulation that a majority of the citizenry required preventive and periodic mental health treatment. Finally, demonstrating how embedded psychological thinking had become by the 1970s and 1980s, Herman exposes the extent to which the feminist critique of psychiatric and psychological clinical claims and practice itself relied on psychological assumptions established since World War II. Although feminists like Kate Millet attacked Eriksonian notions of identity as confusing cultural constructions with alleged biological differences, they nevertheless "proceeded to use 'identity' in their own way for their own purposes [and] quickly latched onto the process of female socialization as the preferred explanation for feminine thought and behavior" (p. 294). This meshes with Herman's wider conclusion that "the romance of American psychology in the postwar era is consequential not because it offers reassurance that freedom and control are entirely different things, but because it shows they are not" (p. 315).

HOWARD I. KUSHNER
San Diego State University and Simon Fraser University

WENDY KOZOL. *Life's America: Family and Nation in Postwar Photojournalism*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 218. Cloth $49.95, paper $24.95.

Wendy Kozol's book puts a new lens on a picture magazine that helped shape popular beliefs about nation and family during the height of the Cold War. Like other recent historians, Kozol shows how Cold War rhetoric about public life relied on an idealized vision of the white, upwardly mobile suburban family to legitimate consensual notions about the American past, present, and future. Sentimental portraits of family bliss served as reminders of why we fought the war and why we needed to "keep the world safe for democracy," even as American Cold War policies promoted racism, sexism, and xenophobia. At the same time, by suggesting that the Cold War was being waged primarily in order to protect American families from outside threats, *Life* reinforced the myth that the suburban family ideal was equally available to and desirable for all races, classes, and sexes. What makes Kozol's book especially interesting, however, is her contention that despite its attempts to secure consensus for prevailing Cold War values and policies, *Life* often bore the traces of a country torn by conflict.

Complete with *Life*-size photographs, the book is indeed most powerful for its refusal to buy into the notion that popular media simply persuade people to accept dominant views. Although media do attempt to legitimate ruling norms and social structures, they are not monolithic. Popular texts sometimes intentionally and often unintentionally express social unrest. Kozol particularly reads *Life* in relation to contentious struggles over sex roles and racial injustice.

Drawing on cultural theorists such as Mikhail Bakhtin, Roland Barthes, and Stuart Hall, Kozol argues that

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Life was replete with contradiction and ambivalence. Despite its aim to portray consensus, the magazine presented inconsistent portraits of America's life and times. In her last chapter, for example, she shows that *Life* could not entirely mask the racism of its family values rhetoric. The magazine attempted to portray African Americans through the same conventions of sentimental "family" portraiture that it used for white suburbanites; in a country where blacks were denied access to the suburban dream, however, these family portraits often contradicted the text that accompanied them. One article shows policemen camped out at a fire in front of a black family's suburban home. The story claims that the police are protecting the family from racist neighbors. But, Kozol argues, the centrality of fire in the photographic layout harks back to cultural memories of Ku Klux Klan cross burnings, so that this portrait takes on sinister rather than sentimental tones. Kozol claims that such logical inconsistencies between word and image disrupted *Life*'s attempts to secure consensus for national and family agendas. Instead these gaps in logic had the opposite, if unintended, effect of making readers more critical of those agendas. In this regard, she speculates that *Life*'s logical inconsistencies might even have encouraged ways of seeing that led to new social consciousness and movements in the 1960s.

More generally, Kozol shows why historians cannot simply dismiss popular texts as "bad evidence" or "biased data." She convincingly demonstrates how cultural and literary theory can help historians formulate new questions and methods of interpretation that more fully grasp the relationship between popular consciousness and social change in a media-saturated world.

LYNN SPIGEL
University of Southern California

CHARLES A. ZIEGLER and DAVID JACOBSON. *Spying without Spies: Origins of America's Secret Nuclear Surveillance System*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1995. Pp. xi, 242. $49.95.

The end of the Cold War has expanded opportunities to examine the history of American intelligence. The Central Intelligence Agency's Center for the Study of Intelligence has recently released new data on CIA activities during the Truman administration, national intelligence estimates on Soviet military power, the U.S. decryption effort against Soviet atomic espionage communications, and the first generation of photo reconnaissance satellites.

Even before the CIA's openness initiatives, however, scholars stalked the nation's intelligence history armed with the Freedom of Information Act and the executive order governing declassification. Using this approach, Charles A. Ziegler and David Jacobson have produced a detailed study of the initial U.S. effort to detect and monitor the Soviet Union's development of atomic weapons.

A political and technical analysis, this book first addresses the organizational framework developed in fits and starts from World War II through 1948 to coordinate U.S. efforts to detect Soviet testing of atomic weapons. It then describes the creation of the technology necessary for such a task. Ziegler and Jacobson provide a wealth of detail on the various radiological, seismological, and remote sonic-sensing threads brought together in 1947 under an interagency Long Range Detection Committee. Their study provides an important corrective to the widespread story that Atomic Energy Commissioner Lewis Strauss was the primary architect of the American detection program.

Ziegler and Jacobson meticulously document the 1947–1948 creation of the initial collection and monitoring organization, AFMSW-1 (Air Force Deputy Chief of Staff for Material Special Weapons Group Section 1), and the largely unsatisfactory monitoring experiment, Operation Fitzwilliam, conducted during the U.S. Sandstone atomic tests. Further budget, organization, and mission debates in 1948–1949 are described, as are the re-start of British cooperation in nuclear intelligence collection and government contracting for basic research in surveillance technologies. The book concludes with the most detailed recounting yet published of the role played by AFMSW-1, now redesignated AFOAT-1 (Air Force Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Atomic Energy Office, Section 1) in the detection of the first two Soviet nuclear detonations in August 1949 and September 1951.

This book is well grounded in recently declassified documents, particularly Defense Department and Atomic Energy Commission files and CIA historical studies. Ziegler and Jacobson also conducted interviews with former participants and use these to enliven their often dry narrative. They rescue from classified obscurity dozens of individuals who played key roles in shaping the first tentative efforts at nuclear surveillance. Their book is an excellent complement to such recent studies of Soviet nuclear weapons development as David Holloway's *Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939–1956* (1994) and Richard Rhodes's *Dark Sun, The Making of the Hydrogen Bomb* (1995).

This is, nevertheless, a work for specialists. It focuses tightly on its subject, occasionally missing opportunities to link the nuclear monitoring effort to other Cold War mysteries. The authors inadvertently confirm that the infamous "flying saucer" recovered at Roswell, New Mexico, in July 1947 was (as recently claimed by the Air Force) a polyethylene balloon carrying top secret project Mogul sonic-sensing equipment, but they never mention this notorious incident. There are also small factual lapses. General John Hull made the comment about the urgency surrounding the 1948 Sandstone tests, not former Secretary of State Cordell Hull (p. 117).

Ziegler and Jacobson offer an excellent model for historians of modern technical intelligence collection.

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Their book is solidly researched, sound in narrative, effectively organized, and judicious—if unambitious—in its conclusions. The authors even get in a good shot at the continued secrecy surrounding the official history of the Long Range Detection Committee by noting that in October 1949, the notorious Soviet spy Kim Philby was made privy to essentially all of the West's developing nuclear detection operations.

DAVID ALAN ROSENBERG
National War College
Temple University

GUY OAKES. *The Imaginary War: Civil Defense and American Cold War Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. 194. $29.95.

A crucial Cold War strategy in maintaining popular support for containment was an organized propaganda campaign of civil defense. In order to suppress either public defeatism or terror in reaction to increasing Soviet strategic-nuclear capability, the administrations of Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower launched a civil-defense offensive to reassure the public that a nuclear first-strike bomber attack against scores of American cities would be merely a short-term distraction. Citizens could survive by constructing do-it-yourself underground fallout shelters, learning to "duck and cover" in school, and digging an impromptu ditch if outdoors when Armageddon struck.

In a scathing revisionist critique of civil-defense policy of the 1950s, Guy Oakes introduces a new dimension of passive-defense planning: the moral regeneration of America. Henry Stimson, George Kennan, and John Foster Dulles were preoccupied with the moral and ethical inadequacies of the American people to withstand the relentless challenges of the national-security state. The public was seen as too urban, frivolous, materialistic, morally lax, and lethargic to bear the inevitable burdens imposed by the mission of global containment of putative Soviet expansionism. The daunting task of creating a civic nuclear-war-fighting capability through nuclear-crisis management energized the civil-defense community. The Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA)—the principal civil-defense agency of the 1950s—was less concerned with securing the nation from a Soviet atomic attack than in protecting the doctrine of nuclear deterrence from public opposition.

To the extent that civil defense became a funded, operational policy, with both mock evacuation drills and postattack emergency provisions and shelters, only government officials were "protected." In one of the annual Operation Alert simulated exercises in June 1955, the president and his cabinet were evacuated from Washington to emergency headquarters in Virginia; there Eisenhower delivered a televised address affirming how the nation, despite being virtually pastoralized, continued to function after a Soviet preemptive nuclear strike had just produced fifteen million atomic casualties and eradicated fifty-seven major population centers. Although Eisenhower privately conceded that "we would all be nomads" (p. 163) and recognized the futility of trying to protect the public from a nuclear holocaust, he nevertheless continued to pursue a policy of nationwide civil defense that Oakes excoriates as "based on deceit, mythmaking, and illusion" (p. 166).

Oakes relies heavily on archival materials from the Truman and Eisenhower libraries, but the absence of a bibliography is a serious omission. He is not well conversant either with strategic doctrine or nuclear weapons' effects. In this well-written if somewhat repetitive account, there are some substantive and editing errors. The blue-ribbon Gaither Committee, which urged a massive national fallout-shelter campaign in 1957, is not mentioned. Oakes incorrectly assumes that radiation fallout and disease are not associated with atomic-fission explosions (pp. 58, 118). Two Eisenhower civil-defense advisers, Val Peterson of the FCDA and Arthur Flemming of the Office of Defense Mobilization, are misidentified in a photograph (p. 90). Senator Brien McMahon's first name is misspelled "Brian." The word "unexceptionally" should have been used instead of "unexceptionably" (p. 101).

Yet this is a useful work. In complementing Allan Winkler's *Life Under a Cloud* (1993) and Paul Boyer's *By the Bomb's Early Light* (1985), Oakes has contributed an incisive and poignant study to the nascent historiography of nuclear-Cold War cultural history.

PETER N. KIRSTEIN
Saint Xavier University, Chicago

PHILLIP CHARLES LUCAS. *The Odyssey of a New Religion: The Holy Order of MANS from New Age to Orthodoxy*. (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 312. $39.95.

A defining characteristic of religion in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s was an explosive increase in new religious movements (NRMs). Prominent representatives of the new spirit include the Unification Church, International Society for Krishna Consciousness, Scientology, Transcendental Meditation, Happy-Healthy-Holy Organization, and Christian Yoga Church. Though differing in a number of ways, most of these new religious movements reflected the countercultural values then sweeping the country. The Holy Order of MANS, the subject of Phillip Charles Lucas's new book, was one of the most interesting of these bodies. (The meaning of the MANS acronym was a secret known only to inside members.) Like many other NRMs in the 1960s, the Order revealed the strong influence of Asian spirituality and appealed to young people; it took a very different course from others in later years, however, evolving in the 1980s into a body that embraced Eastern Orthodoxy. In the book's six chapters, Lucas traces the history of the movement's fascinating transformation.

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The founder of the Holy Order of MANS was a middle-aged engineer and spiritual seeker from New York named Earl Wilbur Blighton, who came to be known by movement followers as "Father Paul." Drawing on extensive readings in Rosicrucianism, New Thought, Freemasonry, Theosophy, Roman Catholicism, and Tantrism, Blighton launched the Order in 1967. Committed to teach "Christ without dogmatism," the movement grew rapidly from its base in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco, expanding by 1977 to a membership of 3,000 grouped in seventy-one mission stations across the United States and Europe. The movement emphasized both the need to embrace spirituality and the obligation to engage in social work among the Bay area's street people. As a monastic movement, the Order was unusual in its coeducational membership and ordination of women to the priesthood. Despite its countercultural flavor, the Order favored the clerical clothing, regular fasting, and monastic vows usually associated with Roman Catholicism. As so often happens in such bodies, following the death of Blighton in 1974 the Order began to fall apart. The movement survived, however, under the leadership of Blighton's disciple Vincent Rossi (Master Andrew), who led in the Order's transformation into an Eastern Orthodox sect. In 1988 the former order became known as Christ the Savior Brotherhood. Despite its repudiation of the ecumenism and New Age conceptions of the earlier movement, many former followers have remained.

Lucas accomplishes two things in his study of the Order of MANS: he provides a carefully researched and well-written history of one of the important new religious movements to appear in the United States during the 1960s; at the same time, he utilizes the movement as a case study to test the hypotheses of such recent NRM scholars as Thomas Robbins, Rodney Stark, and Roy Wallis. One of the book's major strengths is Lucas's "inside" knowledge of the movement and its followers. Though never a member, he was closely associated with the Order over a number of years, utilizing the trust he achieved to examine board minutes, financial records, secret manuals, and membership lists not usually accessible to outsiders. He has supplemented these sources with extensive interviews with a wide range of present and past members. Aside from an inadequate index and occasional lapses (see the fragmented sentence that leads off the second paragraph on page 75), the volume can be heartily recommended to all students of American religion.

CARL T. JACKSON
University of Texas, El Paso

ROBERT N. PROCTOR. *Cancer Wars: How Politics Shapes What We Know and Don't Know about Cancer*. New York: Basic Books. 1995. Pp. viii, 356. $25.00.

A Herblock cartoon from 1977 captures the theme of this book exactly. A worried "Govt.", surrounded by figures representing tobacco and asbestos, food and drug industries, polluters, and others involved in the cancer debate, asks a researcher, "Could you hurry and find a cure for cancer? That would be so much easier than prevention" (p. 248). Politically easier, that is. Prevention is so politically unpopular that it has received relatively little of the $25 billion spent on cancer research in the United States since 1971, when Richard Nixon declared war on the disease.

The fight against cancer, Robert N. Proctor writes, reflects not only the political climate, but the values of the medical profession as well. Cancer prevention is low prestige in an era of heroic medicine "where the reward structure is heavily biased in favor of last-ditch, quick-burst, high-tech interventions and high-profile, Nobel Prize-potential basic science" (pp. 267–68).

As a historian of science, Proctor places the cancer wars in a broad social and political context. In the 1970s, when both the Environmental Protection Act and the Clean Air Act were passed, there was a widespread belief that cancers were environmental and avoidable, not just the product of bad luck, genetic infirmity, or aging. Three governmental agencies even concluded that as many as forty percent of all cancer deaths were attributable to asbestos and five other carcinogens commonly found in the workplace, and they put government regulations in place to control them. With the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, however, cost benefit analysis and risk assessment replaced apocalyptic science, and these regulations were suspended in order to speed economic growth.

Since the eigthteenth century, cancer has been blamed sequentially on civilization, industrial pollution, life style, radiation, genetics, and natural carcinogens found in food and air. English chimney sweeps were the first recognized victims of environmentally caused cancer, but nothing was done to protect them until the price of soot, used by gardeners as a pesticide, dropped. Similarly, economics has shaped the response to environmentally induced cancer in twentieth-century America. Wilhelm C. Hueper, a German émigré who headed the environmental cancer section of the National Cancer Institute from 1948 to 1964, presented compelling evidence that industrial pollutants cause cancer, but this pro-labor stance put him out of step in the postwar conservatism of the 1950s. He had one famous disciple, however, who was more effective. Rachel Carson, author of *Silent Spring* (1962), although an anathema to many scientists, was popular with the public. She believed that DDT not only destroyed the environment but was also a carcinogen.

Industry has always fought environmentalists by spreading doubt. It calls for more research to buy time and delay implementation of regulatory standards. In this "paralysis by analysis" (p. 131) government is often a co-conspirator. During the Cold War, the Atomic Energy Commission, not the Public Health Service, was in charge of radiation safety, and it played down the dangers of radiation. Responsibility for

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monitoring radon, the natural pollutant discovered in many homes in the 1980s, has been left to the states or to individual homeowners. Legislators can crusade against a terrible scourge without fear of endangering their business and industry support. The current emphasis on the genetics, Proctor writes, "has the potential to both clarify and cloud our understanding of cancer" (p. 218) because it distracts attention and resources from prevention.

Proctor's conclusion that the war on cancer is being lost is depressing, but his argument is impressive. His study is extensively researched, superbly organized, and readable. Notes and bibliography fill sixty-nine pages, and there is a good index.

ELIZABETH W. ETHERIDGE
Longwood College, Emeritus

J. LEE ANNIS, JR. *Howard Baker: Conciliator in an Age of Crisis*. Lanham, Md.: Madison Books. 1995. Pp. viii, 277. $27.95.

United States senators are notoriously poor subjects for biographies, even explicitly political ones such as this. Seventy-five percent of the members of the upper house retain office by dutifully serving the narrow and arcane interests of their constituents. The other twenty-five percent seek to make a name for themselves by focusing on topics of national or international importance, but they are generally forced to take a historical backseat to presidents, secretaries of state, or other members of the executive branch. There are exceptions, but Howard Baker is not one of them. J. Lee Annis tries his best in this well-written treatment of Tennessee's first post-Reconstruction Republican senator, but Baker's colorlessness together with the author's inattention to the larger historical context belie comparisons with Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun.

Born into a politically active, east Tennessee family, Baker attended military school, served in a noncombat capacity during World War II, and then graduated from the University of Tennessee School of Law. He married Everett Dirksen's daughter and campaigned successfully for Estes Kefauver's senate seat in 1966. Annis agrees with Senator Albert Gore's evaluation of Baker as a genuine conservative whose "bland attitude" caused him to be mistaken for a moderate. The Tennesseean rejected the notion that one group should use the government to force its moral agenda on another, but he was pro-defense, fiscally conservative, and antigovernment except for the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). A philosophical descendent of Robert Taft, Baker, according to Annis, is a typical small-town, middle-class Republican who has consistently supported regulated free enterprise, civil liberty, and civil equality, although he frequently found himself at the head of anti-busing forces.

Baker first came to national attention during the Watergate probe when he continuously and publicly urged the Nixon White House to come clean. Annis, like many commentators at the time, praises Baker for his independence of the White House, but he makes a telling if inadvertant comment on his subject's motivations when he notes that Watergate "gave credibility to his [Baker's] national ambitions" (p. 85). Elected senate minority leader in 1975, Baker was passed over the following year by Gerald Ford for the vice-presidency in favor of Nelson Rockefeller. The Tenneesean championed the Panama Canal treaties during the Carter presidency but opposed SALT II as a sellout to the Soviets. In 1983 Baker decided to retire from the senate in order to position himself for a run at the presidency in 1984 if Reagan decided not to run again and in 1988 if he did. In the midst of the Iran-Contra scandal, however, Baker heeded the president's appeals and took over as White House chief of staff in 1987. When he came on board, his chief's approval rating stood at 37 percent; when Reagan turned over the reins to George Bush in 1989, that figure stood at 61 percent.

Annis's book is an accurate, useful, but uncritical study of a moderately important U.S. senator. For example, the author gives Baker great credit for shepherding Reagan's legislative package through Congress but fails to come to grips with the subsequent impact of massive tax cuts, ballooning defense budgets, and deregulation. Indeed, Annis repeatedly neglects to provide readers with the larger picture—the narrative both picks up and leaves off in the middle of Watergate and Iran-Contra—or to explore relationships—Baker-Nixon, Baker-Dirksen, for example—and motives. Treatment of well-known political figures is sometimes superficial and naive. Herman ("Huhman") Talmadge is "a highly regarded former Georgia governor" (p. 66) and John Stennis is a "universally trusted Democrat" (p. 76). Still, this work provides a generally accurate picture of Baker, a man who could never identify himself with a distinctive set of ideas in domestic policy or a fresh approach to containing communism. In trying to please everyone, he continually lost out to those on his political left—Nelson Rockefeller—and those on his political right—Ronald Reagan. Baker's declaration to the 1976 Republican national convention—"The Democrats start with government and we start with people"—was typical in its philosophical and rhetorical vapidness.

RANDALL BENNETT WOODS
University of Arkansas

TIMOTHY P. MAGA. *The World of Jimmy Carter: U.S. Foreign Policy, 1977–1981*. Westhaven, Conn.: University of New Haven Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 189. $16.50.

Timothy P. Maga's brief book contains a wealth of detail about small matters, and reflects a clear-headed understanding of Jimmy Carter the man and his style. It offers little analysis of the big issues that dominated Carter's "world," however, let alone of American

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foreign policy during this period. Nevertheless, it is a devastating critique of a thousand cuts.

The book's five chapters draw on Maga's interviews with Senator (and briefly Secretary of State) Edmund Muskie, former Japanese prime minister Kiichi Miyazawa, and Anwar Sadat's daughter Camilla. Maga also spent time sifting through the Carter library archives.

To the extent that major issues are not treated, or are only treated in passing, Maga's book cannot be considered a serious study of American foreign policy. In those issues that he does treat, however, he shows vividly the failure of Carter's presidency. "Foolish and visionary" and misunderstanding the global forces with which the United States had to contend, Carter "stumbled" in foreign policy. "His belief that the old men of the Kremlin were tired of the Cold War, just like he was, became a gross miscalculation. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan truly proved Carter wrong, fueling the Reagan-led charge that incompetence ruled in the White House" (p. ix). Beyond this incontestable truth, one searches in vain for analysis of Carter's policy toward the Soviet Union. Indeed, there is no reference to the Soviet Union in the index (which, it must be said, is virtually useless).

There are other problems. In asserting that Camp David produced only a single "framework for peace in the Middle East," Maga muddles together two frameworks that were actually and contentiously crafted. The "framework for peace" sought to establish the basis for self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza, and the "Sinai agreement" paved the way for a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. Indeed, Carter deliberately decided to split the negotiations in this way so that the self-rule question would not derail the peace treaty.

In the otherwise informative chapter on Japan, Maga flits from minor issue to anecdote to irrelevancy. Thus, he notes Carter's ignorance of the existence of Tachikawa air base (returned by Gerald Ford), the transfer of a jet fighter wing from Yokota airbase to Kadena, Okinawa, to ease Japanese sensibilities about the American presence, and Amy Carter's closeness to Prime Minister Ohira's family. Crucial issues facing the two countries, such as technology transfer, Japanese defense commitments, and the proposed American withdrawal from South Korea, receive no coverage. Maga reasserts the common myth of a constitutional limitation on Japanese defense spending, although the one percent of GNP cap on defense spending was only established in 1976 and was not part of the Japanese contribution (p. 54).

By far, the best chapter of the book is the one on Micronesia, in which Maga portrays Carter as consciously attempting to fulfill the legacy of John F. Kennedy, who first sought to improve the plight of the Pacific islanders. His efforts come to naught. The islanders' determination to resist independence and NSC connivance on their behalf meant that no solutions would emerge until the second term of the Reagan presidency.

If Micronesia is the best chapter of the book, Maga's explication of the foreign policy decision-making process is the worst. He views Cyrus Vance as "a kindly bureaucrat" whose "daily task would be to point out the political minefields in front of the human rights policy and other matters" and who "was never up to the task of arguing with [Zbigniew Brzezinski] over the proper direction of American foreign policy" (p. 13). This evaluation, as anyone who compares the memoirs of Carter's two advisers will discover, is the very opposite of the truth. It was Vance who, above all, was the dominant figure shaping American foreign policy during Carter's presidency, outarguing and outmaneuvering the voluble Brzezinski. Although the NSC chief had his innings, it was Vance who led the United States to its desparate pass in the fall of 1979, when the strategy of detente he had pursued with Moscow failed and Vance resigned as Secretary of State.

This is a book of considerable detail but without broader, strategic coherence. There is little to tie the several vignettes together, and the reader is ultimately left in the dark regarding the meaning of Carter's "world," how the pieces of that world fit together, and what made them come apart.

RICHARD C. THORNTON
George Washington University

KENTON J. CLYMER. *Quest for Freedom: The United States and India's Independence*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 393. $18.50.

India's quest for freedom and independence was one of the most important events of the twentieth century. The successful conclusion of that quest began a process of decolonization that redrew the maps of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. Seeking to understand the American response to Asian nationalism, Kenton J. Clymer has provided a comprehensive examination of virtually all aspects of American policy toward the Indian independence struggle in its climactic final stages, during and immediately after World War II. Clymer has mined the records of the British Foreign Office and the India Office, the unpublished records of the government of India, the Jawaharlal Nehru papers, the All-India Congress Committee papers and related collections in New Delhi. He has also utilized the Louis Johnson papers and various State Department and Office of Strategic Studies records only recently available to researchers. His use of British and Indian sources permits a more complete understanding of how the British, the government of India, and Indian nationalists interacted with the United States, responded to American initiatives, and attempted to influence the United States. Clymer offers us new insight into the serious disagreements and divisions that existed within government circles over how to deal with the Americans.

Clymer views President Franklin D. Roosevelt as very much a part of the anticolonial tradition, indeed, as one of the fathers of the postwar world of politically

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independent nations. While he agrees with Gary Hess that Roosevelt should have pressed Winston Churchill more forcefully to leave India, he also recognizes that such increased pressure might well have resulted in Churchill's resignation with unknown consequences for the war. Roosevelt feared that the antagonism between British rulers and Indian nationalists might not only threaten India's war contribution, but, perhaps, even make possible a Japanese takeover. Thus, the United States encouraged a settlement that would benefit the Indians.

The American approach to India under Harry S. Truman continued the basic patterns established by Roosevelt. Although Truman was not devoted to anticolonialism in the same sense that Roosevelt had been, he nevertheless appreciated the need to try and keep Asian opinion toward the West friendly. Clymer shows that his efforts satisfied neither side.

Because the Cold War significantly and tragically affected American policies toward the European colonies in Southeast Asia, relations with Indian leaders, who took strong exception to American support for the European colonial regimes in Asia, were often strained. Nevertheless, what stands out over the years is that most American policy makers concluded that the nationalists, though sometimes trying, were not only capable but ultimately reasonable people.

Clymer rightly concludes that regardless of American policy, World War II itself was vital to the British decision to leave the subcontinent. It weakened the British so severely that by 1947, they really had no choice but to get out on the best terms possible. It is notable that they did so at approximately the same time that they felt they were forced to leave Greece and Turkey.

BETTY MILLER UNTERBERGER
Texas A&M University

LANXIN XIANG. *Recasting the Imperial Far East: Britain and America in China, 1945–1950.* (An East Gate Book.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1995. Pp. xi, 259. Cloth $65.00, paper $25.00.

In his *Ambiguous Partnership: Britain and America, 1944–1947* (1981), Robert Hathaway deplored the tendency of American historians both to see the world since 1945 almost entirely in bipolar Cold War terms, as if other nations did not exist, and to see Europe as "simply the object of American polices, the recipient of and reactor to United States initiatives." Lanxin Xiang takes much the same point of view, and his book breaks with both the Cold War and the East Asian model of American historical writing to place China as a problem in postwar Anglo-American relations. Some of the themes are familiar—American distrust of the rebuilding of the British empire, for example. Yet the perspective is an original one, and Xiang's account of a badly weakened Britain trying to compete with the United States in the rebuilding of its economic position in China is valuable, whether or not one sees it (as he does) largely as the replacement of the old British empire by the new emerging American one. Britain, of course, realized its postwar dependence on the United States, but was not prepared to be treated quite so much as a junior partner and, above all, not prepared to discover that throughout this period America's China policy was either well hidden from outsiders or incoherent or both.

Xiang depends heavily on the archives of both the State Department and the Foreign Office, arguing that, in the years after the war, these two agencies had a relatively free hand in the making of policy. Does he overstate his case? There is much of interest here about George Marshall, Dean Acheson, and Ernest Bevin, as well as their various Asian experts, but sometimes such men seem to be almost acting in a vacuum. The reader will find little of the information about the views or the influence of, say, the press or business lobbies that informs earlier works such as Nancy Bernstein Tucker's *Patterns in the Dust: Chinese-American Relations and the Recognition Controversy, 1949–1950* (1983), or James Tang's *Britain's Encounter with Revolutionary China, 1949–1954* (1991).

Xiang's findings are often at variance with these earlier writers as well. The Acheson of Tucker and Tang is a pragmatist, understanding even while disapproving of Bevin's decision to recognize the new government of China; in Xiang's book he (to say nothing of Harry S. Truman and Dean Rusk) emerges as a hard-line cold warrior scarcely different from John Foster Dulles. Xiang considers Truman's decision to interpose the Seventh Fleet in the Taiwan Straits after the invasion of South Korea as an opportunity gladly (and disastrously) taken to establish a two-China policy earlier agreed on rather than as a way of limiting the fighting to the north. And in general, particularly in the last years covered here, America is seen as a clumsy bull in a China shop (to use a Foreign Office metaphor), succeeding in five short years in blowing away the Asian preeminence it had enjoyed at the time of the Japanese surrender.

As Xiang points out at the beginning, there is a need for multi-archival studies like this, and his book is particularly welcome as an antidote to the kind of American parochialism that Hathaway and others have noted. Nevertheless, there are archives and archives, and even when the professional diplomats are at their most influential, many other factors come into play in the making of policy. Finally, although it is not his main concern, a bit more on the Chinese perspective would be helpful for the general reader; while Beijing's archives are far from open, historians like Chen Jian and He Di have made imaginative use of new sources to dispute what one might call the conventional revisionist view of China's relations with the west in the postwar world.

NICHOLAS R. CLIFFORD
Middlebury College

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CANADA

JOHN C. WEAVER. *Crimes, Constables, and Courts: Order and Transgression in a Canadian City, 1816–1970.* Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 323. Cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.

As any fan of television crime drama knows, in the criminal justice system the state is represented by both the police and the prosecution. Much of the dramatic tension arises as an individual confronts the "people" or, in the case of Canada, the "crown" in these two distinct guises, each with its own culture and rules. John C. Weaver has effectively articulated this connection, exploring the history of crime, policing, and the court system in the industrial city of Hamilton, Ontario, over the course of a century and a half. The result is an important study of interest to legal and social historians.

This is a book that is stronger in its parts than as a whole. Its central argument about the centralization and professionalization of the criminal justice system is not particularly innovative. The elements of this process—the decline of trial by jury, the appointment of crown prosecutors, the establishment of "non-political" police commissions, the demise of the police court, and the eventual elimination of the grand jury—are all well documented here. Yet there is a weak theoretical link between them that might explain the changing nature of authority over this long period. Identifying "professionalization" is not the same as explaining it, and the term is even wanting as a means of description. When applied to lawyers, Ontario provides a model of professionalization. Not only did the Law Society of Upper Canada increase professional autonomy and collective control, but the Society also maintained a unique control over the program of the province's only law school. However, Weaver's "professionalization" of the police falls far short of this mark. Training programs and technological innovations are better understood as efforts to establish control over the activities of individual police officers. The position of the police within the community is assumed rather than explored. The fact that workers and the poor used the police as a resource does not imply "trust in the police" (p. 260). In fact, we learn little about this relationship, which is disappointing given the opening provided by Weaver's suggestion that the police formed a separate "caste" within the working class (p. 111).

This volume does have many demonstrable strengths, not the least of which are its compelling narratives and analyses of three murder trials in 1828, 1876, and 1947. Continuity and change on the police force and in the courtroom are explored imaginatively, with considerable sensitivity to changes in ritual, procedure, and the role of the criminal justice system. Weaver's depiction of the culture of the "human agents of civic order" is extraordinarily rich. The lives of the men who walked the beats and commanded the forces emerge forcefully. The intersection between these "muscular mercenaries" and the gendered world of domestic violence, barroom brawling, prostitution, major heists, and petty pilferage is imaginatively explored. The police emerge as far more than simple agents of social control, as demonstrated by their lack of enthusiasm for moral order campaigns. Weaver bends the stick quite far the other way, focusing on the array of complex duties heaped upon the police that make it difficult to summarize their role in a changing social order.

While there are objections to be made (surely the protection of property always ranked high on their list of tasks), Weaver's insightful discussion of the circumstances of violence and theft demonstrates the complexity of the world within which the police functioned. Of greatest value is Weaver's dissection of historical trends in crime rates. This chapter is a model of logical incision and the clear presentation of quantitative material to a broad audience. It should be required reading for anybody who attempts to make a case about long-term trends in criminality, as Weaver enumerates the multitude of ways in which the sources are inadequate to this task. Police and court records are far from being a mirror of "criminality." Police, lawyers, and judges could not agree on what constituted "real" crime; there is no compelling reason for historians to attempt such a task. Crime, policing, and prosecution exist in relationship to each other, and Weaver effectively demonstrates that understanding any one of these requires understanding the history of this relationship. This is no small contribution.

JAMES NAYLOR
Brandon University

BRIAN YOUNG. *The Politics of Codification: The Lower Canadian Civil Code of 1866.* (Studies on the History of Quebec/Études d'histoire du Québec.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press and the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History. 1994. Pp. xviii, 264. $44.95.

One of the main bones of contention in the constitutional crisis raging in Canada today is the question of whether or not the people of Quebec constitute a "distinct society" and, if they do, what are the characteristics of that society? Although it is not his announced intention, Brian Young helps make the case for Quebec as a distinct society. His book demonstrates that in its private law, one of the most important elements in any modern society, Quebec is indeed set apart from the common law systems in all other Canadian jurisdictions.

This disparity is evident in the sources of the Lower Canadian Civil Code of 1866. While nineteenth-century reformers in England complained that their law was an unwieldy mass of undigested statutes and a "wilderness of precedents," it was at least formulated by men of like mind and education, and written in one language. In contrast, the law of Lower Canada/Quebec was multifarious and bilingual: Young lists

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fourteen sources from which the Code of 1866 was derived, including the Custom of Paris, pre-revolutionary French *ordonnonces*, edicts, English statutes, and Lower Canadian statutes (p. 134). Another complicating factor was the influx of English-speaking settlers, after the British conquest in 1763, who were dissatisfied with the French seigneurial tenure that governed the acquisition and enjoyment of land. Obviously there was a need for systematization, and codification was seen to be a solution as early as 1768.

Young begins his narrative at this point by introducing the persons who drafted the Code and sketches in the social, political, and economic backdrop of Quebec's early years. For foreign readers not familiar with the subject, this is important information because it provides the foundation on which the succeeding narrative is erected. In succeeding chapters Young makes a persuasive case that codification had different proponents in different eras. In the early years, until the end of the eighteenth century, many individuals, English and French, advocated codification to define what the existing law was and to make it known in both languages. They gave way to French-speaking nationalists who saw codification as a means of protecting the French language, seigneurial land tenure, the Catholic Church, and their paternalistic society. After the failure of the Rebellion of 1837, a new professional and entrepreneurial élite, allied to English-speaking leaders, replaced the old regime and there was a shift of emphasis in the demand for codification. While continuing to profess many of the conservative aims of their predecessors, the new men also advocated bilingual legislation, a system of land tenure that treated land as a commodity to be bought and sold at will, and expanded roles for capital and labor. The Civil Code of 1866 translated these objectives into law in the form of a small volume that resembles the French *Code Civil* in the appearance and rubric of its three books but not much else. The Canadian legislation includes, however, a fourth book on commercial law, which the French volume does not have.

In illuminating this protracted and tortuous process, the author has produced a timely work of more than passing interest because, incidentally, he adduces evidence that in terms of its private law, Quebec is indeed a "distinct society" in the Canadian confederation. A history professor at McGill, Young is a stylish and prolific author who has explored all this terrain previously in several books and is the biographer of the Code's progenitor, George-Étienne Cartier, the Attorney General of Lower Canada. This, his latest volume, is a good read, with a descriptive bibliographical essay and an excellent index.

DESMOND H. BROWN
University of Alberta

SUZANNE MORTON. *Ideal Surroundings: Domestic Life in a Working-Class Suburb in the 1920s*. (Studies in Gender and History.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. x, 201. Cloth $40.00, paper $17.95.

In December 1917, a munitions ship collided with a relief ship in the harbor of Halifax, Nova Scotia. The explosion, which killed 2,000 people and destroyed the working-class North End of the city, has been immortalized in Hugh MacLennan's novel, *Barometer Rising* (1941), and, more germane to historical readers, in the records of the Halifax Relief Commission (HRC). From the ashes of the wooden houses of the North End, sculpted by Montreal architects and a renowned British garden city planner, arose Richmond Heights, a 1920s modern suburb of 324 concrete block homes. Here working-class Haligonians lived in dwellings with plumbing and wiring (though strangely in the early years without furnaces) until the 1950s, under the scrutiny of the HRC, which collected rents and directed the proceeds to pensions for survivors of the explosion. HRC records provide rare foundations for a community study of a period when nominal data is not available. Suzanne Morton has found records of over 3,000 adults who lived in Richmond Heights during the 1920s. From this base, she explores home and domestic life and class and gender identities among adults who chose good-quality modern housing as a priority.

There is a dark tone to the book, not unlike the surface colors the concrete block walls of Richmond Heights must have shown in the grey damp of North Atlantic winters. After the explosion in the North End, there was a utopian moment, the installation of an ordered set for a recuperative new life, and then the closing in of what Morton calls a "world of impossibilities" (p. 154). The economy of Halifax was in decline in the 1920s. Jobs for the adult daughters of Richmond Heights took them into mixed class settings, where gender identities seemed to take precedence over class loyalties. Working-class identity seemed "largely synonymous with being a man" while jobs for working-class men became more precarious and few (p. 155). Only in the waning working-class culture could the residents of Richmond Heights make their own lives. The waxing mass culture, identified more with housewives and business girls, demanded to be complicitly consumed and refused to be recharged and recharted by local needs.

Morton begins with a fine, multifaceted discussion of the ways in which gender was at work in the lives of the elderly. She shows how ageing was signified differently by gender: for men by cues from the world of wage work, for women by bodily signs. She finds more male elders in institutional care, more women still caring for and being cared for by their families, more women than men staying on alone after the death of a spouse. Neither state pension plans nor corporate retirement annuities were as important as family aid in smoothing the way of old folk in Richmond Heights, and "helping mum" remained a particular family concern even when house room was in short supply.

Morton's attention then turns to the domestic responsibilities of husbands and wives and the adaptations of female household heads made in numbers by the explosion, the war, and men's need to leave home

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in search of work. She discusses men's participation in mixed-class voluntary organizations, but emphasizes that through class-based social groups and hunting, fishing, and sport, men "were able to preserve a male working-class identity against the onslaught of mass culture" even as they enjoyed the new pleasures of beauty pageants and automobiles (p. 130). She sees women's participation in the mixed-class or purportedly classless female work culture of the twenties as less benign, "for it was this parade of high heels and silk stockings," denied standing as working-class, that led Canadian workers away from independence and "farther into the world of mass culture and homogeneous consumption" (p. 150).

In her analysis of the domestic life of the working-class families of Richmond Heights, Morton does not include children, arguing that "children were not active participants in the creation of gender ideology" and that adding another generation would extend the chronological duration of the study (p. 14). The analysis of domestic life and gender ideology works from a metaphor of loss without redemption. Morton features home life not unambiguously but surely being captured from vigorous independent workers' culture and drawn passively into the thrall of consumerism and mass culture. Young women appear to have led the way. Her portraits, within this frame, of both women and men are compelling. But outside the frame were shrewd homemakers managing domestic spending and production and parents doing what parents ceaselessly do. Had active, editing, resisting participation in the culture ended in the twenties? Was mass culture scrutinized less closely than capitalist work relations had been? Would this portrait look so bleak, so full of impossibilities, if more of domestic life, including domestic production and parenting, were within the frame?

JOY PARR
Simon Fraser University

JAMES STRUTHERS. *The Limits of Affluence: Welfare in Ontario, 1920–1970.* (Ontario Historical Studies Series.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 401. Cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.

Although inarguably a major force in the shaping of modern Canada, the welfare state has been a peripheral consideration for Canadian historians until very recently. James Struthers's contribution, therefore, serves multiple purposes. Previously unexplored data on significant aspects of the design, administration and implementation of welfare policy in Ontario, and in Canada, are made accessible. The study illuminates the complicated interplay of federal and provincial relations, from the standpoint of the nation's most affluent and politically potent province. It demonstrates both the British and American influences on Canadian welfarism, while ably grounding discussion of the latter's development in the economic and political structures and relations specific to Ontario, in many ways the prototype of modern Canada and a frontrunner in the construction of the Canadian welfare state.

While providing much-needed context for this crucial half-century evolution, Struthers has framed his survey so that the first four chapters detail the period from 1900 to 1950 through careful examinations of such key developments as mothers' allowances, old age pensions, the concept of the social minimum, and state responsibility for postwar "reconstruction." The remaining four chapters fill in the shifting structural, ideological, and political contexts of the tumultuous postwar decades to 1970 and indicate their impact on welfare policies and practices. The central irony that is captured in the title is starkly apparent throughout the entire discussion, a continuity that informs and overrides all the historical changes. In the social welfare sphere, affluence has measurable limits: not only in the sense that the poor are always with us, even in this historically richest of all provinces, but also in the sense that capitalist imperatives have created the political limitations that impede even the most socially conscious of policymakers and governments.

The book's introduction clearly outlines the six principal theoretical approaches that have been applied to examinations of welfarism in the western industrial democracies. Struthers ably and effectively summarizes and synthesizes their key components while noting how they do and do not apply to the Canadian [Ontario] situation. In deciding his own most productive approach, however, he is perhaps too cautious in preferring to select neither any particular framework nor even a particular composite. Acknowledging the ways in which a theory does not fit the historical case does not preclude its specific application in a manner that would both allow for, and clarify, the "peculiarities" of that case. This would also conceivably help to order a wealth of data in a manner that emphasizes its relation and relevance to the whole. Throughout the text, Struthers favors an expository narrative that provides fascinating information on the construction of the administrative state, but he allows this theme to eclipse other important aspects—class, gender, race, the legacies of toryism, agrarian politics, and social democracy—to which he is otherwise sensitive. Despite attention to people and ideas, therefore, the perspective is largely internal and structural, though this perspective is a necessary and important one. This is in every sense a richly documented study and, in many ways, one that is inaugural within the Canadian field.

CYNTHIA R. COMACCHIO
Wilfrid Laurier University

REG WHITAKER and GARY MARCUSE. *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945–1957.* Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 511. $35.00.

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Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse began their study of Cold War Canada in the mid-1980s when that conflict's embers flared a last time. As western Marxists who rejected Stalinism, they sought to expose the manner in which the Canadian state had repressed the left when the Cold War was young. Although Senator Joseph McCarthy's vulgar excesses had no direct Canadian counterpart, Canada's political institutions and leaders forced the left from the mainstream and excluded many labor leaders, journalists, public servants, and churchpersons from full participation in national life. It is their story that Whitaker and Marcuse tell.

This book does not fall into any familiar category. In tracing the creation of the Canadian "national insecurity state," Whitaker and Marcuse do not follow the path of David Yergin, Melvyn Leffler, and other American scholars who have developed and expatiated upon the concept of a national security state. They focus less on diplomatic and military events than on individual cases in which Canadians on the left faced repression. Like Elaine Tyler May, Whitaker and Marcuse suggest that the Cold War's baneful influence penetrated the fabric of domestic life, but they do not make the argument systematically, and they avoid social history. Rather, they present the evidence of individual cases, such as the United Church minister, James Endicott, the Ontario social worker, Mary Jennison, and the diplomat, Herbert Norman. That the Cold War had a profound impact on these individuals cannot be doubted. Nevertheless, the number of others who shared such bitter experiences is largely left for the reader to decide.

As a political scientist, Whitaker has made an impressive theoretical contribution to the debate on the nature of the Canadian state. This book, however, eschews the theoretical in favor of the historical narrative and the impassioned plea that there are some things and people that must not be forgotten. Whitaker and Marcuse recognize that the cold chill of McCarthyism lost much of its ferocity as it moved northward. Nevertheless, they convincingly demonstrate that winds of censorship, conformity, and exclusion blew often and strongly across the forty-ninth parallel. Ironically, it was Canada's more elitist and less democratic society that prevented many of the excesses characteristic of America's most populist democracy. Certainly they prove that Canadian smugness is unjustified and that American scholars should consider that the forces often considered to be exclusively American were present in Canada as well.

This book is a lament for the "indigenous progressive politics" that were stifled by the repression of the early Cold War. Whitaker and Marcuse assert that the "Cold War had been used to thwart the dreams of a better and more democratic world for the less privileged" (p. x). Some dreams did become nightmares, but their argument goes too far. In fact, Whitaker has argued elsewhere that the postwar Canadian state used social welfare to legitimate capitalist democracy, and surely the turn against the welfare state that followed the Cold War's end suggests that this argument has much merit. The Cold War's impact as well as its legacy is more ambiguous than the present study suggests.

Because of its remarkably wide research and its spirited style, this book is invaluable to students of postwar Canada. Its influence will be significant, its conclusions debated, and its passion recalled.

JOHN ENGLISH
University of Waterloo

LATIN AMERICA

GAD HEUMAN. *"The Killing Time": The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1994. Pp. xxii, 199. $19.00.

On October 11, 1865, several hundred Afro-Jamaican small farmers and sugar workers marched into Morant Bay, an important provincial capital, and unleashed a violent retribution for the economic and political oppression they continued to endure, despite the abolition of slavery a generation earlier. Their actions, together with the reaction that followed, arguably constituted one of the turning points in Britain's colonial policy and in the history of postemancipation regimes more generally. Surprisingly, this study is the first booklength examination of that event, from its causes through its aftermath. Gad Heuman offers it to us, however, with a seemingly modest goal: to give "an accurate account" and "a detailed narrative" (p. xvii).

Behind that modest ambition lies a long and tangled debate as to how the event at Morant Bay should be classified or characterized. Was this merely one of the many spontaneous, violent episodes endemic to Jamaica during this period, a riot; or was it a calculated attempt—even if ultimately ineffective and unsuccessful—to right the grievances of the island's black workers, a rebellion? On one level this may seem a pedantic dispute over semantics. But as with similar debates over recent violent outbreaks in U.S. inner cities (e.g., Los Angeles in 1965 and 1992), to characterize an event is also to characterize the motives, consciousness, and significance of its mostly anonymous actors. Do they have a vision upon which they act, or are they merely reactive? Are their actions important or merely the spasms of the otherwise passive and inarticulate?

Heuman is not the first to argue forcefully that the outbreak at Morant Bay was "a rebellion, characterized by advance planning and by a degree of organization" (p. xiv). But he is the first modern scholar to offer such a thorough, detailed account built upon a painstaking examination of the voluminous evidence collected by a royal commission of inquiry in the winter of 1866. Weighing that evidence carefully, Heuman reconstructs a full narrative of events before, during, and after the rebellion, which not only sustains his thesis in convincing fashion but unfolds a powerful

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story of injustice and resistance by freedmen and women in the Americas.

The Morant Bay story, Heuman shows, illustrates the complex evolution of political consciousness among ordinary folk and the intricate dynamics of race, gender, and class within a colonial regime. Heuman draws our attention, moreover, to intriguing evidence of the function and power of communal memory among the so-called inarticulate: events like Morant Bay drew on previous stories of resistance, like the slave rebellion of 1831, and passed on a vital legacy to subsequent generations. One regrets that he did not linger a while longer over these fascinating themes, did not probe their workings more deeply; but he has, nonetheless, illuminated key issues that should repay close study by scholars of postemancipation regimes in the Caribbean and elsewhere. Having framed his study within the nearly exhausted debate about the character of this event, he has redirected our attention along more fruitful lines of inquiry. Getting the story of Morant Bay accurately told and rightly characterized will clear the ground for telling the many other stories that that event enfolds.

THOMAS C. HOLT
University of Chicago

K. O. LAURENCE. *A Question of Labour: Indentured Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana 1875–1917.* New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. ix, 648. $49.95.

When this book appeared in 1994, it was described by close observers in the West Indies as being rather long in the tooth. It had been listed on the unofficial agenda of Caribbean historiography as forthcoming for more than two decades. Its appearance on the eve of K. O. Laurence's academic retirement from a chair in Caribbean history at the University of the West Indies (St. Augustine campus) sparked the comment that the publication settled a long overdue debt to the academy, its scholars, and students.

The book was welcomed, however, in part because of Laurence's well-established reputation among Caribbean historians as a careful and meticulous empiricist scholar who has dedicated a long career to the study of the subject. It was welcomed also because the investigation of Asian indentured servitude in the southern Caribbean rim has in recent years produced a number of very important and impressive monographs that now necessitate wider comparative approaches. Laurence displays considerable fidelity in his manipulation of an impressive array of empirical detail, which speaks to, and supports, the high standard of scholastic work produced by Caribbean social historians since the 1970s. He places the study of Asian indentureship, as a structural adjustment within the region's dying sugar plantation economy, firmly within a historiographical tradition that emphasizes the institutional construction and reconstruction generated by colonialism in its insistent demand for cheap, servile, expendable labor.

This is an important study. That readers have been exposed over the years to a trickle of essays constituting a significant part of its content is not an important consideration. Chapters dealing with patterns of Indian immigration, the system of recruitment, the financing of contracts, and the campaign against abolition show a clear understanding of the ideas, market forces, policies, and politics that shaped indentured servitude, made it desirable, and, ultimately, sought its abolition.

It is not a study, however, that foregrounds the indentured laborer as a socially dispossessed and disenfranchised person with recognizable ontological visions and expressions. Laurence places emphasis on issues such as imperial policy, entrepreneurial thinking, and judicial responses. How new lives and identities were fashioned within the haze of legislative and financial designs receives no direct, detailed treatment. While one chapter looks at the health of immigrants and another at their general social conditions, the approach employed views social life as "effects" of instruments of governance, and it is therefore limited in conceptual scope and insight.

Laurence's methodological approach is typical of a generation who studied the so-called "labor problem" of postslavery societies. Trained as "colonial" graduate students by British historians of imperial history, many have had considerable difficulty in shifting their focus from the labor institution as legal and financial infrastructure to the social lives of persons governed by such provisions. For this reason, younger scholars and students will find this text an invaluable guide to archives but may question the use of a methodology that is now largely discredited and abandoned. An impression is conveyed throughout that Laurence somehow effectively sidelined the impulse to engage the considerable body of recent interdisciplinary social scholarship on the subject of indentured servitude in the Caribbean. Current discourses are not challenged, and, in consequence, the considerable conceptual potential of the rich empirical evidence is not fully grasped.

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EMILIO ZEBADÚA. *Banqueros y revolucionarios: La soberanía financiera de México.* (Sección de obras de historia, serie hacienda.) Mexico City: Colegio de México, Fideicomiso de las Américas and Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1994. Pp. 383.

Since independence, the Mexican economy has relied heavily on foreign capital to develop. Funds from abroad came primarily in two forms: loans and direct investment. The first influx of investment from abroad came during the 1820s. After disastrous results, including defaults and bankruptcies, foreigners were not persuaded to risk their money in Mexico again until the regime of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1911). They then saw their investments, totalling more than a billion

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dollars, jeopardized by the revolution that erupted in 1910. Foreign capitalists took a keen interest in the two decades of civil war and destruction that followed. Their efforts to recover their losses and protect their properties and investments profoundly affected the outcome of the Revolution. Emilio Zebadúa elucidates the interplay between foreign investors (particularly bankers involved in Mexico's public debt), the Mexican government, and foreign governments between 1914 and 1929, interactions that forced a redefinition of national sovereignty.

Post-revolutionary leaders, beginning with President Alvaro Obregón in 1920, faced a confounding dilemma. How could they reconstruct Mexico's shattered economy while satisfying the people's demands for economic and social reform? They believed, moreover, that they could not rebuild without foreign capital. But foreigners were wary of investing in a nation that by the terms of its new constitution did not honor private property and by past experience did not manage its finances prudently. To satisfy both the people's clamor for justice and international capital's demand for repayment and compensation was a daunting task.

In particular, Mexico's reconstruction had to be negotiated with the United States State Department and groups of private capitalists in a way that both limited Mexican sovereignty and its possibilities for social reform. Mexico obtained leeway only when there was conflict between the interested foreign groups. Bankers, for example, sought a strong Mexican national state to better assure payment of its debt, while oil companies resisted the creation of a strong state because it would be a more formidable adversary.

This book is based on the archives of the Secretaría de Hacienda and the Banco Nacional de México. Zebadúa has examined a vast number of memoranda, budgets, and correspondence. He has also done research in the papers of the major financial players of the time, Thomas Lamont in the United States and Luis Montes de Oca in Mexico. His book is strongest in putting Mexico's finances into the context of domestic politics and international relations. He makes Obregón's conundrum particularly clear. Zebadúa is less strong in his treatment of the debates in the Mexican government. Perhaps the papers located in the Fideicomiso Archivos Plutarco Elías Calles y Fernando Torreblanca would have been helpful in this area. Both men were deeply involved in Mexico's finances at the time, especially the formation of the Banco Nacional de México in 1925.

This book helps to fill in the picture outlined by Robert E. Smith in *The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico* (1972) and Lorenzo Meyer in *Mexico and the United States in the Oil Controversy* (1972). It is pertinent for our understanding of the present-day economic crisis in Mexico, for its leaders still remain wedged between the often conflicting needs of the people and demands of foreign investors.

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JAMES P. BRENNAN. *The Labor Wars in Córdoba, 1955–1976: Ideology, Work, and Labor Politics in an Argentine Industrial City*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 116.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 440. $59.95.

This well-chosen case study illuminates the history of Argentina and its labor movement between the military coups of 1955 and 1976 that ousted Peronist governments. Córdoba, Argentina's second largest city and the center of its automobile industry, became famous for its radical labor movement, whose protests brought down two military governments and nourished fantasies of socialist revolution within the Argentine Left.

At the center of James P. Brennan's study is the *cordobazo*, the unprecedented worker-led rebellion of 1969, a pivotal event in the history of post-war Argentina, the signal working class protest of that era and a potent political myth. Brennan concludes that it was an outgrowth of Córdoba's complex local union politics, in a context shaped by divisions within the national Peronist labor movement, the radicalization of Córdoba's university students and Catholic clergy, and the heavy-handed rule of the military's governor. In his view, police brutality turned a demonstration of labor unity into a worker rebellion, while the arrest of union leaders transformed an organized labor protest into a spontaneous civic rebellion that crossed class and party lines. The result is a *cordobazo* that has gained in complexity and concreteness what it may have lost in mystique.

Brennan then follows Córdoba auto workers and unions through the Peronist restoration of 1973–76 that the *cordobazo* helped bring about to the defeat of the Córdoba dissidents and the subordination of their unions to the national Peronist labor bureaucracy. In between, Brennan traces the growth of a *clasista* unionism built up from the shop floor in opposition to repressive military regimes and corrupt Peronist labor leaders. It is a story of largely Peronist workers following mostly Marxist leaders, because of their commitment to union democracy, strong defense of local worker interests, and aggressive campaign for worker control. Yet, in the end, Brennan argues, *clasista* unionism failed because of the sectarianism of its leftist leaders and their refusal to ally with dissident Peronists nationally, which allowed Perón to repress them.

At bottom, Brennan's central concern is not the *cordobazo* but rather the radicalization of the labor movement that followed. Why did the workers and unions in a provincial city known for its conservative professionals emerge as the vanguard of the "Argentine revolution?" Brennan's response to this question is a multi-causal explanation that encompasses social, economic, cultural, and political factors. At its core lies "the dynamic relationship between the factory and Córdoban society and the character of the local trade union movement" (p. 355)—independent, heteroge-

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neous, and without a strong local bourgeoisie to contest its appropriation of Córdoban regionalism. To these, he adds workplace conflicts and the personal ambitions, factional rivalries, and structural tensions of Perónist labor politics.

The presence of "a radical, often revolutionary program," on the other hand, Brennan sees as a result of the coincidence between local militancy and national politics, including the radicalization of Argentine political and intellectual life and the contrast between the probity of local leftist union leaders and the venality of Perónist labor bosses nationally. The limits of that radicalism lay in the Perónist identification of ninety percent of Córdoba's workers, which became clear once Perón was back in power and determined to reassert control over the Argentine labor movement. This permitted Perón to succeed in breaking the independent Córdoba labor movement where his military predecessors had failed. Still, Brennan concludes, the lasting legacies of the Córdoba movement are its example of participatory democracy and political pluralism, its insistence on the reality of class conflict, and its stress on workers' rights.

This is a richly textured and complex study, drawing on years of meticulous research in business, labor, and newspaper archives in Argentina, Europe, and the United States, supplemented by oral history interviews. Some of Brennan's conclusions are controversial, and his use of oral history and attention to culture and gender are limited. Brennan himself acknowledges that his book is not the last word on the *cordobazo*. But, this well-written account of the Córdoba labor movement and the uprising it detonated is where future debates will begin.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

MARK C. CARNES, editor. *Past Imperfect: History According to the Movies*. Assisted by TED MICO, JOHN MILLER-MONZON, and DAVID RUBEL. (A Society of American Historians Book; A Henry Holt Reference Book.) New York: Henry Holt. 1995. Pp. 304. $30.00.

STEPHEN JAY GOULD, Jurassic Park. ALAN F. SEGAL, The Ten Commandments. W. V. HARRIS, Spartacus. MICHAEL GRANT, Julius Caesar. ANTHONY LEWIS, Henry V: Two Films. GERDA LERNER, Joan of Arc: Three Films. CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS and WILLIAM D. PHILLIPS, JR., Christopher Columbus: Two Films. ANTONIA FRASER, Anne of the Thousand Days. RICHARD MARIUS, A Man for all Seasons. STEPHEN MINTA, Aguirre, The Wrath of God. JAMES AXTELL, Black Robe. RICHARD WHITE, The Last of the Mohicans. CAROLLY ERICKSON, The Scarlet Empress. THOMAS FLEMING, 1776. ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE, Drums Along the Mohawk. GREG DENING, Mutiny on the Bounty. ROBERT DARNTON, Danton. SEAN WILENTZ, The Buccaneer: Two Films. MARSHALL DE BRUHL, The Alamo. RICHARD SLOTKIN, The Charge of the Light Brigade. MARK E. NEELY, JR., The Young Lincoln, Two Films. JAMES M. MCPHERSON, Glory. CATHERINE CLINTON, Gone With The Wind. LEON F. LITWACK, The Birth of a Nation. J. ANTHONY LUKAS, The Molly Maguires. ALVIN M. JOSEPHY, JR., They Died with Their Boots On. DEE BROWN, Fort Apache. JOHN MACK FARAGHER, The Tale of Wyatt Earp: Seven Films. DAVID LEVERING LEWIS, Khartoum. DAVID CANNADINE, Murder by Decree. PETER GAY, Freud. WILLIAM MANCHESTER, Young Winston. JOYCE ANTLER, Hester Street. KENNETH T. JACKSON, Gallipoli. TOM WICKER, World War I: Five Films. CHRISTINE STANSELL, Reds. JOHN PATRICK DIGGINS, Rosa Luxemburg. ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., The Front Page. ERIC FONER, Matewan. JONATHAN D. SPENCE, Shanghai Express. JOHN F. KASSOM, Houdini. GORE VIDAL, Sullivan's Travels. NANCY F. COTT, Bonnie and Clyde. ALAN BRINKLEY, The Grapes of Wrath. AKIRA IRIYE, Tora! Tora! Tora! RICHARD REEVES, PT 109. STEPHEN E. AMBROSE, The Longest Day. PAUL FUSSELL, Patton. MARK C. CARNES, Fat Man and Little Boy. CAROL GLUCK, The Human Condition. GEOFFREY C. WARD, Gandhi. GEORGE CHAUNCEY, Tea and Sympathy. JACQUELINE JONES, The Long Walk Home. PAUL BOYER, Dr. Strangelove. STANLEY KARNOW, JFK. WILLIAM H. CHAFE, Mississippi Burning. CLAYBORNE CARSON, Malcolm X. FRANCES FITZGERALD, Apocalypse Now. WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG, All the President's Men. SIMON SCHAMA, The Emperor's Last Review.

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Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

I was surprised to see in the latest *AHR* an article by David Harley on the Salem witchcraft trials that neglects to engage the primary and secondary literature on this intensely studied episode ("Explaining Salem: Calvinist Psychology and the Diagnosis of Possession," *AHR* 101 [April 1996]: 307–30). Instead, the study molds the events to conform to an interpretive model borrowed from the social sciences and based on a popular assumption that has been repudiated in the pages of your own journal (John Van Engen, "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem," *AHR* 91 [June 1986]: 519–52).

Harley argues that the Salem episode can be understood as a struggle between two rival religious cultures. These two competing religious cultures consisted of a high culture of the intellectual elite, which interpreted and imposed a clerical and bookish religion, and an opposing low culture, which proclaimed an immutable folkloric religion of the masses. Harley views both cultures as monolithic, mutually exclusive, and impervious to mutual influence. Both cultures presented opposing explanations for the alleged afflictions suffered by the accusers. The high culture attributed the "afflictions" to satanic possession, while the low culture ascribed them to bewitchment. The high culture imposed its diagnosis on the low culture, which was "unable to resist" the semiotic onslaught (p. 328). This act of oppression undermined "the identity of the sufferers" (i.e., the afflicted) and disempowered them, yet, as Harley admits, "it played a crucial role in the collapse of the Salem trials" (pp. 329, 310). For Harley, the witchcraft court had no autonomous role in the Salem episode. It simply "proceeded on the basis of a diagnosis of bewitchment, in tune with the wishes of accusers," and when "pressure mounted for a rediagnosis in terms of possession," the rediagnosis was imposed "precisely in order to disempower the afflicted" (p. 330).

The terms *low* and *high*, while applicable to culture in a general sense, are not suited to the basic religious realities of Massachusetts Bay, and the evidence Harley presents—particularly on the inconsistencies of the Mathers regarding the question of bewitchment and possession—supports this view. Early New England society—from the elites to the masses—was a collection of mutually competing interests, not a bipolar set of opposing monolithic classes.

Harley disparages the attempts by historians to discover what "really" happened in the past. "This," he states, "is a condescending assumption that most anthropologists and historians of science or medicine try to avoid." Harley's alternative approach is "to recognize the limits of such realism in order to listen carefully to the views of all the contesting participants" (p. 330). This approach accepts seventeenth-century beliefs as credible evidence for establishing twentieth-century historical interpretations, and it embraces all explanatory systems as equally valid, since all "explanatory theories" are "culturally specific," and contemporary explanations "are no more 'natural facts' than are witchcraft and possession" (pp. 330, 329).

Harley does not listen to all the contesting participants, as he claims to, and when he does listen, he listens uncritically. There is no room in his explanatory model for lying, deceitfulness, and fraud, all of which are primal human characteristics. Four types of explanations for "afflictions," according to Harley, were available to the people of Massachusetts Bay in 1692: bewitchment, possession, natural disease, and fraud. Although Harley claims that "fraud, disease, and social conflict ... were not ignored at the time" by the participants (p. 328), he ignores them in his analysis of causal agents of the Salem episode and concentrates solely on bewitchment and possession.

Fraud was identified by the participants—accusers, accused, and critics of the witchcraft trials—as being behind the "afflictions" (Bernard Rosenthal, *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692* [Cambridge,

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1993], 17–18, 32–42, 45–50, 52, 60, 94–95, 125–26, 179–80, 184–92). If some critics of the trials appear to ignore fraud, this may not be due to any lack of conviction that fraud was responsible for the "afflictions" but to the narrowed choices available to those who sought to bring an end to the trials, or to purely pragmatic considerations. To impugn the credibility of the witchcraft court by raising charges of fraud might have elicited retribution. Even if this were not the case, there may have been a natural reluctance on the part of the intellectual elite to find fault with members of their own class. On a purely practical level, the intellectual elite realized that charges of fraud would not have brought the witchcraft trials to an end. Given the natural inclination of Governor Phips and the witchcraft court to deny being involved in a massive miscarriage of justice, it would not appear likely that the authorities responsible for the Salem episode would have accepted an explanation that discredited them. Direct demonic causation offered a non-confrontational means for the administrative resolution of the episode with the least amount of fuss and bother. Massachusetts accommodated itself to "The Devil made me do it!" Collective repentance was encouraged, and apologies—the few that there were—generally stopped short of individual blame. Victimology had found a home in America.

PAUL E. CHEVEDDEN
Virginia Military Institute

DAVID HARLEY REPLIES:

It is surprising to find that my article was so provocative that a historian of medieval Islamic fortifications should feel compelled to take me to task. However, I find it difficult to recognize my essay from the furious account given here. Perhaps I have inadvertently become embroiled in some pleasant game being played by American historians, such as "Lynch the Social Constructivist." My modest contention, that the role played by the learned concept of possession has been neglected as a factor in the Salem events, is largely ignored.

Two accusations, that I have neither engaged with the literature nor listened critically to all the participants, must be left to readers to assess. No examples are produced, apart from some references to the work of Bernard Rosenthal. My dissatisfaction with Rosenthal's explanation of all the accusations in terms of deceit led to my writing on Salem. I have concentrated on the published writings rather than the role of the court, which was clearly crucial in the process of definition, only because we have no full firsthand accounts of the trials.

My other major crime is the way "the study molds the events to conform to an interpretive model borrowed from the social sciences," a charge Rosenthal makes against several historians. Chevedden doubtless has his reasons for marking this boundary so conspicuously, but I do not believe that reading outside historiography has corrupted my analysis of how the documents were created. Indeed, my central argument was that much work on New England witchcraft has been influenced by inappropriate models. Unlike the history of medieval military architecture, social history has always had a close but uneasy relationship with the social sciences. I hope candid readers will regard my principal interests as genuinely historical and my limited use of other disciplines merely as a spur to the asking of fresh questions.

According to Chevedden, I have been so foolish as to base my analysis on "a popular assumption that has been repudiated." Apparently, I have asserted the existence of "an immutable folkloric religion of the masses" and depicted the Salem events as an episode in a struggle between "two rival religious cultures." I have never used the concepts of high culture and low culture, attributed to me by Chevedden. I used the terms "popular" to describe widely held unsystematic beliefs and "learned" to describe carefully elaborated concepts discussed at universities. I acknowledge that this is a facile dichotomy, adopted as convenient shorthand, but it is not quite the pair of grand hypostases ascribed to me.

At no point did I suggest that any oppression was involved in the rediagnosis. Rather, I compared the process to the normal phenomenon of medical diagnosis. In fact, it is Chevedden who deploys a class analysis. Whereas I argued that there was conflict and anxiety among the educated minority in Massachusetts, not all of whom accepted the rediagnosis easily, Chevedden is happy to attribute motives to groups: "a natural reluctance on the part of the intellectual elite to find fault with members of their own class." I was not aware that there was class consciousness in seventeenth-century New England. Reports of the death of vulgar Marxism have clearly been exaggerated.

Perhaps Peter Burke and Natalie Zemon Davis are the real targets, my article merely standing in as surrogate. I will not defend myself by attacking them. If pressed, I would contend that the fluctuating tensions between the culture of various European elites and the popular traditions of Europe played an important role in the creation of witch hunting, in its changing fortunes during the Reformation, and in its ultimate demise. Learned concepts and popular beliefs were not hermetically sealed from one another, and the extent of their mutual influence differed over time and across Europe. Local explanations are always required.

Colonial New England is a special case, because of the unusual social and cultural spectrum, but local research in many parts of Europe has revealed particular characteristics to the patterns of prosecutions and their internal dynamics. I would agree that popular beliefs, neo-Platonism, and Calvinism mingled in Massachusetts to an extent that was unusual in England. Nevertheless, demonic possession does not seem to have been an explanation widely employed as a first

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resort by the afflicted or their families on either side of the Atlantic, because it involved ascribing guilt to the afflicted person. Chevedden does not address this aspect of my account. Having read Rosenthal, he knows where guilt lay.

The blame is principally laid by Chevedden at the door of "lying, deceitfulness, and fraud, all of which are primal human characteristics." My ignorance of the context of his rhetoric is such that I am unable to see why three synonyms and an allusion to original sin are needed here. Deception is obviously a major function of human language, but this does not exempt the historian from asking why people should tell their stories in terms of a particular conceptual vocabulary and why some stories were believed rather than others. In any case, it is not clear that all, or even most, of the accusers were consciously deceitful.

Chevedden asserts that seventeenth-century statements provide an insufficient basis for historical explanation, whether because he believes that his ideas are more rational than those of Isaac Newton and Robert Boyle, for example, or because he prefers the tangible evidence of archaeology. I feel no desire to assert my moral superiority over the people of colonial New England by insisting that they were all lying. I regard the difficulty of explaining complex interactive phenomena as a challenge, not as an affront to my dignity.

The reductionism of Rosenthal and Chevedden would prevent sympathetic consideration of any nonmaterial phenomena whatsoever, turning social activity, the presentation of self, and all religious narratives into mere mystification. For my part, I attempt to respect the local reality of people in the past, as I would that of people from another culture today.

DAVID HARLEY
Oxford, England

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

When I wrote *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*, I rather expected that my critique of Eurocentrism in history would unsettle some colleagues and provoke a few angry reviews. And I have been in the academic trenches long enough to know that an angry reviewer sometimes loses his or her scholarly cool and fires off wild and false charges. Dane Kennedy does just that [*AHR* 101 (February 1996): 148–49]. Kennedy makes a number of false statements in his review, but most consequentially he misrepresents the nature of the book, calling it in essence propaganda, not scholarship ("sophism," "uninformed opinion," "willful neglect of . . . the most important work," etc., p. 149). Whoever scans the book will quickly see that this is nonsense. I describe and critique in considerable detail, citing some 500 scholarly sources, *all* of the important arguments for the so-called "European miracle"—the theory that Europe possessed some unique developmental advantage (for instance, technology) or potential advantage (for instance, rationality) prior to 1492. I argue at length that this theory is the world model associated with colonialism, and I present evidence that the selective rise of Europe after 1492 resulted from colonialism, initially in America (which was much more accessible to Europeans than to other mercantile-maritime communities). Evidently, Kennedy considers these positions so outrageous that any defense of them must be sophistry.

Now to Kennedy's charges (all on p. 149). First: "[I]t is simple nonsense to suggest that most historians share a belief in the 'permanent superiority' of Europe over other parts of the world." I do not suggest that. The myth of permanent European superiority is indeed culturally pervasive; it is the core of the diffusionist world model (permanent progress at the center; diffusion of progress to the periphery). What most historians believe is that the selective rise of Europe in early modern times reflected *pre-existing* European superiority or priority in qualities of mind, culture, and/or environment that favored modernization. I question this belief. Second: "Blaut . . . consigns any historian who accepts any [proposition asserting European origin of a crucial innovation] . . . to the category of Eurocentric diffusionist." Not so. Third: "[He] examines the work of relatively few scholars" and mainly "targets" E. J. Jones, Michael Mann, and John A. Hall. In fact, I critique Eurocentric views expressed by about forty historians (and about thirty others), discussing in some detail the views of Marx, Weber, L. White, Jr., C. Cipolla, K. Werner, R. Brenner, J. Baechler, J. Hajnal, A. Macfarlane, and L. Stone, along with Jones, Mann, and Hall. Fourth: "Blaut makes no mention of Jones's more recent book, *Growth Recurring* (1988), which explicitly rejects a Eurocentric perspective." I do mention it, and it does not back away from the blind Eurocentrism of *The European Miracle*. Fifth: Kennedy asserts that I do not even "acknowledge the existence" of certain works by William H. McNeill, Fernand Braudel, Philip Curtin, and Alfred Crosby, but he fails to inform readers that I discuss *other* works (more relevant ones) by all of these authors. Sixth: Even more misleadingly, I am accused of giving "little more than passing nods" to the work of Edward Said, Immanuel Wallerstein, Eric Wolf, and Janet Abu-Lughod, "perhaps because" they "challenge" my assumptions. More nonsense. The arguments put forward by these writers (particularly Abu-Lughod) support my main position, and I say so. Seventh: My careful arguments are dismissed as sophistry, hyperbole, "uninformed opinion." For instance, my detailed (11-page) critique of environmentalistic theories accepted by Jones, Hall, McNeill, Curtin, Joseph Miller, G. Irwin, J. Roberts, and others concerning tropical Africa is ridiculed as "rhetorical," "*ad-hominem* accusations," "innuendo." Eighth: "When the meaning of a term does not [suit] Blaut

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. . . , he simply supplies it with a new definition." The issue here is the term "feudalism." Perhaps Kennedy is unaware that many (cited) scholars use the term as I do (cross-culturally, ecologically), and he evidently did not read my lengthy discussion concerning this term. Ninth: "If the facts do not support an argument . . . Blaut . . . simply asserts that the information needed to prove him right 'has not yet been sought with sufficient diligence by diffusionist scholarship.'" Not true. The quoted statement is made once, in one specific context: African precolonial history.

The critique of Eurocentrism becomes threatening when it uncovers empirical errors in widely accepted theories. Kennedy's review of *The Colonizer's Model of the World* is in essence a threat reaction. Circle the wagons!

J. M. Blaut
University of Illinois, Chicago

Dane Kennedy replies:

It is entirely in keeping with the overall tenor of J. M. Blaut's book that his reaction to my review is to see it as an effort to "circle the wagons" in defense of historians. His central thesis—that a Eurocentric "diffusionism" dominates the historiography of Europe's rise to world predominance, attributing this development to distinctive attributes of the continent and its peoples—imposes an illusory consensus on recent scholarship. The principal thrust of my criticism was to insist that this scholarship is too diverse to share a space around which wagons could be circled.

I would encourage Blaut to read my review—and reread his own book—with more care before he accuses me of "false statements." Let me respond to his charges point by point. First: This is the most baffling of Blaut's denials. The central intent of his book is to demonstrate that "diffusionism" pervades historical scholarship. If the "myth of permanent European superiority . . . is the core of the diffusionist world model," as Blaut states in his letter, then he does indeed suggest that most historians believe in the permanent superiority of Europe. Second: I am at a loss to discern from Blaut's cursory denial how I have mischaracterized his position on this point. Blaut states in his book that "*all* scholarship is diffusionist insofar as it axiomatically accepts the Inside-Outside model" (p. 13), a model he associates with the propositions I referred to in my review. Third: I stand by my claim that Jones, Hall, and Mann are his main targets. Blaut's index indicates that Jones is a topic of discussion in 24 pages of text, Mann in 18 pages, Hall in 10 pages. None of the other modern scholars he names reach double digits, and most appear only two or three times in his text. As for the incongruous inclusion of Marx and Weber in this list of names, it points to the indiscriminate character of Blaut's indictment. Fourth: I can find no mention of Jones's *Growth Recurring* in the text of Blaut's book and only one citation (of the "also see" variety) in the notes. If this is what Blaut means when he says he mentions the book, I stand corrected. But why, if the book "does not back away from the blind Eurocentrism" of *The European Miracle*, does it fail to figure in his critique of Jones? Fifth: Blaut does not deny my charge. I leave it for readers to decide whether a study of the scholarship on the rise of Europe can be considered deficient if it neglects to consider McNeill's *Rise of the West*, Braudel's trilogy on civilization and capitalism, and various other influential works. Sixth: Blaut completely misreads this remark. Rather than suggesting that Said, Wallerstein, Wolf, and Abu-Lughod challenge *his* assumptions, I state instead that they "challenge many of the assumptions that Blaut claims pervade current scholarship." In other words, these authors—who have wielded enormous influence on recent scholarship—stand in contradiction to Blaut's claims of a Eurocentric scholarly consensus. Seventh: To dismiss research on the problems that confronted farmers in tropical Africa (laterite soils, variable rainfall, etc.) as "the myth of tropical nastiness" (p. 75) is to engage in rhetoric. To charge that Philip Curtin and Joseph Miller "absolve Europeans of most of the responsibility for slavery" (p. 76) because they consider the historical implications of these environmental challenges is to engage in an *ad hominem* accusation. Eighth: Scholars may differ over the definition of feudalism, but it does nothing to advance our understanding of the term and its historical significance for Blaut to identify it indiscriminately with the myriad varieties of landlord-tenant relations that existed in Europe, Africa, and Asia. Ninth: After issuing a flat denial—"Not true"—to my complaint that he dismisses the absence of evidence for some of his arguments with the claim that "diffusionist scholars" simply have failed to seek it out, Blaut confesses that the example I quote (p. 153) is correct. He then insists that it only happens once and only in the context of precolonial African history (as if the rules of evidence do not apply to that field). But, in fact, it happens more than once: Blaut declares on page 207 that it was "highly likely that West Africans sailed across to the Americas before 1492," although "we do not have such evidence *at present*" (my emphasis). To summarize, I am unpersuaded that I misrepresented Blaut's book in my review.

Dane Kennedy
University of Nebraska, Lincoln

To the Editor:

Perhaps thesis advisers should turn the other cheek. But since responding publicly to a critical review of one's own work is often bad form, I wish to reply to Charles Radding's review of Wolfgang P. Müller's book on Huguccio (*AHR* 101 [April 1996]: 465–66).

Radding's lack of sympathy with textual studies is

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revealed in his last sentence: "Rather than concentrating on details ... Müller might have done better to attend more closely to the intellectual context of the late twelfth-century schools." Details are nasty creatures. Nevertheless, at this time, they are necessary when dealing with the greatest jurist of the twelfth century, whose major work has not yet been edited and which exists in numerous manuscripts in several different forms. To place Huguccio (d. 1210) in the intellectual context of the schools is what we would like to do, but the task is not yet possible. What Müller has done is prepare the ground for others to do just that in the future. Radding nowhere states that the purpose of Müller's book was to untangle the complicated problems surrounding the facts of Huguccio's life and the even more complex transmission of his *Summa iuris*.

In every case, Radding's objections are questionable if not wrong. He focuses on a single piece of evidence to imply that Huguccio wrote both the *Summa* and the *Derivationes* while rejecting Müller's analysis of a mass of other material. Salimbene wrote *ca.* 1283 that "Huguccio was a Tuscan, citizen of Pisa, and bishop of Ferrara; he composed the *Liber derivationum*; ... He also wrote certain other little works [opuscula]." On the basis of this passage, Radding concludes that "Müller dismisses too readily ... Salimbene." Müller devotes six pages to this passage and concludes that Salimbene, Riccobaldus, and Ptolemy of Lucca represented a late tradition that conflated the two Huguccios. One may note that Salimbene knew the great canonist Hostiensis personally and included legal texts in his chronicle. If Salimbene thought Huguccio the grammarian was also the jurist, he would not have called his massive *Summa iuris* an "opuscula." To sweep aside everything else and give pride of place to this late, obviously erroneous text is not persuasive scholarship. Furthermore, as Müller demonstrates, neither Huguccio himself nor the early jurists ever stated that he was from Pisa.

Each of Radding's critical judgments is questionable. He confirms that Huguccio "certainly was the author" of a treatise on the etymology of saints' names (the *Agiographia*) but complains that Müller does not discuss the importance of this work for information about his early education. Müller demonstrated that the recent edition (1978) based on Venetian and Parisian manuscripts conflated Huguccio's original text with a later revision by another author. Since the book's publication, Martin Bertram has found a third manuscript that supports Müller's analysis. Huguccio's original work in the Venetian manuscript is very short and without any biographical information or much doctrinal discussion. I would like to know what Radding thinks can be squeezed out of that stone.

On more trivial points, Radding also misses the mark. Müller explicitly denies that the authors of the *Summa Reginensis* and the *Continuatio prima* were the same person: "the *Continuatio* ... was written by yet another author" (p. 107). Yet Radding regrets that he "does not further attempt to link the two works." Müller points to a few similarities between the two texts and conjectures that *Reginensis* may have borrowed from the *Continuatio* or from a common source. If Radding knows of evidence that Müller missed, he should have presented it; then he could have argued that Müller should have done more.

Radding expresses surprise that Müller would call Huguccio's concept of guilt "Abelardian" and alleges that the first ten pages of Abelard's *Ethics* would disprove that. According to Stephan Kuttner's *Kanonistische Schuldlehre*, before 1140 Abelard adhered to the view that a person could not sin without intention or in ignorance. Müller thinks that Huguccio adopted the "radical implication" (p. 139) of Abelard's theory and argued that context was not important but that a person's knowledge of a sinful act was crucial. Whether one agrees with Müller's Abelardian tag or not, as Kuttner demonstrates, one will not find the answer to this very subtle question in only the first ten pages of the *Ethics*.

Radding concludes his review by stating, "The unspoken problem of this book is that, even compared to contemporary Paris, the sources for twelfth-century Bologna are neither abundant nor trustworthy." Each part of this sentence is debatable. Since 1988, Martin Bertram has written a series of articles in which he has reminded us that the Bolognese archives are brimming with twelfth and thirteenth-century materials, in large part untouched. Aside from archival materials, Bologna produced a deluge of legal and notarial literature, whose quantity far outstrips that of any other center. Huguccio of Pisa probably wrote his *Derivationes*, the most important lexigraphical work of the Middle Ages, in twelfth-century Bologna. Finally, one can only struggle with the words "nor trustworthy." Is this material filled with forgeries and false facts? No. Is it difficult to use and interpret? Yes. Should Müller have written a different book? No. His details about Huguccio will serve scholars for many years to come.

KENNETH PENNINGTON
Syracuse University

CHARLES RADDING REPLIES:

I will not attempt to judge whether thesis advisers, as a general rule, should "turn the other cheek," as Kenneth Pennington writes, or even feel the criticism toward their students as personally as that locution suggests that Pennington does. In this particular case, however, Pennington may be sensitive about any criticism directed at Müller's book because he in fact served in a double capacity, being both Müller's adviser, as he acknowledges, and the general editor of the series in which the book appeared.

This latter role, though unmentioned by him, is especially relevant, since my principal criticism of Müller's book questioned not the author's potential as

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a scholar nor his control of the sources that he read but whether the resulting work was in any meaningful sense a book at all—at least, if by "book" we mean a work that has, in addition to hard covers, some common themes and an argument that develops from beginning to end. Not only was the editorial content limited to fewer than 150 pages (including notes but excluding appendixes), but there was a notable absence of instances in which the conclusions of one chapter are referred to or otherwise built upon in any of the others. When one adds the fact that the first and by far the longest of the four essays had already seen separate publication, I am left at a loss to imagine any scholarly reasons why the others were not similarly published as articles. So if Pennington feels sensitive to my review, I am left wondering whether it is for his series or his student.

Such having been my main criticism—to which Pennington essentially makes no response—it goes without saying that I could concede every one of the points that he does make without needing to alter my overall judgment of the book. Not that I do concede them, but working through his letter in detail would exceed the space I have available and the patience of the readers of the *AHR*. Two comments, however, are in order.

First, it does surprise me that Pennington would mention the Bolognese archives, since as far as I can discover, archival sources are not used at all in this book. Indeed, another interpretation of his remarks about the important recent contributions of Martin Bertram might well be that Müller's book, published in 1994, has already been outstripped by other scholars' research—which I take as confirmation of my judgment that this was a rushed job.

Second, as for Salimbene, the problem here is that Müller wants to maintain that Huguccio the canonist was also the Huguccio who was bishop of Ferrara for twenty years but not the Huguccio who was the author of the *Derivationes*, while Salimbene's biographical note on the bishop of Ferrara describes him as the author of the *Derivationes* but does mention that he was a major scholar of canon law. Obviously, there is a problem here, especially since Salimbene, having been resident in Ferrara for a long and uninterrupted period, therefore had sources of information different from those preserved within the Bolognese university tradition; moreover, as a historian, he may have been more careful when using them. This is not just a guess on my part. All universities accumulate various urban legends, but for twelfth-century Bologna, it is often impossible to balance tales told decades later against contemporary accounts; this is why really reliable information about Huguccio—or Pepo, Irnerius, the Four Doctors, or Gratian—is so much harder to come by than it is for the scholars who were their contemporaries but based in Paris. Since Müller's analysis comes to little more than a preference for vague remarks by canonists over an explicit statement by Salimbene (and one confirmed by a second chronicler, based in Ferrara, who did not know Salimbene's work), I do not see that I am out of bounds in thinking that the matter is open and may well be unresolvable. Nor do I see (and Müller and Pennington do nothing to explain) how this kind of necessarily tentative analysis of issues at the fringes of Huguccio's scholarly career substitutes for reading the works that lie at the heart of it.

CHARLES RADDING
Michigan State University

ERRATA

TO THE EDITOR:

In Margaret H. Darrow's interesting article [*AHR* 101 (February 1996): 89], I was shocked to see that in 1914 "France declared war on Germany." The French were the ones who declared war in 1870 and 1939, but, in 1914, it was Germany that did so, on August 3 to be specific.

BERNARD SINSHEIMER
University of Maryland, European Division

Margaret Darrow does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

In the review of David S. Barnes, *The Making of a Social Disease: Tuberculosis in Nineteenth-Century France* [*AHR* 101 (June 1996): 854–55], reviewer Ann F. La Berge used the term *vibrio cholerae* (p. 854). The correct term, she tells us, is *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*. La Berge regrets the error.

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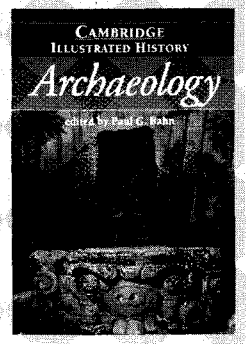
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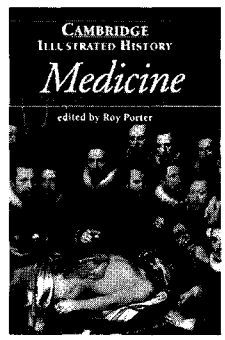
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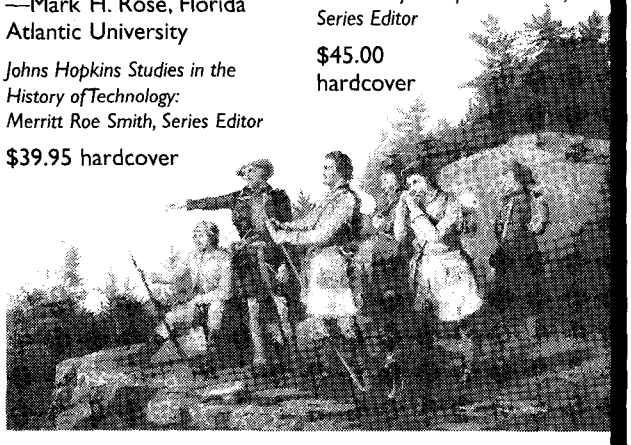
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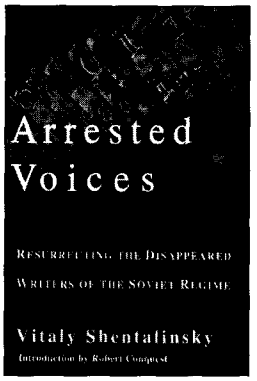
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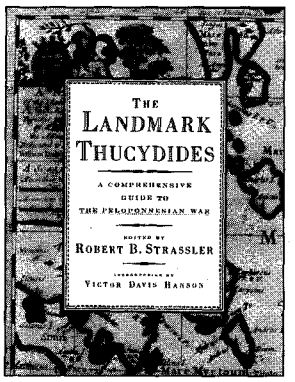
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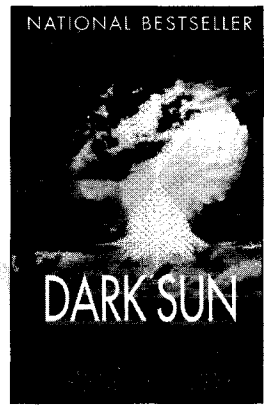
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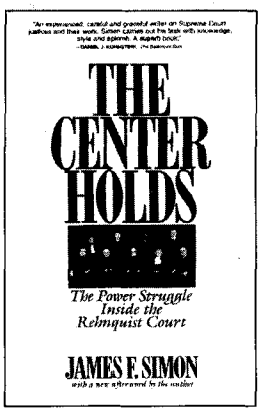
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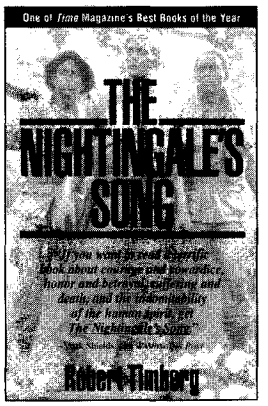
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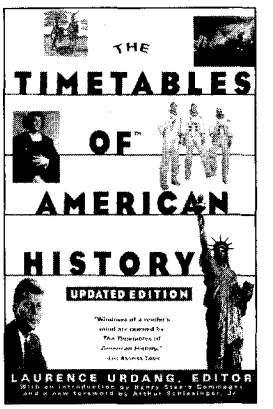
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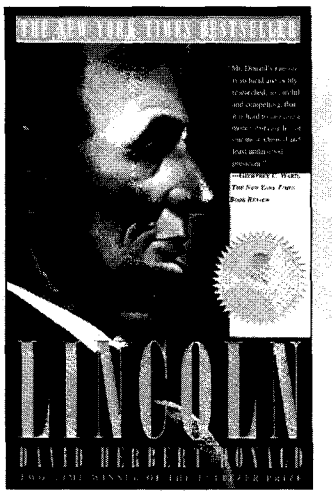
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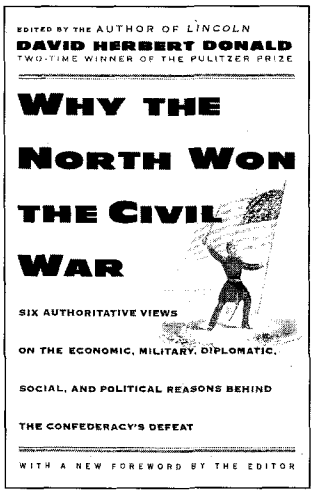
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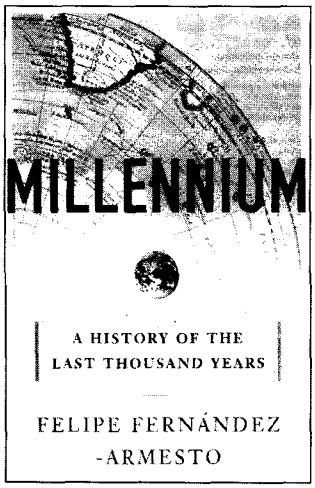
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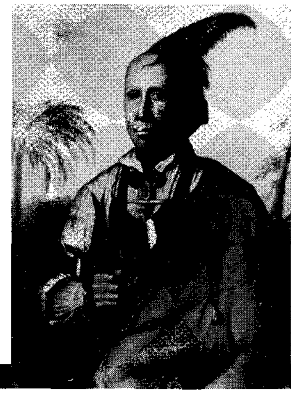
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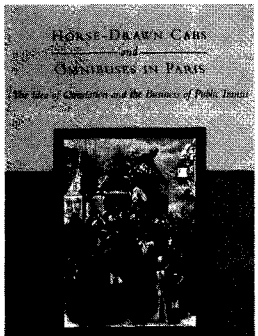
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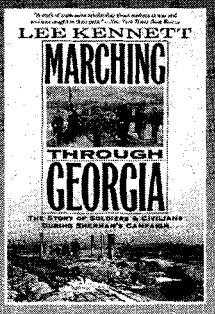
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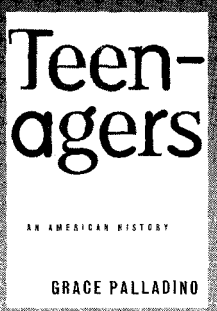
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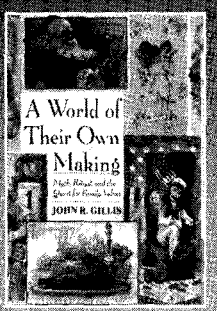
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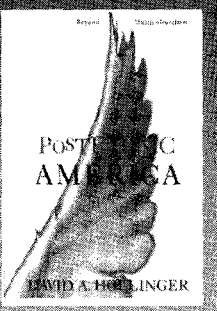
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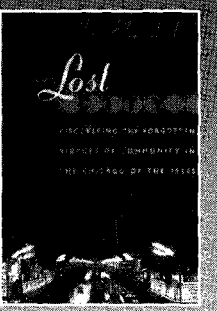
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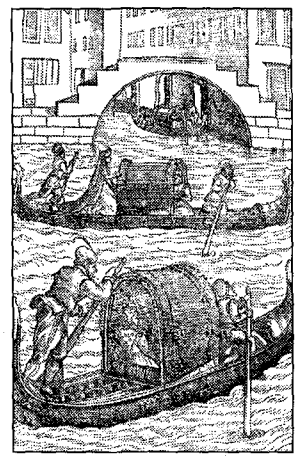
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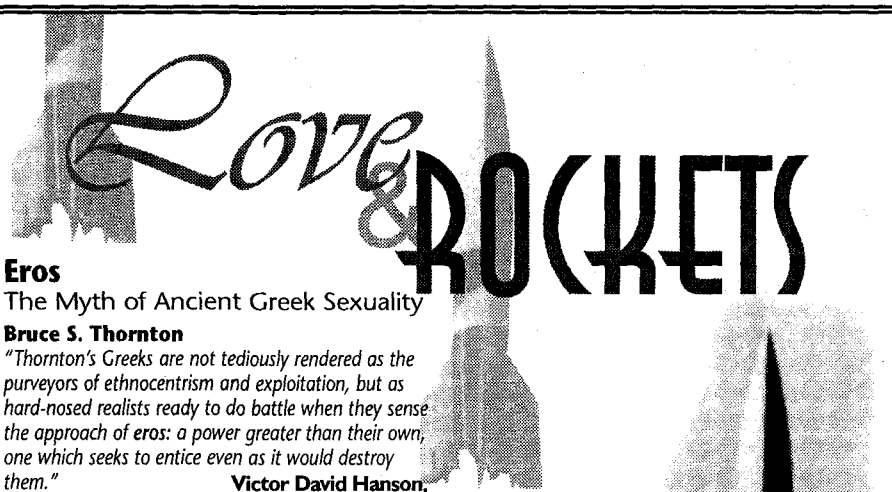
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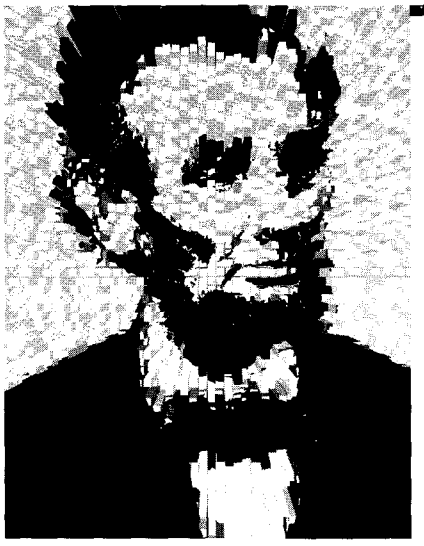
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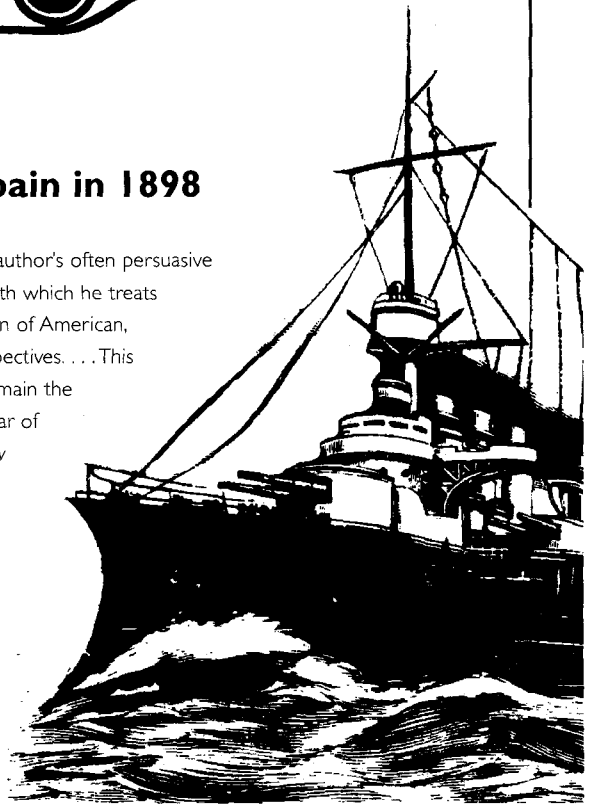
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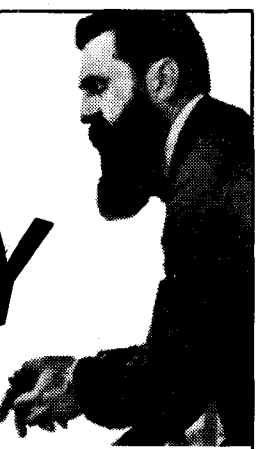
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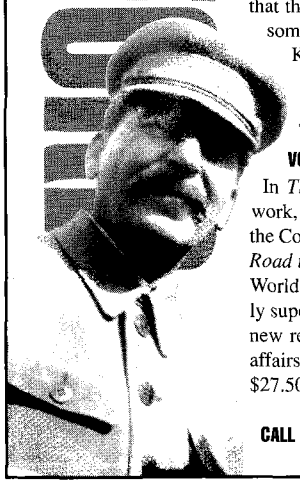
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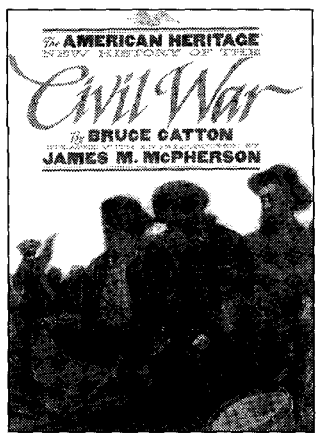
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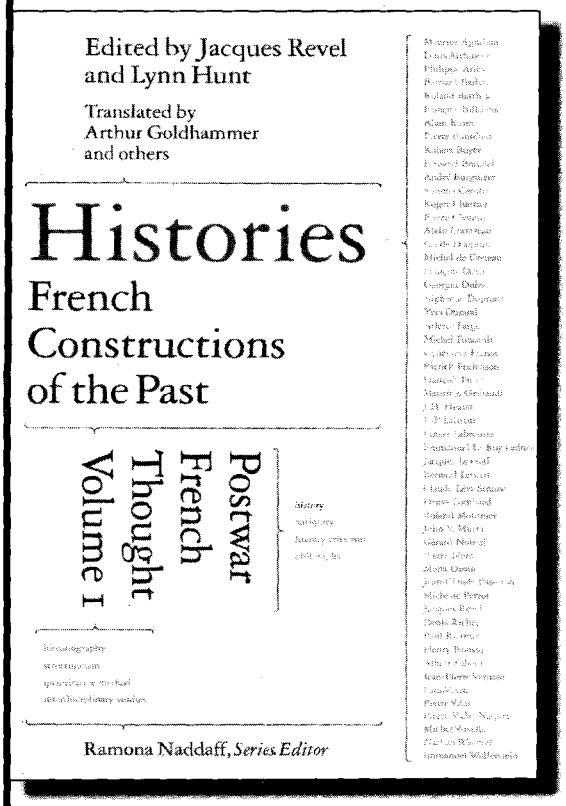
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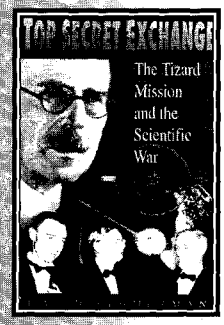
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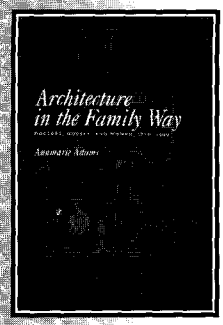
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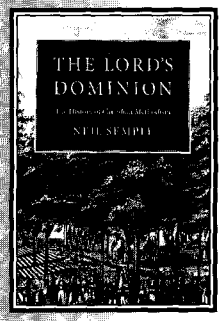


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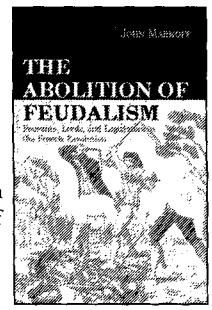
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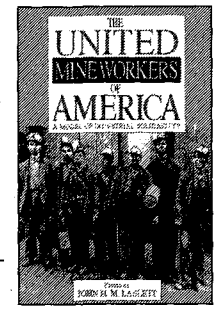
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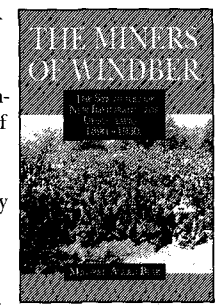


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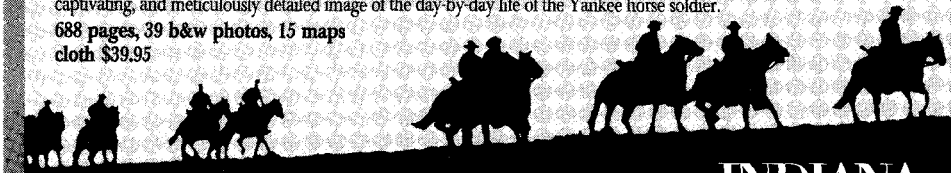
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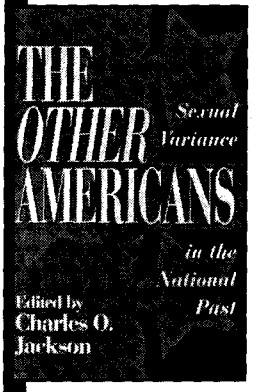
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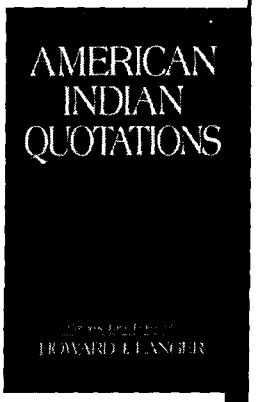
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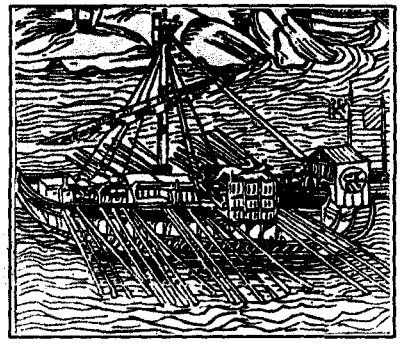
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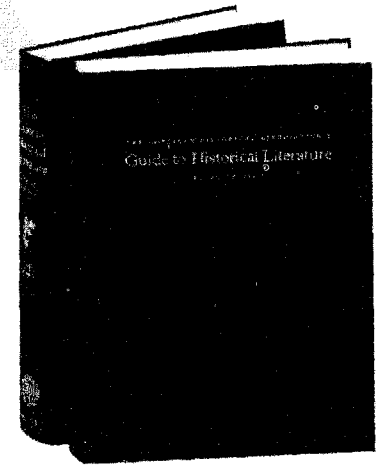
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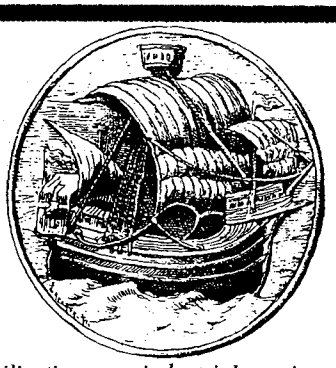


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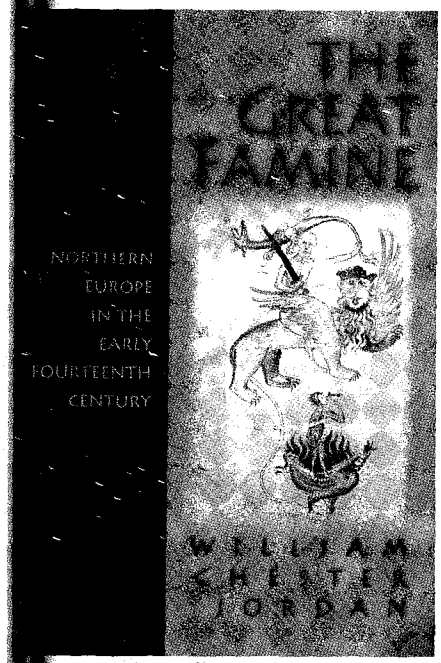
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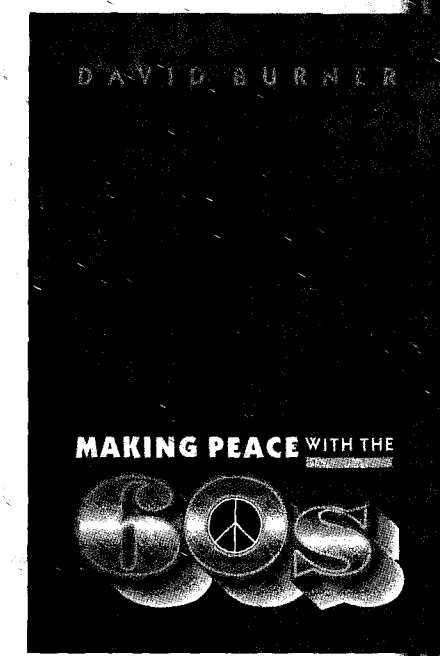
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